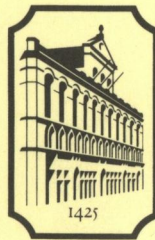


# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

JOURNAL OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES

Vol. LVI - 2007



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## HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA Journal of Neo-Latin Studies

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C. ARRIVM NVRVM (1907-1979)  
AVCTOREM LATINITATIS EGREGIVM  
DE STVDIIS NEOLATINIS EXIMIE MERITVM  
HORVMQVE COMMENTARIORVM FAVTOREM INCOMPARABILEM,  
QVI VITAM ANTE HOS C ANNOS INTROIIT, ANTE HOS XXVIII POSVIT,  
PECTORE SECVM RECOLVNT GRATO  
EDITORES



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**FIRST ANNUAL JOZEF IJSEWIJN LECTURE**

(LEUVEN, 27 SEPTEMBER 2006)































## ***Praefatio***

Mr. Chairman, dear Mrs. IJsewijn and Family, dear friends and colleagues,

*It moves me to be standing in this room, where, together with many of you, I attended Jozef IJsewijn's last conference on 18 September 1997.*

*I was pleased to hear of the institution of a Jozef IJsewijn Lecture at this venerable Alma Mater of Leuven. If any name is connected with the structure and organization of international research and scholarship in the field of Neo-Latin, and with the central place that Leuven has occupied in this field, it is Jozef IJsewijn's. He has created and helped to create indispensable facilities for students of Neo-Latin, including the Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae and its Journal of Neo-Latin Studies par excellence, Humanistica Lovaniensia, with its extremely helpful Instrumentum bibliographicum. Jozef IJsewijn founded the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, the IANLS, which recently held its XIIIth International Congress in Budapest. And he is the author of the first Companion to Neo-Latin Studies, published in 1977, followed by a second edition in two solid volumes in 1990 and 1997. The flourishing Neo-Latin community is deeply indebted to his initiatives.*

*My personal debts to Jozef IJsewijn are considerable. In the first place, there were his collegiality and friendship, and his generous advice on various occasions, such as the publishing of a Neo-Latin issue of the classical review Lampas, to which he contributed a fine article.<sup>1</sup> He introduced me to the Belgian Royal Academy's Committee for the study of humanism in the Low Countries in 1982, which brought me into closer contact with many excellent and amiable Belgian Neo-Latinists. In 1990, he asked*

<sup>1</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, 'Problemen van de Neolatinistiek, met een proeve van lyrische poëzie', *Lampas. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Classici*, 18 (1985), 311-320. The article is not recorded in Gilbert Tournoy, 'Bibliography of Jozef IJsewijn, 1956-2000', in Gilbert Tournoy – Dirk Sacré (eds.), *Myricae, Essays on Neo-Latin Literature in Memory of Jozef IJsewijn* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000), pp. 9-114, nor in Dirk Sacré, 'Iosephi IJsewijn opuscula docta et litteraria: auctarium', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 51 (2002), 323-328.

*me to be a candidate for the treasurership of the IANLS. Both functions were rich and satisfactory experiences for me, and have brought me invaluable friendships.*

*I consider it a privilege and an undeserved honour to be invited to deliver the first Jozef IJsewijn Lecture. I am aware, though, that it will not be easy to come up to the high scholarly standards of Jozef IJsewijn and of the Seminarium which continues his work. Still, I thought it unforgivable not to accept this Sparta and to adorn it.*

Chris L. Heesakkers

Chris L. HEESAKKERS

NEO-LATIN ACADEMIC FUNERAL ORATORY AND POETRY  
IN THE LOW COUNTRIES\*

Academic education in the territory of the seventeen Burgundian Low Countries in the late Middle Ages, which had its beginnings here in 1425, was the monopoly of Leuven for nearly a century and a half. The majority of the young boys who aspired to such an education began it here in Leuven. While some of the families in the north-eastern part of the territory, from Groningen to the Duchy of Gelre, preferred to send their sons to one of the German universities, especially to Cologne, these students not infrequently left their first university after a while to travel to Leuven. The Dutch arch-humanist Rudolf Agricola from Groningen (1444-1485) began his studies at Erfurt in 1456, but concluded them with an Arts degree in Leuven in 1465.<sup>1</sup> After the spread of the Lutheran Reformation, the university of Wittenberg was also an attractive choice. The student Steven van Rhemen went from Deventer to Wittenberg, but he too decided to continue his studies in Leuven. Soon, however, he was expelled from Leuven, possibly for being a former disciple of Melanchthon. If this is what happened, he had more luck than another Leuven alumnus, the Spaniard Francisco de Enzinas, who had also stayed with Melanchthon and had been arrested immediately on his return from Wittenberg.<sup>2</sup>

\* For proof-reading, I am greatly indebted to my colleague Dr. Sophie van Romburgh, Leiden.

<sup>1</sup> J.C. Herman Weissenborn, *Acten der Universit t Erfurt* (Halle, 1881), I, 255, for the year 1456: *Rodolfus Husman tm.*; Cf. Marcel A. Nauwelaerts, *Rodolphus Agricola* (The Hague, 1963), pp. 12-22.

<sup>2</sup> For Steven van Rhemen, see Chris L. Heesakkers, 'Das Album Amicorum als Reisebegleiter', in G. Huber-Rebenich – Walther Ludwig (eds), *Fr hneuzeitliche Bildungsreisen im Spiegel lateinischer Texte* (Weimar – Jena: Hain Verlag, 2007), pp. 137-168; for Enzinas' imprisonment and escape, see *Franciscus Enzinas Burgensis, Historia de statu Belgico deque religione Hispanica*, ed. Fr. Socas (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1991); Dutch translation: *Bericht over de Toestand in de Nederlanden en de Godsdienst bij de Spanjaarden*, by Ton Osinga & Chris Heesakkers, inleiding en aantekeningen Ton Osinga (Hilversum, 2002).



The spread of the Reform in the Low Countries during the reign of Charles V and his wars with France were reasons for Charles's successor Philip II to found a second university in the Francophone part of his Burgundian territory. Students would no longer have to travel to France itself to learn French, the language that was indispensable for the higher positions in the municipal and regional administration. In France, students from the Netherlands usually were members of the *Nationes Germanicae*, in which the influence of the Reformation was rapidly increasing in the 1560s. The president of the *Natio Germanica* in Orléans in the last term of 1566, Obertus Giphanius (1534-1604), convinced the members of the nation to abolish the annual religious ceremonies on Epiphany and to spend the money instead on 'a more illustrious monument', that is, the foundation of a library.<sup>3</sup>

The second university in the Low Countries opened its doors in Douai in 1562. But it did not immediately prevent students from going to France. They did go from Leuven to Douai, but from there readily continued to Paris. In the same period Calvinism gained more influence in the Southern Netherlands, in particular among merchants and the lower nobility. At the same time, the decrees of the Council of Trent were published and the government took measures to suppress the progress of Protestantism. The economic crisis which raised the prices of corn and food fuelled widespread dissatisfaction. It exploded in the so-called *Hongerjaar*, the year of famine of 1566, and religious disturbances led to a wave of iconoclastic riots. Resistance against the government soon rose to civil disobedience and, after the arrival of the Duke of Alva and the execution of the Counts Egmont and Horne, to the so-called Dutch Revolt. After a series of failures, its leader Prince William of Orange, officially Philip II's representative in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, succeeded in expelling the Spanish troops from his territory in 1574, after they had in vain tried to force the town of Leiden to surrender in two successive sieges.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Alva had returned to Spain. The Prince of Orange, who had joined the Calvinist church, was in fact the region's independent governor, together with the deputies of the nobility and the

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chris L. Heesakkers, 'Nederlandse studenten stichten een bibliotheek in Frankrijk', in *Boek, bibliotheek en geesteswetenschappen. Opstellen door vrienden en collega's van dr. C. Reedijk geschreven*, ed. W.R.H. Koops e.a. (Hilversum, 1986), pp. 137-150 (p. 142, n. 12).

province's principal towns in the States of Holland. Since Calvinism was the denomination of the ruling minority, it was obvious that the academic education that prepared young boys for positions in the church and the administration could no longer be left to the care of the orthodox universities of Leuven and Douai. Consequently, the Prince advised the States of Holland and Zeeland to consider founding their own university. The States appointed a committee of three members to prepare a decision and a proposal for its location. The Committee, presided over by the former triumphant commander of the Leiden defense, the Latin poet Janus Dousa (1545-1604), advised on the foundation of a university in the town of Leiden and prepared an opening ceremony for the eighth of February 1575, barely six weeks after the proposal had been discussed by the States.

An engraving of the procession to the lecture hall on the *dies natalis* reveals the religious and humanist ideology behind the foundation. A chariot leads, carrying the female figure *Sacra Scriptura*, accompanied by the four Evangelists, to indicate what kind of theology will be taught. Other disciplines are represented by allegorical and historical figures on horseback, such as *Medicina* with Hippocrates and Galenus. The Arts are represented by Minerva with Aristotle, Cicero and Virgil. They are followed by officials and the professors or persons invited to give a lecture. There are also musicians, but there are no students. A ship in the canal in front of the building for the lectures is carrying Apollo and the Muses.

When the parade arrives, they have a dialogue in Latin verses. It is not difficult to guess their author. We find these verses in Dousa's *Nova poemata*, published several weeks later: *In nova academia nostra Lugdunensi excusum*. This booklet contains another poetic declaration of more than five hundred lines about the university's ideal profile under the patronage of Apollo and Minerva. The message of the two declarations is obvious. The new university wishes to present itself as a humanistic university, with much emphasis on the worship of Minerva, Apollo and the Muses, on erudition, eloquence and poetry, and with a theology based on a philological reading of the Holy Writ. The statements are certainly not devoid of self-confidence, perhaps even over-confidence and arrogance. Thanks to this programme, so the poet prophesies, Leiden will outstrip Leuven and Douai: 'Let Leuven cede to Leiden, and with Leuven, her Douai too' ('Cedat Lovanium ipsa Luguduno / Et cum Lovanio sua Duacum'). Leuven seems to lag as far behind Leiden as the river Rhine

in Leiden surpasses the Dijle in Leuven: 'Quantum Delo amni Rhenus praestare videtur, / Tantum Leida tibi cedere Lovanium'.<sup>4</sup>

This development, however, was easier to prophesy than to put into effect. To begin with, many of those who were expected to do so, the administrators and the first professors, had acquired their ideas of what a university should be during their own academic education and experience in Leuven. This holds for Dousa, for Leiden's first Rector Magnificus, Petreius Tiara (1514-1586), who had not only studied, but also taught at Leuven, for Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575), Petrus Forestus (1521-1597) and various others. Several of the important administrative innovations in the young university, such as the registration of the students, the records of the *Acta Senatus*, and the printed *Series Lectionum*, were introduced by the Rector Magnificus who was a *Lovaniensis* heart and soul throughout his European career, Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). While appointed *professor Historiarum et Iuris*, Lipsius also taught a form of practical eloquence in a course on epistolography, and in a *collegium oratorium*, where students were trained to deliver speeches.<sup>5</sup> When in the end Leiden did develop into a university with a unique status, this was not so much for ideological reasons as for political circumstances, and the determination of the trustees, in particular its president, to invest in outstanding scholars, such as Lipsius, Josephus Scaliger (1540-1609) and Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538-1614), each of whom owed their move to Leiden almost exclusively to Dousa.

<sup>4</sup> *Iani Duzae Nordovicis Nova poemata. Quorum Catalogum altera ab hac pagina indicabit. Item Hadriani Iuni Carminum Lugdunensium Sylva* (In nova academia nostra Lugdunensi excusum: Impensis Ioannis Hauteni, 1575). The poems for the inauguration day on fol. M v-r – vij-r: 'Epigrammatum extemporalium sylva, ad Lugdunum nostram (*sic*) pertinens, et scriptorum quorundam in omni disciplinarum genere Elogia continens, eorum praesertim, quorum personae adscriptis nominibus VI. Id. Februar. qui primus Academiae institutae dies fuit, ab Ioanne Hauteno, eidem urbi a Secretis, in forum productae, Populoque repraesentatae fuerunt'. Dousa's poem to his colleagues of the committee of the States, Gerardus Amelisz. Van Hoogheveen, pensionary of Leiden, and Cornelius Coninck, mayor of Delft, who were henceforth called *Curatores* and were responsible, together with the four mayors of Leiden, for the administration of the university, on fol. P iij-r – Q iv-r: 'Carmen hendecasyllabis addendum, in gratiam novae atque ab Aurasino Principe recens constitutae Lugduni Batavorum Academiae conscriptum. Ad Cornelium Regium, et Gerardum Hoghevaenium Aemilij F. Collegas, unaque secum Decreto Publico Academiae eidem inaugurandae Curatores delegatos'. The quotes 'Cedat...Duacum' on fol. P vij-v, and 'Quantum...Lovanium' on M vij-r.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Chris L. Heesakkers, 'An Lipsio licuit et Cunaeo quod mihi non licet? Petrus Praeficius and Oratorical Delivery in the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre', in G. Tournoy – D. Sacré (eds.), *Ut granum sinapis. Essays on Neo-Latin literature in Honour of Jozef IJsewijn* (Leuven, 1997), pp. 325-251 (pp. 325-327).

Some of these Leuven alumni were familiar with the teaching of the latinist Cornelius Valerius (1512-1578) of the *Collegium Trilingue* and may still have known his predecessor Petrus Nannius (1500-1557), who was commemorated by Valerius in an *Oratio funebris* at his death in 1557. Nannius himself had done the same for his predecessor, Conradus Goclenius (c. 1489-1539). Nannius' oration, which has been characterized as 'pedestrian and uninformative', was published in 1542; Valerius' text, on the other hand, has survived in the archives to be published as late as 1955 by Henri de Vocht.<sup>6</sup> Both Nannius and Valerius were from Holland, Valerius from a village near Leiden. It is in the university of Leiden that this specific sub-type of rhetorical praxis found a seedbed, giving rise to a tradition of funeral oratory that was eagerly adopted by the other universities that were successively founded in the northern provinces. Together they would produce an ample corpus of Neo-Latin literature, which has practically no precedent in classical literature.

True, both Nannius and Valerius had referred to Pericles when they mounted the platform. The invention of Athens, *L'invention d'Athènes*, has left a handful of funeral orations after the manner of Pericles, but these were not occasioned by an individual citizen's burial; instead they honoured the collectivity of the soldiers, who had fallen in the wars of the preceding year.<sup>7</sup> From the Romans, to whom the Greek author Dionysius of Halicarnassus explicitly ascribed the invention of the funeral oration, 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχαίων εὔρημα, no substantial funeral oratory has survived, apart from three remnants mourning the death of three women. For full scale individual obituaries we have to wait for the Church Fathers, the Cappadocians Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, and the Latins Ambrose and Jerome. Jerome does refer to Pericles, among other Greeks, and to the Romans in his *Epitaphium Nepotiani*, but mainly to emphasize the difference between ancient and Christian views on mortal

<sup>6</sup> *Oratio funebris de obitu D. Petri Nannij, habita in Collegio Trilingui a Cor. Valerio die 25 Junij An. 1557* as 'Nannius' funeral oration by Auwater, June 25, 1557', in H. de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*, 4 vols (Leuven, 1955), IV, 454-472. Petrus Nannius, *Funebris oratio habita pro mortuo Conrado Goclenio* (Leuven, 1542). The characterization of this oration is by L. Tournoy-Thoen, 'Conradus Goclenius', in *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, edd. P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher, 3 vols (Toronto - Buffalo - London, 1985-1987), II, 109-111 (p. 111): 'His successor, Petrus Nannius, delivered a funeral oration which is pedestrian and uninformative'.

<sup>7</sup> Nicole Loraux, *L'invention d'Athènes. Histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la "cité classique"* (The Hague, 1981).

life.<sup>8</sup> The pursuit of heroic military virtue and fame has given way to the Christian virtues of piety and humility, and the theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Charity. In the Byzantine Empire the funeral oration survived, but in western Europe it developed into the medieval sermon and became the monopoly of the clergy.

Therefore, the Renaissance revival of Latin funeral oratory with Pier Paolo Vergerio (1370-1444) and Leonardo Bruni Aretino (1369-1444) is more innovative than one might think. They had the example of Pericles, to which Bruni explicitly refers, they had their rhetorical manuals, but they did not have ancient Latin models. Stimulated by intensified contacts with Byzantine culture around the year 1400, the genre rapidly expanded in Italy and crossed the Alps with the Council of Constanz (1414-1418).<sup>9</sup> At the end of the fifteenth century it had arrived in the province of Holland. In October 1490 Erasmus of Rotterdam composed his *Oratio funebris* for the widow Berta de Heyen, together with two *epitaphia* in verse. Erasmus excuses himself for his tardiness in sending the text, for grief has bereft him of speech and paralyzed him. Then he continues: 'I am following the ancients' custom, according to which sons used to give mournful speeches at their parents' funeral'. His direct example, however, was Jerome's *Vita Nepotiani*. Erasmus quotes the passage where Jerome mentions Pericles (the Leiden edition has the misprint *Paris*) and repeats the series of Roman orators enumerated in Jerome's letter. Although biblical quotes prevail, names from Antiquity are numerous and Virgil is quoted three times.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Dion. Halic. 5, 17, 3: 'Ρωμαίων ἀρχαῖον εὖρημα ... καὶ οὐχ Ἑλλήνες αὐτὸ κατεστήσαντο πρῶτοι, in connection with the speech of Valerius Publicola at the burial of Lucius Junius Brutus, 509 BCE. See, in general, Horst Schmidt-Grave, *Leichenreden und Leichenpredigten Tübinger Professoren (1550-1750). Untersuchungen zur biographischen Geschichtsschreibung in der frühen Neuzeit*, Contubernium, 5 (Tübingen, 1974); W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio Funebris: Interpretationen und Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der römischen Leichenrede* (Meisenheim am Glan, 1980). For Gregory of Nazianzus, cf. X. Hürth, *De Gregorii Nazianzeni orationibus funebribus* (Strasbourg, 1907); for St Ambrose, cf. M. Biermann, *Die Leichenreden des Ambrosius von Mailand* (Stuttgart, 1995); for Jerome, cf. *Epist.*, 60; *Epitaphium Nepotiani*, 75; *De morte Lucini*, 77; *De morte Fabiolae*, 108; *Epitaphium sanctae Paulae*; the reference to Pericles in *Epist.*, 60, 6.

<sup>9</sup> J.M. McManamon, S.J., *Funeral Oratory and the Cultural Ideals of Italian Humanism* (Chapel Hill - London, 1989). For Vergerio's importance in this field, Id., 'Innovation in Early Humanist Rhetoric: The Oratory of Pier Paolo Vergerio the Elder', *Rinascimento*, N.S. 22 (1982), 3-32.

<sup>10</sup> Erasmus, *Oratio funebris in funere Bertae de Heyen*, in his *Opera* (Leiden, 1706), VIII, 551-560. The quote is found in 553C: 'Veterum consecrans consuetudinem, qua liberi ad parentum funera in concione pro rostris lugubres olim orationes habere

Erasmus' death during the night of 11 July 1536 occasioned an *Oratio funebris* by the physician Guillaume de Lille, Insulanus Menapius, in Aix-la-Chapelle/Aachen, at the request of the municipal administration. Furthermore, a stream of epitaphia was published. The Leuven printer Rutgerus Rescius († 1545) produced a booklet with poetry from seven humanists, among them Goclenius and Nannius, the latter contributing eleven poems.<sup>11</sup>

One of Nannius' compatriots and correspondents was Hadrianus Junius, already mentioned as having been appointed professor at Leiden and hailed by Dousa as the *alter Erasmus*. This same great scholar died in distant Zeeland before academic life in Leiden had actually got under way. There were no students yet and the appointed professors had probably not yet arrived either. So there was no academic community to gather for any commemoration of the deceased professor, let alone an audience for an oration. Yet the president of the trustees, Janus Dousa, who had inserted a *Carminum Lugdunensium Sylva* by Junius in his recently published *Nova poemata*, did not let the event pass unnoticed. He composed a cycle of *Epitaphia et Querelae aliquot in obitum Hadriani Iunii*, which he published in the ensuing second edition of his *Nova Poemata*, under the heading *Manes Iuniani*. The longest poem is a *Prosopopoea defuncti*, which repeats the qualification of Junius as *alter Erasmus*, and contains a kind of poetic bibliographical overview that would easily fit in a funeral oration. Dousa's epitaphs are followed by two elegies, one by the first Rector Magnificus Petreius Tiara, and a tomb-inscription by Junius' son.<sup>12</sup>

consuerunt'; the translation is by Brad Inwood *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 29 (Toronto, 1989), p. 19. For the relation with Jerome, *Epist.*, 60, 5, cf. 553D, 558C-D. For the date, cf. Harry Vredeveld, *Collected Works of Erasmus*, 86 (Toronto, 1993), pp. 687-688.

<sup>11</sup> *Oratio funebris in obitum D. Erasmi Roterodami, Autore Gulielmo Insulano Menapio* (Augustae, 1536 and [Cologne], 1536); cf. *British Library Catalogue of Printed Books. Photolithographic edition to 1955*, CXI (London 1962), col. 782; Erasmus, *Opera* (Leiden, 1706), X, 1849-1859. Other funeral poems *ibid.*, I, fol. \*\*\* \*\* \*r – \*\*\* \*\* \*v. Nannius' poems were part of *D[esiderii] Erasmi Roterodami Epitaphia, per Clarissimos aliquot viros conscripta* (Lovanijs ex officina Rutgeri Rescii. Men[se] Mart[i]o 1537), and reprinted in A. Polet, *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge: Petrus Nannius 1500-1557* (Leuven, 1936), pp. 78-82. For the anonymously published satire of Ortensio Lando, *In Desiderii] Erasmi Roterodami funus, Dialogus lepidissimus* (Basel, 1540), see below n. 15.

<sup>12</sup> Janus Dousa, *Novorum poematum secunda Lugdunensis editio*... (Impressum in Nova Lugduni Batavorum Academia, Anno MDLXXVI), fol. Cc j-r – Ddij-v. For Junius' correspondence with Nannius, see *Hadr. Junii Epistolae, Quibus accedit Ejusdem Vita & Oratio De Artium liberalium dignitate* (Dordrecht: Apud Vincentium Caimax, Bibliopolam, MDLII) [read MDCLII, 1652], index, s.v. 'Petro Nannio'. Polet, *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge*, pp. 348-350, mentions no letters from or to Junius.

The university records mention fifteen professors besides Junius for the year of its founding, 1575. However, several discipline representatives at the opening ceremony simply left the university on the next day. Others left Leiden after a few years, and one was dismissed for serious misbehaviour.<sup>13</sup> The exceptions to this pattern were the physician Gerardus Bontius (1536-1599) and the jurist Cornelius Grotius (1544/6-1610), who stayed in Leiden to die in harness thirty-five years later. This circumstance explains why there were no further burials until Christmas 1586, when the professor of Theology, Johannes Holmannus Secundus (1523-1586), whose appointment had been recommended by Lipsius four years earlier, died. The records do not mention any academic participation in the burial ceremonies. This illustrates the patchy character of that source. In this case the records can be supplemented thanks to a book of engravings and short biographies of the professors of the first four decades of the university. This book contains a portrait and a succinct biography of Holmannus, which seems to have been inserted at the last moment, for it interrupts the running page numbering. The biography informs us that, once again, it was the president of the trustees, Dousa, to immortalize the deceased, who had not published any significant work himself. Dousa wrote an extensive *Elegia* for Holmannus, to be affixed to his tomb in the Church of St. Peter. Dousa may have had a special motive for doing so for his *amicus intimus*, as he called him: Dousa had recently become the first university librarian, and Holmannus had bequeathed his books to the university library. The biography tells us, moreover, that a *docta et magnifica Oratio funebris* had been delivered by Cornelius Grotius. Unfortunately, in its biography of this Grotius, the same book mentions that he was unwilling to publish whatever he had written. This may explain why Grotius' speech on Holmannus has not survived.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Hermannus Rennecherus, professor of Hebrew 1575-1578. Cf. P.A.M. Geurts, 'Herman Reneker: moeilijkheden rond een van de eerste Leidse hoogleraren', *Lias*, 2 (1975), 55-70.

<sup>14</sup> See *Illustrium Hollandiae et Westfrisiae Ordinum Alma Academia Leidensis* (Leiden: I. Marci – I. a Colster, 1614), pp. 16-[16]\*\*\*\*\*. The article, eight pages long, seems to have been inserted afterwards following the portrait on p. 16; see in particular p. [16]\*\*\*: '... vitam transegit ... usque ad annum MDLXXXVI. Tunc lethali febre oborta moritur secundo die festi Natalitii Salvatoris nostri ... Exequias Holmanni docta et magnifica funebri oratione decoravit Cornelius Grotius Iuris Professor Ordinarius'; p. [16] follows: 'Dousa ... maestus amico intimo Joanni Holmanno Secundo, Theologiae Professori Clarissimo, in perpetuam posteritatis memoriam hanc Funebrem Elegiam Posuit Leydae in templo Divi Petri'. The poem was copied from the tombstone by Gotfridus Hegenitius, *Itinerarium Frisio-Hollandicum* (Leiden, 1630), pp. 116-122, where the subscription tells



The earliest example of funerary oratory printed in Leiden was a collection of eleven obituaries of a very peculiar type. It was added to a book of Dousa's oldest son Janus Dousa Filius (1571-1596) of 1591, but had obviously already been printed with its own title-page the year before: 'Funeral orations on the deaths of some animals, translated from the Italian into French by Claude Pontoux a long time ago, and afterwards translated from the French into Latin by Willem Canter (1542-1575), and never published before'. Willem Canter may have made his translation here in Leuven, where he lived the last years of his short life until his death in 1575. Neither Canter, nor his Leiden editor knew who the Italian author of the orations was. It was in fact Ortensio Lando (c. 1505-c. 1555), who, incidentally, had also written a none too subtle satirical dialogue *In Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami funus*. One may doubt whether the edition of Canter's translations helped Leiden to acquire a taste for funeral oratory, but it certainly had its uses, for eight of them were turned from Canter's prose version into poetical *Ioci Funebres* by a gifted Leiden student, Jacobus Eyndius (1575-1614), and both versions have had reprints.<sup>15</sup>

us that it was written on parchment glued on a panel near the tombstone ('In membrana ligneae tabulae adglutinata'). Part of it was copied by J. Lomeier, *De bibliothecis* (Zutphen, 1669), pp. 252-254 [2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Utrecht, 1680), pp. 296-297]; cf. also Johannes W. Montgomery, *A Seventeenth-Century View of European Libraries. Lomeier's De bibliothecis. Chapter X*, University of California Publications in Librarianship, 3 (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 39-41. Cf. also E. Hulshof Poll, 'What about the library? Travellers' comments on the Leiden Library in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries', *Quaerendo*, 5 (1975), 166-178. According to the article on Grotius in *Illustrium Hollandiae...*, p. 30, he never published his writings. Cf. also M. Ahsmann – R. Feenstra, *Bibliografie van hoogleraren in de rechten aan de Leidse universiteit tot 1811* (Amsterdam – Oxford – New York, 1984), p. 103: 'Wij hebben geen gedrukte geschriften van hem gevonden'.

<sup>15</sup> *Dousae Filii Rerum Caelestium liber primus. In laudem Umbrae Declamatio et carmen, una cum aliquot Poëmatiis, Quorum seriem sequens pagina indicabit. Quibus additae sunt Orationes funebres In obitu aliquot animalium, interprete Gulielmo Cantero, nunquam antehac editae* (Leiden, 1591); the new title of the second part is *Orationes funebres in obitu aliquot animalium. olim ex Italicis Gallicae per Claud. Pontosum, postea e Gallicis Latine factae per Gulielmum Canterum, et nunc primum editae. Quorum Indicem vide pagina sequenti* (Leiden, 1590); it has its own pagination and quire-signatures. For the original author and the further use of the orations by the poet Eyndius, cf. Chris L. Heesakkers, 'From Italian Prose to Latin Poetry: Jacob Eyndius' *Ioci Funebres*', in Rudolf De Smet (ed.), *La satire humaniste. Actes du Colloque international des 31 mars, 1er et 2 avril 1993* ([Leuven]: Peeters Press, 1994), pp. 189-222. For a lucid analysis of Lando's complex dialogue *In Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami funus*, see Bruce Mansfield, *Phoenix of his Age. Interpretations of Erasmus c. 1550-1750* (Toronto – London, 1979), pp. 103-105. The pamphlet was confiscated in Basel and replied to at the instigation of the town and the university by Johannes Herold, *Philopseudes, sive pro Desiderio Erasmo V.C. contra dialogum famosum anonymi cuiusdam declamatio* (Basel, 1542).

Dousa Filius, who had been a faithful participant in Lipsius' *collegium oratorium* and had succeeded his father as university librarian, had subsequently edited, in 1594, a funeral oration of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) on a son who had died in childhood. Two years later, Dousa Filius himself died. His father wrote his highly emotional *Manes Dousiani* on him, and Josephus Scaliger his warmest *Epicedium* on his favourite pupil.<sup>16</sup> Dousa Filius was buried in The Hague, where the family lived since a few years. Nothing is known about a commemorative celebration in Leiden. Nevertheless, Dousa Filius was the first faculty member of the university who was commemorated with a funeral oration, which was also published, albeit under the title *Declamatio* instead of *Oratio*. It was the Altdorf professor Christophorus Colerus († 1604) who, in his university, delivered his 'Declamation on the untimely death, bewailed by all the learned, of Janus Dousa Filius'. It was published in Nuremberg in 1597 and soon sent to Leiden. Dousa Pater gratefully referred to it in a poem five years later.<sup>17</sup>

The custom of funeral orations seems to have been generally adopted in Leiden towards the end of the sixteenth century. The publisher and professor of Hebrew Franciscus Raphelengius (1539-1597) was honoured, according to the records, with two funeral orations on two successive days. Unfortunately, they have not survived. The orators were not professors, but probably students. One of them is difficult to identify, since only his father's Christian name and profession are mentioned. The other was the student of theology Festus Hommius (1576-1642), who also wrote and published a *Naenia* on a student who had died two weeks

<sup>16</sup> Janus Dousa, *Echo, sive lusus imaginis iocosae quibus Titulus Halcedonia. Alia quaedam* (The Hague, 1603), fol. 101v-105v: 'Funerium Liber Primus. Cui Titulus Manes Dousiani'; cf. also fol. 111v-112r 'Ad seipsum'; Josephus Justus Scaliger, *Epicedium in obitum Jani Dousae F[ilii]* (Franeker, 1598). Dousa Filius was appointed librarian on 11 July 1593, see P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidse Universiteit*, 1 (The Hague, 1913), p. 76. For his relationship with Scaliger, cf. Chris L. Heesakkers, 'Scaliger en de Dousa's', in *Adelaar in de wolken. De Leidse jaren van Josephus Justus Scaliger 1593-1609. Catalogus bij een tentoonstelling in de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, 30 juni – 28 augustus 2005*, ed. P.G. Hoftijzer (Leiden, 2005), pp. 36-57.

<sup>17</sup> Chr. Colerus, *Declamatio In obitum praematurum, et omnibus doctis lugendum, Iani Dousae F[ilii]* (Nuremberg, 1597). Cf. Dousa, *Echo*, fol. 67r, where Dousa's poem mentions 'Lessusque Coleri' and explains in *margin*: 'Ad disertissimam illam Coleri Declamationem hoc omne referendum, quam idem in obitum I[ani] Dousae F[ilii] ante quinquennium publice Aldorffii in celeberrima Norinbergensium Academia habitam, typis ibidem divulgari curavit'.

before Raphelengius died. Hommius would later return to Leiden and be commemorated with a funeral oration.<sup>18</sup>

The final sixteenth-century reference in the records which regards our subject mentions an oration delivered by the theologian Franciscus Junius (1545-1602), at the death of the sitting Rector Magnificus, the professor of Medicine Gerardus Bontius (1536-1599). Junius' oration has not been published, but the text survived in a manuscript, which remained unknown until a few years ago.<sup>19</sup> The manuscript is a carelessly written copy, obviously made by someone who had problems with the Greek quotes. Since it is the first specimen of a Leiden academic funeral oration we have, and the only one of the sixteenth century, it may be relevant to dwell for a few minutes upon its structure and contents.

The heading of the oration gives the names and the date, as will become usual, but not the room where it was delivered. The addressed audience implies the entire academic community, from the *Curatores* to the youngest students. Junius called it a *florentissima corona*, and a *frequentissimus consensus*. No representatives of the town are mentioned. The *Exordium* contains two parts. Just like Erasmus, Junius first refers to antiquity to justify his action, and points to its threefold aim of consolation, testimony and example. The ancients, Junius observes, rightly spoke of *Laudatio*, and therefore he is going to speak about virtues, not vices. Then follows his *captatio benevolentiae*. He considers himself not very competent, but has been charged by the academic Senate to give the oration, and he hopes for the audience's benevolence. After this introduction, he announces the topics of his speech, which will regard Bontius' origin,

<sup>18</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1, 99 (26-7-1597): 'Franciscus Raphelengius Professor linguae Hebraeae diem suum obiit. Oratio funebris habita eo ipso die a filio Solomonis Geometrae. <footnote: 'Salomon van Dulmanhorst'> Postridie die altera a Festo Hummio, Frisio'. The Solomon Geometra is probably the land-surveyor Solomon van Dulmenhorst. The records mention a ground plan of the future botanical garden he made (Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1, 202\*, 8 June 1592). Hommius published a *Naenia in obitum Abr. Nolthenii summae spei, ac frugis optimae Iuvenis... qui VI. Idus Iulij 1597 miserè aquis submersus cum ingenti moerore diem suum obiit* (Leiden, 1597). Hommius' name appears underneath the poem. For Nolthenius, cf. W. du Rieu (ed.), *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae* (The Hague, 1875), col. 43 (9 August 1595): 'Abrahamus Nolthenius Schaganus T[heologiae] C[ollegii] al[umnus]'. Hommius was appointed prefect of the States College, a college founded by the States of Holland, after the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619. Joannes Polyander a Kerckhove delivered the *Oratio funebris in obitum Festi Hommii... recitata in Academiae Leidensis Auditorio theologico* (Leiden, 1642) (10 July 1642). It was also translated into Dutch.

<sup>19</sup> The manuscript is held in the Provincial Library of Friesland [now: Tresoar], Collection Gabbema 9056 Hs. MM.

*ortus*, his studies, and his private and public active life, *Administratio privata* and *publica*. The whole will be concluded with an epilogue, *exodium*.

All this sounds rather traditional and in accordance with the rules prescribed by classical rhetoric for the epideictic laudatory oration. Yet there are two surprising passages about Christian life in Italy. The first regards Bontius' studies. Bontius is presented as a pious and serious pupil at the Latin School. In keeping with this piety, he combined his medical study in Leuven, under the famous Nicolaus Biesius (1516-1573), with philosophy. After four years he travelled to Italy. Here Junius adds a significant qualification of that country: 'Italy, pregnant with talents and mother of studies, yet — alas! — source of impiety, mistress of evils, seductress of morals, and temptress of passion and all corruption'.<sup>20</sup>

This seemingly casual remark anticipates Junius' peroration, where a second remarkable passage on Italy is found. Mentioning Bontius' studies in Padua and Ferrara, where he earned his doctor's degree, and his subsequent stay in Italy of one more year, Junius proceeds with the remark that Bontius was so 'disgusted at the evils he had seen in Italy [...] that with God's guidance he returned from that impious soil to this more benign and natural soil'.<sup>21</sup> Back in Holland, Bontius settled in Leiden, where he devoted himself to his family, his patients, in particular during the calamitous Spanish siege of the town, and subsequently to his teaching at the new university. At this point, Junius cannot refrain from alluding to some unfavourable features of Bontius, by adding that his indulgence towards his children was the natural vice of all parents, and that his love of peace was considered by some people as a weakness. With a reference to Sallust's famous saying that one ought rather to keep silent than speak too little about great events or achievements<sup>22</sup>, Junius omits Bontius' merits for the university and states summarily that Bontius lived his life as befits a good man.

But Junius was a theologian and a minister, and was aware that a Christian's way of life is decisive for his salvation. Actually, half of his oration is devoted to Bontius' 'Exodus and departure from this life', *exodum atque excessum huius vitae*. Obviously, there were rumours unfavourable for

<sup>20</sup> Junius, *Oratio*, p. 4: 'Italiam ingeniorum feracem et studiorum matrem, sed pro dolor! impietatis caput, malorum magistram, morum corruptricem, voluptatis et omnis corruptionis illecebram...'

<sup>21</sup> Junius, *Oratio*, p. 4: 'pertaesus et malorum, quae in Italia viderat... et Deo duce ex impio illo solo ad hoc benignius et naturale suum reuersus est'.

<sup>22</sup> Sall., *Jug.*, 19, 2: 'Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere'.

Bontius' reputation which had to be contradicted. Junius states that a pious decess depends on man's preparation for it by meditation, in accordance with Plato's saying that philosophy is nothing but *meditatio mortis*, meditation on death. Bontius had practised such a philosophical life at the Latin School, and his zeal had hardly faded at Leuven, notwithstanding his studies and political turmoil, tyranny and persecutions. In Italy, that ocean of impiety, Bontius' studies had left no room for meditation, all the more so, in that no kind of piety was to be found there due to the Popes' increased hypocrisy and tyranny: arrogance had fatally infected air and soil. Bontius' mind, already faded, became chilled, and they saw him abstain from his zeal, just as — so Junius adds — we have done ourselves. But Christ's grace had helped them to overcome, even if Bontius had not immediately discarded what he had brought from Italy. This observation inspires Junius to an extensive and vehement diatribe against the announcement of the prospective Holy Year, a Jewish and anti-Christian institution of Pope Boniface VIII, 'that fire raiser in the Christian world and most powerful monster among people'. And Junius cites the Pasquinade distich of a (not yet identified) countryman: 'No man ever was spiritually better on his way back from Rome than he had been on his way to it, nor a horse physically better on its way from Italy than it had been on its way towards it'.<sup>23</sup> At Leiden, Bontius returned to philosophy, reading Ficino, among others, and found stability in God, Christ and the Gospel, as his colleague Grotius and Junius himself could testify. In his mind's eye, Junius saw Bontius transferring his rectoral power to the Prorector Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641), recommending himself to God in all tranquillity and testifying to his contrition and his faith. There was reason to thank God, who had received him in his house, and to follow Bontius' example.

Two more remarks can be made on Junius' oration. Firstly, when one reads between the lines, one can hardly fail to get the impression that Junius had to solve the problem of how to compose an edifying Calvinistic speech on a not so edifying Calvinist life. And secondly, Junius' violent outburst against Italy and Roman Catholicism is rather surprising for a minister who had published the irenical work *Le Paisible Chrestien* six years before.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> 'Non vir Romae aditu melior, meliorve caballus | Italiae in cursu corpore, mente redit'.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. C. de Jonge, *De irenische ecclesiologie van Franciscus Junius (1545-1602): onderzoek naar de plaats van het geschrift 'Le Paisible Chrestien (1593)' in zijn theologisch denken* (Leiden: diss. Doct., 1980) [also published in the series *Bibliotheca humanistica et reformatrica*, 30 (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1980)].

Junius also started the tradition of publishing funeral orations in 1602. Soon after he had delivered his oration on his *collega proximus* Lucas Trelcatius (1542-1602) and made it ready for the press, he died himself. The speech at his burial, by Franciscus Gomarus, was the second Leiden *oratio funebris* published. In this first decade of the seventeenth century the university lost two more theologians, one of them Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), the father of the Remonstrant Church. Arminius had been involved in a vehement theological polemic about the doctrine of predestination with his colleague Franciscus Gomarus. The academic Senate was aware of the delicate situation, for it expressly decreed 'that he who delivers the funeral oration on the death of Jacobus Arminius will not mix in anything that could imply slander on some colleague'. Despite this precaution, the oration, delivered by Petrus Bertius (1565-1629), and soon followed by a Dutch translation, ignited a most furious controversy, an ominous prologue to the tragic political and ecclesiastical events of the next decade.<sup>25</sup> In the first decade of the seventeenth century, the university moreover had to mourn the loss of two bright lights that had filled the space left by Lipsius sixteen years before, Carolus Clusius (1526-1609) and Josephus Scaliger.

Finally, the academy also had to bid farewell to its great pioneer, Janus Dousa. The ceremony was held with appropriate dignity. The academic Senate decreed that the university be closed for a whole week, that the complete faculty should attend the funeral in full regalia in The Hague, that Petrus Bertius should deliver a funeral oration and Daniel Heinsius (1585-1655) write something in honour of the deceased. Bertius' oration was published within three months at the university's expense.<sup>26</sup> Heinsius wrote an extensive *Laudatio*, which also has the characteristics of a funeral oration. In his preface Heinsius suggests that he had been the Senate's first choice, but had refused for fear of jealousy, because he was not

<sup>25</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1, 182 (19-10-1609): 'Decretum est ut qui orationem funebrem esset habiturus in obitum D. Iacobi Arminii nihil ei misceret quod ad alicuius collegae contumeliam pertineat'. The oration: *Petrus Bertius, Oratio funebris in obitum Jacobi Arminii theologiae professoris* (Leiden, 1609). For the polemics that followed, see Chris L. Heesakkers, 'De mortuis non nisi bene? The Leiden Neo-Latin Funeral Oration', in R. Schnur e.a. (eds), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Neo-Latin Studies, Copenhagen 12 August to 17 August 1991, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, 120 (Binghamton, 1994), pp. 219-229 (p. 226).

<sup>26</sup> Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, 1, 154; Petrus Bertius, *Oratio* (Leiden, 1604); for a recent edition with Dutch translation, see Chris L. Heesakkers – W.G. Heesakkers-Kamerbeek, *Een welbested leven en een vroom verscheiden. Petrus Bertius, Lijkrede op Janus Dousa (1604)* (Amersfoort: Florivalis, 2004).

elderly or learned enough. The Senate had consented, but refused to release him from the obligation to write something. Heinsius' *Laudatio* suggests that it was delivered in the week the classrooms were silent. Heinsius published it in 1605, together with his *Manes Dousici*, almost six hundred lines of poetry, twenty-six of them in Greek, and with Scaliger's *Epicedium* on the deceased, and eight poems by Dousa's youngest son Diedericus and three others.<sup>27</sup>

A third literary monument for Dousa is unique in that it was erected outside his fatherland. In 1597, the university of Altdorf had commemorated Dousa Filius with an *Oratio funebris*. Eight years later, in 1605, the same university published an *Apotheosis Iani Dousae Patris*. The publication was organized by Conradus Rittershusius (1560-1636), who had also contributed a poem to Colerus' oration on Dousa Filius in 1597. Rittershusius gathered forty-six poems written by twenty-five Altdorf colleagues and others, and he dedicated the book to fifty-one *Amici et Necessarii Dousaei in Belgio*, from the principal Dutch statesman Johan van Oldenbarneveldt and the scholars Scaliger and Lipsius to Dousa's sons Stephanus and Franciscus. Such foreign homage to a scholar is rather exceptional, even if it would have caused little surprise to Dousa himself, who, when still alive, had already received a similar, yet more modest homage from Heidelberg in 1587.<sup>28</sup>

I hope that these few remarks about the oldest Leiden specimens of funeral oratory and funeral poetry, to which we should add the collection of poems on Lipsius' death<sup>29</sup> that went down so badly at Leuven, give you a first impression of the different perspectives on contemporary people, conflicts, events and circumstances they contain. On top of their historical, prosopographic, and literary value, this makes the orations interesting documents as well for the history of ideas and mentality.

After these productive beginnings, the stream of Latin funeral oratory lasted until the first half of the nineteenth century, not only in Leiden, but also at the new universities that were successively founded in the other

<sup>27</sup> Daniel Heinsius, *Laudatio... Iani Dousae... Accedunt ejusdem Manes Dousici, Elegia item Funebris Josephi Scaligeri, et aliorum quaedam* (Leiden, 1605).

<sup>28</sup> Conradus Rittershusius (ed.), *Apotheosis Iani Dousae Patris* (Nuremberg, 1605); J. Posthius, *Encomia Dousana* (Heidelberg, 1587).

<sup>29</sup> *Epicedia in obitum V.C. Justi Lipsi* (Leiden, 1607), pp. 7-16; for its contents, cf. R. Breugelmans, *Fac et Spera. Joannes Maire Publisher, Printer and Bookseller in Leiden 1603-1657* (Leiden, 2003), p. 98.

provinces of the Dutch Republic between 1585 and 1648, that is, Franeker (1585), Groningen (1614), Utrecht (1636), Harderwijk (1648) and the Amsterdam *Athenaeum Illustre* (1632).<sup>30</sup>

A small number of these funeral orations are not for colleagues but for national or international figures. Leiden maintained its relations with the family of its founder, William of Orange, and commemorated his sons Maurits and Frederik Hendrik with funeral orations, which were also translated into French. More surprising is the oration on Admiral Tromp, soon translated into Dutch.

Really spectacular was the commemoration of the death of the most famous Dutch admiral, Michiel de Ruyter, in Amsterdam in 1677. De Ruyter had fallen near Sicily, and it took almost a year for his body to be carried to Amsterdam. So there was plenty of time to prepare a two-day celebration in the so-called New Church. The eighty-year-old Constantijn Huygens, who represented the Prince of Orange, complained that he had had to walk four hours and a half 'sur le cruel pavé d'Amsterdam' in the procession that carried the body to the church. The burial in the church was celebrated with a funeral oration by the professor of theology of the *Athenaeum Illustre*, Ludovicus Wolzogen. The next day there was another ceremony in the same church. It attracted so many people that the commander in charge at the door, who happened to be the outstanding Neo-Latin poet Janus Broukhusius (1649-1707), addressed everybody in Latin and refused entrance to those who did not understand him. The heart of the ceremony was the declamation of an *Epicedium*, running to almost one thousand hexameters, by the young professor of Eloquence, Petrus Francius (1645-1704), who stood in front of the monumental tomb of the deceased admiral.<sup>31</sup> The orator must have been satisfied with his performance, for afterwards he had himself painted in this position in an over-life-size painting, which can still be seen in the former *Athenaeum Illustre*'s auditorium.

<sup>30</sup> Consultation of several university catalogues yields the following provisional numbers of *Orationes funebres*, delivered in these institutes: Leiden 110; Franeker 64; Groningen 27; Utrecht 35; Harderwijk 6; Amsterdam (*Athenaeum Illustre*) 24.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. my publication 'An Lipsio licuit', p. 334; and for the quote from Huygens, P.J. Blok, *Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (The Hague, 1947), p. 429. Francius was honoured with a silver plate of 317 guilders and five stivers on 3 April 1678; cf. Nationaal Archief, The Hague, supplement op het archief van Michiel de Ruyter, toegangsnummer 1.10.72.02, inv. Nr. 14 (a voucher of Bernardus Somer, son-in-law of Michiel de Ruyter). I owe this reference to my former students Ms. Drs. K.M. Delen and Dr. D. van Miert.



The peak of academic funeral oratory for national celebrities was still to come. The stadtholder of Holland, William III, and his wife Mary Stuart, had been proclaimed king and queen of England by Parliament in 1689. Mary died on 7 January 1695. The official interment in London was held on 15 March. The Leiden Senate reserved two days for the commemoration. On the day the queen was buried in London, the professor of Theology Fredericus Spanheim (1632-1701) delivered his *Laudatio funebris*, and the next day the philologist Jacobus Perizonius (1651-1715) did the same 'on the authority of the trustees', *Ex auctoritate academiae curatorum et civitatis consulum*. Both orations were published at the university's expense in a beautiful edition in-folio, but they were also available in an edition in-4o. The university of Utrecht charged the professor of Eloquence Johannes Georgius Graevius (1632-1703) with the delivery of an oration on the day of the burial, which was published in Latin and in a Dutch translation. The *Athenaeum Illustré* of Amsterdam reverted to its famous orator Petrus Francius, who delivered his oration in the Old Church, and he too had it published in Latin and in Dutch. In the same year, the four Latin speeches were published together in Leipzig, and an English translation of them appeared in London.<sup>32</sup>

When Stadtholder King William III died seven years later, history repeated itself. The Leiden trustees decreed 'that the manner of the ceremony should be the same as that in honour of Queen Mary of glorious memory'. They also desired two speakers. These were a theologian, Jacobus Triglandius (1652-1705), on 8 May, and the philologist Jacobus

<sup>32</sup> F. Spanheim, *Laudatio funebris Mariae II M. Britanniae Reginae, Recitata ipso regali exequiarum die*, Id. Mart. (Leiden, 1695); J. Perizonius, *Laudatio funebris Mariae II, Angliae, Franciae, Scotiae, Hiberniaeque reginae. Ex auctoritate academiae curatorum et civitatis consulum dicta* (Leiden, 1695); and for the edition at the university's expense, see Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, IV (1920), 131-132; J.G. Graevius, *Mariae Stuartae serenissimae ac potentissimae magnae Britanniae, Galliae et Hiberniae reginae, auctoritate illustrium ac praepotentium Trajectinae dioeceseos ordinum justa persoluta... in basilica majore; D.V. Martii, quo Londini efferebatur* (Utrecht, 1695); P. Francius, *Oratio In funere Augustissimae ac Potentissimae Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Reginae Mariae etc. etc. Habita Amstelredami In Templo Belgico Veteri, XV. Martii, Ipso Exequiarum Die* (Amsterdam, 1695); *Iusta parentalia quae Magnae Britanniae Reginae Mariae... Spanhemius,... Graevius,... Perizonius,... Francius, orationibus solemniter recitatis persolverunt* (Leipzig, 1695); *A Collection of Funeral Orations pronounc'd by public authority in Holland upon the death of... Mary II* (London, 1695). Other Latin orations on Mary were delivered in Delft (J. Ortwinus, *Laudatio funebris Mariae Stuartae* (Delft, s.a.) and Alkmaar (Nicolaus Vrijburgius, *Pii Manes Mariae II* (Leiden, 1695), held 'In Ampliss[imorum] Procerum consessu Alcmariae pridie Id. Mart. ipsiusque funestarum exequiarum diei celebrati').

Gronovius (1645-1716) on 12 May. Utrecht acted similarly. A theologian, Melchior Leydekker, gave his speech in the university's theological classroom on, or spread over, two days (25 and 27 April), and the aged Graevius did the same, 'on the authority of the States of Utrecht' in the main church of the town (5 May). These four speeches were also published in Leipzig in one volume, which, moreover, contains a French *Oraison funèbre*, held in Leiden by the preacher Auguste de Gabillon (born 1658) on the authority of the town's administration.<sup>33</sup> It is not known whether Amsterdam and Francius remained silent or just did not publish their orations.

After this explosion of 'royal' funerary oratory accompanied by an equal quantity of poetry, the popularity of the genre passed its peak and seems to have gradually decreased. Nevertheless, the harvest of Neo-Latin funerary literature in the Dutch Republic from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is rich and, as far as I can see, unrivalled in contemporary Europe.

To conclude. In February 1982, Jozef IJsewijn sent me offprints of his articles *Annales theatri Belgo-Latini* and *Theatrum Belgo-Latinum*. The second offprint contains an essay about the character, development and function of the Neo-Latin theatre. The first offprint suggested to me that similar *Annales* of the *Oratio funebris Belgo-Latina* might be a useful instrument for further research in that field. However, in my naïveté, I had not realized that, while relatively few Neo-Latin authors were capable of writing school plays, all of the hundreds of them had learned to write orations. So, *si parva licet componere magnis*, I have tried to write the essay first, without much hope of completing *Annales* of the funeral oratory in the Low Countries, despite the ample new facilities for doing the necessary research for it.

Jozef IJsewijn's essay *Theatrum Belgo-Latinum*, and some other publications from his hand include editions of rare or unpublished texts. One of his articles on Lipsius includes the funeral oration by Rolandus Vinchelijs, Roeland van Winkele from Bruges, delivered in Rome in 1592.<sup>34</sup> I hope to follow in IJsewijn's footsteps by adding the as yet

<sup>33</sup> See *Funebres Laudationes, Quibus Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Regi Guiliemmo III Clarissimi Batavi oratores Melchior Leydekkerus, Joan. Georg. Graevius, Jacobus Gronovius, Jacobus Triglandius, Augustus Gabillonius Justa suprema solemniter fecerunt* (Leipzig, 1703). For Leiden, cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen*, IV (1920), 192, 193, 196.

<sup>34</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, 'Annales theatri Belgo-Latini: Inventaris van het Latijns toneel uit de Nederlanden', in M. Veremans (ed.), *Liber Amicorum Prof. G. Degroote* (Brussels,

unpublished Leiden oration of Junius on Bontius — notwithstanding its not exactly ecumenical character — to the printed version of this lecture.

Berlagestraat 19  
 NL-2321 EK Leiden  
 chris.heesakkers@xs4all.nl.

1980), pp. 42-55; Id., 'Theatrum Belgo-Latinum: Het Neolatijns toneel in de Nederlanden', *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren*, 43 (1981/1), 69-114; Id., 'A Correspondent of Lipsius: Roeland van Winkele / Rolandus Vinchelius', in Alois Gerlo (ed.), *Juste Lipse (1547-1606)* (Brussels, 1988), pp. 101-118; pp. 113-118: 'In funere oratoris Veneti Ioannis Mauri Equitis Oratio Rolandi Vinchelii'.

### Appendix:

#### FRANCISCUS JUNIUS' *ORATIO FUNEBRIS* ON THE PROFESSOR OF MEDICINE GERARDUS BONTIUS

17 September 1599, Leeuwarden  
[Tresoar, PBF, MS. 9056 MM (collectie Gabbema)]

Edited and translated by Chris HEESAKKERS and  
Sophie VAN ROMBURGH<sup>35</sup>

#### The manuscript

The text of Junius' funeral oration on Bontius has been preserved in manuscript copy in the collection of the Frisian historian, philologist and meritorious collector of scholarly correspondence and other historical documents, Simon Gabbes Gabbema (1628-1688). There is a printed catalogue of the letters in this ample collection (among them some letters by Junius), but not of the other documents it includes. While the manuscript of Junius' oration has been filed in Gabbema's collection with Junius' autograph letters, its provenance is not known. The text has been written on three folded sheets gathered in a quire of twelve pages before the copy was written on eleven unnumbered pages. The last page is blank.

The manuscript does not straightforwardly connect with Junius. It is not in his hand, as is even apparent from comparison with his neatly written autograph letters in Gabbema's collection. Furthermore, it shows numerous errors, deletions and corrections of initially misspelled words. The Greek in particular seems to have been systematically checked, and corrected in nearly all instances. The corrections, some of them in a darker ink, were made later by the same or a different hand (not Junius'), mostly in superscript and sometimes in the margin. The problems the Greek and Latin words evidently caused suggest that the person writing the text was not a scholar.

<sup>35</sup> We are grateful to Drs Martin Engels, former keeper of manuscripts of the Provincial Library of Friesland, for bringing the oration's manuscript to our attention in December 1995 and providing a xerox of it, and to his successor Dr. Jacob van Sluis for giving us permission to publish the text and consult the Gabbema Collection. We thank Drs Tony Foster of the Leiden English Department for his willingness to proofread the English translation.

But there is more. Stilistically, the text of the oration lacks the cohesion and consistency one would associate with the written composition of a well-designed oration. One cannot honestly accord the text as it is with what Junius can have intended to present to his audience, nor with what he can have meant to offer for publication. For example, repetitions create awkward rhetorical links between sentences, as in '(...) vivunt adhuc ciues quamplurimi testes idonei, qui operam illius *satis* a se laudari non posse arbitrantur. Atque haec quidem ad ortum hominis studiaque *satis*' (our emphasis). Repeatedly, sentence structure is convoluted to an extent that thwarts readerly expectations. This is perhaps nowhere more obvious than in the text's concluding paragraph. There, formal analysis of the sentence

Postremo, cum exemplo quoque illius adeo in hoc loco ab omnibus explorato, opera, labores atque industria summa cum familia ipsius et liberis (Quorum duo iam feliciter vestigia patris sequuntur) ornamenta sint et omnibus documento

yields the undesirable suggestion that not only Bontius' work, efforts and highest industry, but also his family and children may be jewels and a proof to all.

In actual oral delivery, however, such compositional idiosyncracies are not problematic, but instead part and parcel of the flow of speech. A listener follows them effortlessly in turn in the context of their performance. Interpreted as an actual gesture with which Junius turns to the family present at the oration, the phrase 'cum familia ... sequuntur' functions on a par with 'omnibus' in the audience. Similarly, the switches between first and second person plural in the next sentence, conspicuous in writing, run smoothly in a performance setting, and, if anything, evince its vitality:

*Laboremus* obsecro singuli, vt ad vos ipsos cum resipiscentia *vestra*, ad Deum, cum fide certa, ad vitam hanc *nostram*, cum prudentia religiosa et sanctimonia, ad omne officiorum opus cum veritate et iustitia *respiciamus* sollicite... (our emphasis).

In short, where the manuscript is not easy on the eye, it is easy enough to the ear.

Therefore, rather than perceiving the manuscript as a version at several written, corrupted removes from Junius' writing desk, we read the manuscript as one close to the oration's performance in one way or another. Its textual features that are striking in an exclusively written transmission yet fit an oral context have reminded us of contemporary practices

in which text was transcribed after its performance. For instance, in his Panizzi Lecture 'Copied Onely by the Eare', Roger Chartier has drawn attention to the 'memorial reconstruction of plays' in early modern England, France and Spain.<sup>36</sup> Trained spectators would memorize a play and, sometimes helped by shorthand, transcribe it from memory for unauthorized publication, a widespread system that has often resulted in garbled printed texts. Indeed, with respect to oratory, Quintilian, too, in *inst.*, 10, 5, 20-21, recommends students to take an experienced orator for example, listen to his orations, and work out one's memorization of them in imitation and emulation. Without losing ourselves to speculations about the exact circumstances of the realization of the present manuscript, we make a point of acknowledging the dynamics of performance in this text's transmission.

### The edition

The transcription conscientiously follows the manuscript, even in its spelling inconsistencies, such as *u* or *v* for the consonant *v*, or the use of lower case after a full stop. Accents on *u* or other letters have been omitted. Abbreviations are written out between square brackets, but no brackets have been used for '-que' as a complement of '-q;'. Translations of Greek are printed in italics.

The corrections in the manuscript are inserted in the text itself, and the earlier erroneous words or parts of words are mentioned in the footnotes, even if they are not fully legible. In cases where a word or spelling seems to be a mere slip of the pen a conjecture is made in the text.

The manuscript has one undeniable indent line, but several conspicuous spaces within the lines may have the function of an indent line, just as they have, for instance, in the autograph papers of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687). Nevertheless, the indentation here is not based on such indications, but has been inserted to make the text more convenient for present-day readers.

Besides textual corrections, a limited number of explications have been added in the footnotes.

<sup>36</sup> Roger Chartier, 'Copied Onely by the Eare', in *Publishing Drama in Early Modern Europe*, The Panizzi Lectures 1998 (London: The British Library, 1999), pp. 28-50 (p. 32).

FRANCISCUS JUNIUS' *ORATIO FUNEBRIS*

LATIN TEXT AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION

ORatio FVNEBRIS D[omini] D[ocoris] FRANCISCI JVNII in obitum D[omini] <p. 1>  
D[ocoris] GERHARDI BONTIJ<sup>1</sup> RECTORIS M[agnifici] in Academia Lugduno  
Bataua habita XVII Septem[bris] anno 1599

- 5 Nobilissimi et<sup>2</sup> Amplissimi D[omini] Curatores, Reverendi et clarissimi viri, Col-  
legae honorandi; viri sapientissimi<sup>3</sup>; Juvenes Doctissi[mi]: Adolescentes studio-  
sissimi; Auditores ornatissimi<sup>3</sup>; fuit olim in more positum humano plane et lau-  
dabili instituto, vt cum privatim<sup>4</sup> propinqui et amici necessarios suos laudarent  
10 vita functos, depositoque in terra funere altera quasi iusta nomini eorum perso-  
luerent; tum vero in casu publico reponeretur eorum nominibus aliqua (ut cum  
Scriptura<sup>5</sup> dicamus) benedictio, qui opera sua, labore atque industria publicum in  
administratione honesta coluissent, et in ea fuissent immortui; vt humana illa  
κηδεῖα<sup>6</sup> lugentibus consolationi, audientibus testimonio, omnibus exemplo ad  
15 rem bene gerendam esset. atque hoc quidem orationum genus prisci illi auctores  
laudationem propterea dixerunt, quod inhumanum esse prudenter animadverterent  
aliena superstitum hominum vitia ab hominibus propalari; inhumanius eorum,  
qui de hac vita discedentes sustulissent invidiae locum; inhumanissimum vero  
eorum, quos aut priuata sanguinis amicitiaeque necessitudo, aut publica officiorum  
20 vincula, bene factorumque merita coniunxissent.<sup>7</sup> Si enim viventium nominibus  
parci iubet humanitas, longe profecto aequius est eorum, qui decurso huius vitae  
spatio<sup>8</sup> ad lineam eius vltimam<sup>9</sup> pervenerunt, faueri nominibus. Maxime qui suae  
istius fugientis vitae curriculum in eo nauiter<sup>10</sup> occuparunt, vt bene de necessa-  
rijs, propinquis, amicis, publico denique mererentur. Μακάρας<sup>11</sup> enim καὶ μακα-  
ρίους, beatos felicesque solenni formula<sup>12</sup> appellarunt, quibus obloqui, de quo-  
25 rum nomine et fama detrachere, importunum esse, impotens, inhumanum, impium

<sup>1</sup> BONTIJ] In MS corrected from BANTIJ.

<sup>2</sup> et] Added in superscript.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Junius' address to the audience in his oration on his colleague Lucas Trelcatius, delivered on 31 August 1602 (Oratio .... Leiden 1602): 'Extulimus hesterno die, Magnifice Domine Rector, Reverendi clarissimi et consultissimi viri, Domini et Collegae honorandi, Nobilissimi iuvenes, et Adolescentes studiosissimi...'.  
<sup>4</sup> privatim] In MS corrected from *privatum*.

<sup>5</sup> Scriptura] Junius seems not to refer to a specific biblical text.

<sup>6</sup> κηδεῖα] First cancelled and added again in superscript behind it.

<sup>7</sup> The three categories of the deceased whose faults should not be revealed, are not clearly identified.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Plaut., *Stich.*, 81: 'decurso aetatis spatio'; Ov., *trist.*, 3, 4, 33: 'spatium decurrere vitae'.

<sup>9</sup> vltimam] Cf. Hor., *carm.*, 1, 16, 79: 'mors ultima linea rerum est'.

<sup>10</sup> nauiter] Our conjecture; *nauitier* in MS.

<sup>11</sup> Μακάρας] A curiously written Μα[?]καρας cancelled but for the final one or two letters, and Μακαρα added in superscript, possibly to be supplied with the final letter of the earlier word.

<sup>12</sup> formula] The so-called μακαρισμός.



Funeral oration by Dr. Franciscus Junius on the demise of Dr. Gerardus Bontius, Rector Magnificus, held at the University of Leiden, 17 September 1599

Noblest and most distinguished Trustees; reverend and renowned Sirs, my honourable colleagues; discerning gentlemen; learned young men; industrious students and most eminent listeners — — —

In the past, it was not only founded upon custom that the near and dear privately praised their deceased loved ones and, so to speak, at their funeral once again paid honour to their name. It was also a wholly dignified and laudable practice for a blessing (to speak with Scripture) to be returned on a public occasion to the names of those who, by their exertion, labour and devotion, had held a public office in the honourable administration and had died in harness. Thus, this dignified *funeral* would be a comfort to the grieving, a testimony to the listeners, and an example of how to behave well to all. Indeed, the ancient authors called this kind of oratory a laudation for this reason, that they prudently considered it unworthy to have faults unknown to the outliving made public by humans; unworthier still towards those who, by passing away from this life, had removed an occasion for jealousy; and most unworthy towards those bound by the private bond of blood and friendship or the public ties of functions and the favours of benefactors. For if decency entreats us to spare the names of the living, it is absolutely all the more reasonable to promote the names of those who, after coursing the track of this life, have arrived at its finishing point; especially those who have intensively employed the course of this fleeting life in order to deserve well of relatives, relations, friends and, finally, the community. For with a solemn formula, they called the blessed and happy ones “Μακάρας καὶ μακαρίους”. Devout Antiquity deemed it importunate, insolent, impolite and

antiquitas religiosa censuit. Verumtamen vt vituperationis argumenta semper /  
 ex hoc dicendi genere exesse<sup>13</sup> praecepit humanitas, ita et laudationis modum <p. 2>  
 praestituit pietas ἀληθειαν, dominam illam arbitramque sermonum nostrorum  
 veritatem. Fabulas illi poetis, pueris in scholis declamantibus, magistrorum exer-  
 30 citorumque alumnis permiserunt; dicentibus vero ad funus, veritatem dictorum  
 factorumque. Quae quidem dicta bene, factaque essent, legem dicendi statuerunt  
 vt illa factorum recordatio bonorum incentium esset aliorum dissimulatio, huma-  
 nitatis documentum inter homines observandae. Huius instituti publici tristem  
 sane et miserabilem occasionem nobis praebuit his paucis diebus ille caelestis  
 35 Pater, qui de stadio laboriosae huius vitae ad se in penetralia sua, Magnificum  
 rectorem nostrae Academiae D[ominum] Gerhardum Bontium euocavit.

In hac occasione lugubri, non mea mihi, sed aliena voluntas necessitatem  
 dicendi apportauit; non huius aut illius voluntas singularis, sed amplissimi sena-  
 tus Academici, collegarum amantissimorum humanissimorumque iustissima, et  
 40 honoratissima auctoritas: quae mea voce consenescere nomini Rectoris magnifici  
 vltima haec iusta persolvi iuste voluerunt atque humaniter.<sup>14</sup> Vtinam vero hae  
 iustorum partes alteri fuissent impositae, qui plus ingenio, gratia, exercitatione,  
 alacritate (nam haec quidem mihi ὀλεται) otio denique abundaret, vt in hoc luctu  
 publico satis dignitati et hominis et rei<sup>15</sup>; satis maiestati loci et Academiae, satis  
 45 bonorum qui in hac florentissima corona versantur, expectationi facere, deside-  
 rium explere<sup>16</sup> posset. Pareo iubentium mandato, volens, non valens defugere et  
 me in hoc frequentissimo consessu<sup>17</sup> celeberrimoque sisto<sup>18</sup>, ad luctum publicum,  
 non pro merito sed pro facultate mea concelebrandum, fretus auctoritate<sup>19</sup> vestra,  
 senatores amplissimi, fretus humanitate vestra, auditores suavissimi, vtrosque  
 50 peramanter rogans, si qua mihi in hoc genere dicendi forte insolenti et imprudenti  
 exciderint, ut ea pro humanitate, et amore vestro dolori nostro condonetis.

Etenim si de rebus olim praeteritis aut novis aut ignotis dicendum esset, liberior  
 fortasse mihi in dicendo campus apertus esset, / ac minus audientium studijs <p. 3>  
 iudicijque obnoxius. Mihi vero laudatio de rebus nostris dicenda est: quas res  
 55 non sum dicturus falso, quia nostrae sunt; sed quia verae sunt, eo laudaturus sum

<sup>13</sup> The use of the verb *exesse* is very rare in ancient Latin.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Molhuysen, *Bronnen* I, p. 117, 15 September 1599: 'Decretum ut scribatur ad DD. Curatores de obitu Mag. Rectoris D. Gerardi Bontii, et invitentur ad funus. Praeterea ut oratio funebris habeatur a Dno. D. Iunio'.

<sup>15</sup> The word-order *et rei et hominis* changed to *et hominis et rei* by means of superscript numerals.

<sup>16</sup> The construction looks a little awkward; it would have been enough to say either *satisfacere bonorum expectationi posset*, or *bonorum desiderium explere posset*.

<sup>17</sup> consessu] In MS corrected from *consensu*.

<sup>18</sup> sisto] An illegible word changed to *sisto*; *sisto* also added above it; then both words cancelled, and *sisto* added in margin.

<sup>19</sup> auctoritate] First two illegible syllables cancelled at line end; before next line *aucto* added in margin, and *n[?]itate* changed into *ritate*, resulting in *auctoritate*.

impious to reproach them and detract anything from their name and reputation. But just as decency advised that blame be missing from this genre of speech, so dutifulness has warranted that the measure of laudation be ἀλήθεια, truthfulness, that mistress and arbiter of our speech. They permitted stories to poets, to children declaiming in schools, and to pupils of teachers and assistants, but the truthfulness of sayings and doings to those speaking at a funeral. They formulated regarding what had been done and said well, the rule for speech that a recollection of good deeds would be an incentive, and the omission of other ones would be a demonstration of the politeness to be observed among people. A very sad and lamentable occasion for this public practice has been offered to us these days by the heavenly Father, who has called the Rector Magnificus of our university Mr Gerardus Bontius away from the arena of this toilsome life to Him into His bosom.

On this sad occasion, the necessity to speak was brought on not by my own, but by somebody else's desire, and not by some individual's desire, but by the most righteous and honoured authority of the most distinguished university senate and our friendly and benevolent colleagues, who reasonably and with dignity wished that these final due honours were paid to the Rector Magnificus's name by my aging voice. Had those shares of the honours but been assigned to somebody else abounding more in talents, gracefulness, experience, liveliness (for I have *lost* that, indeed) and, finally, leisure, so that, in this public mourning, he could meet the dignity of the man and the matter, and the majesty of the situation and the university, and the expectation of the rightminded people who can be found in this flourishing assembly, and fulfil their desire. I am complying with the command of those who have ordered me, wishing but unable to escape, and I station myself in this much frequented and illustrious meeting to celebrate a public mourning, not according to what is deserved, but to my ability, trusting in your authority, most distinguished senators, trusting in your generosity, dearest listeners, and asking each of you most amiably, if I perhaps fail in anything, unaccustomed and inexperienced as I am in this genre of speaking, to blame it on our grief in accordance with your kindness and your love.

For if I had to speak about matters that had happened in the past that are either new or unknown, I would perhaps have more playing room to speak, one less subject to the audience's desires and judgements. But I must deliver a laudation about our present affairs, about which I shall not speak falsely, because they are ours; but because they are true, I shall praise them all the more confidently —

confidentius: verae, inquam, non solum quod in se ex iure laudabiles<sup>20</sup>, sed etiam quod multis in hac florentissima corona compertissimae.<sup>21</sup> Hic enim aliquid dari a nobis in dicendo gratiae, ne si vellemus quidem (quod absit) licet; cum astare et assidere multos auditores videam eiusmodi, qui certi et artificiosi et periti  
 60 brabeutae<sup>22</sup> assertoresque cum totius orationis nostrae, tum rerum ipsarum, quas dico, futuri sunt, quia res melius quam ego ipse qui dico perspexerunt.

Sic autem rem totam partiar, vt primum de ortu studijsque ipsius, quae administrationi velut necessaria τῶν προμελετώντων<sup>23</sup> instrumenta adiumentaue praeire solent, tum de administratione privata ac publica paucis, postremo de  
 65 exodio dicam, quo ex misera huius vitae scaena in meliorem illam domiciliumque aeternum transmigravit. Vestram aequanimitatem oro, vt me de his rebus dicentem patienter et attente fauentibusque animis audiat.

D[ominus] Gerardus Bontius Rector magnificus, cuius corpus modo humi depositum in exspectatione beatae resurrectionis et optatissimi adventus requiescit<sup>24</sup>, honestis parentibus natus est feliciter in pago Reswyk Batauo Durensis agri.<sup>25</sup> Nam pater qui miles stipendia fecerat, deserta<sup>26</sup> militari et ferme<sup>27</sup> nocente vita ad vitam innocentem<sup>28</sup> rusticationis honeste se contulerat, vxoremque pro sua conditione honestam sibi adiunxerat, ex qua ante annos tres et sexaginta filium sustulit, cui Gerhardo nomen impositum.<sup>29</sup> Puer ad literarum studia animum cum  
 75 applicuisset, Sconouiae primum eius operam dedit, vbi praeceptore et informatore adolescentiae suae sane non incelebri vsus est Hadriano Agrippa<sup>30</sup>, homine ad instituendam iuventutem non tam nato quam ad vnguem facto: quem etiam Delphos ad regimen celebrioris Scholae vocatum, honorifice, iuuenis sequutus est, et persequutus illius disciplinae modum, donec eo vita defuncto praeceptorem in  
 80 eadem schola habuit Geldorpium<sup>31</sup>, cuius nomen in tota Belgica et alibi est cognitissimum.

<sup>20</sup> laudabiles] In MS *laudabiliter* was first corrected as *laudabilis*, then as *laudabiles*.

<sup>21</sup> compertissimae] In MS corrected from *compertissime*.

<sup>22</sup> brabeutae] Loan word from Greek found in Suet., *Nero*, 53.

<sup>23</sup> προμελετώντων] Cancelled, and (the enigmatic) προμετετώντων added in superscript.

<sup>24</sup> The MS has 'Aliis litteris scribenda' in margine. This may refer to the underlined words in these lines: *Gerardus Bontius, in exspectatione beatae, adventus requiescit*, and *Reswyk*. It is not clear why those words should be written in other characters.

<sup>25</sup> Present-day Rijswijk near Wijk bij Duurstede in the province of Gelderland, not Rijswijk in the province of Zuid-Holland, as the adjective *Batavo* would suggest.

<sup>26</sup> Deserta] Our conjecture; *diserta* in MS.

<sup>27</sup> ferme] In MS *formae*, first cancelled, then *ferme* added in superscript.

<sup>28</sup> innocentem] In MS corrected from *innocentam* (?).

<sup>29</sup> For a short biography of Bontius, cf. *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* (Leiden, 1911-1937) [= *NNBW*], IV (1918), 176-177.

<sup>30</sup> We did not find more biographical details about this Agrippa.

<sup>31</sup> Henricus Geldorpium (1522/23-1585) was headmaster of the Latin school at Delft 1555-1558; cf. *NNBW*, III (1914), 449-451; *Biografisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland* (The Hague, 1919-1949) [= *BWPGN*], VIII, 201-203.

true, I say, not only because they are justly laudable per se, but also because they are very well known to many in this most flourishing assembly. For this is not the place for me to give way to flowering rhetoric, even if I wanted (Heaven forbid), now that I see many such listeners standing and sitting, as will be assured and skilled and experienced umpires and arbitrators of both our entire oration and the events themselves that I am speaking about, because they understand the events better than I myself, who am speaking.

Now I shall divide the entire subject in such a manner, that I shall speak first about his birth and education, which used to precede the government as the instrument and means needed *by those preparing for it*; next a few words about his private and public conduct, and finally about his end, when he moved from the miserable scene of this life to that better one and to his eternal residence. I pray for your equanimity, that you shall listen to my speech about these matters patiently and attentively and with favourable inclination.

Mr Gerardus Bontius, Rector Magnificus, whose body, just entrusted to the earth, rests in expectation of the blessed resurrection and most desired advent, was born happily from honourable parents in the Dutch village Rijswijk near Wijk bij Duurstede. To be sure, his father, who earned his wage as a soldier, having left a military, quite harmful life, respectably devoted himself to an innocent life in the country, and joined himself with an honourable wife considering his state, with whom he begat a son sixty-three years ago, who was given the name Gerardus. When the boy devoted his attention to the study of letters, he first devoted himself to it in Schoonhoven, where he enjoyed Hadrianus Agrippa for his preceptor and a truly famous educator of his youth, a man not so much born to the teaching of boys as one who cultivated this skill to perfection. And when he was honourably called to Delft to direct a more famous school, the boy followed, and pursued a measure of that discipline, until at Agrippa's death he had Geldorpheus as his teacher at the same school. His name is very well known in all the Low Countries and elsewhere.

His praeceptoribus diligenter et / constanter vsus (quod primarium fere <p. 4>  
 adolescentiae documentum, oportet esse, ne ab vna disciplina ad aliam temere  
 transuolet, desiliat, si bene, certo, celeriterque studiorum suorum fructum asse-  
 85 qui desiderat) Louanium transijt matura iam aetate anno salutis MDLXV.<sup>32</sup> vbi  
 et Philosophiae hausit fluentia largius: magnis vsus in eo studio praeceptoribus,  
 et medicinae studium inchoauit cum alijs praeclaris doctoribus et profitentibus,  
 tum vel maxime laudato illo Asclepiadeae artis interprete D[omino] Biesio qui  
 90 sub illud tempus Louanio Viennam Austriae ad Maximilianum II<sup>33</sup> Imperatorem  
 vocatus est vt Medicus Caesareae Maiestatis esset.<sup>34</sup> Amplius quadriennio ut aegit  
 Louanij, in illo suorum studiorum curriculo perrecturus Italiam petijt, Italiam  
 ingeniorum feracem et studiorum matrem, sed proh dolor! impietatis caput<sup>35</sup>,  
 malorum magistram<sup>36</sup>, morum corruptricem<sup>37</sup>, voluptatis et omnis corruptionis  
 95 illecebram<sup>38</sup>; et in ea studiorum suorum cursum institutione, Patauij maxime, vbi  
 scholae florentissimae doctissima celeberrimaque medicae illius facultatis lumina  
 praeibant facem, prosecutus est, donec Ferrariae tandem doctoris in Medicina  
 fuit titulo insignitus.<sup>39</sup> Anno demum altero pertaesus et malorum, quae in Italia  
 viderat, et sumptuum, quos illic frustra grauiore fuisset factururus, Italiae eripuit  
 100 sese; et Deo duce ex impio illo solo ad hoc benignius et naturale suum reuersus est.  
 Cunctatus est aliquamdiu et obseruauit diligenter vir prudens, vbi sedem figeret, ne  
 quid temere in re tam graui aut inconsiderate difficilibus istis temporibus

<sup>32</sup> Bontius' name seems missing in A. Schillings, *Matricule de l'université de Louvain*, IV (Brussels, 1960).

<sup>33</sup> II] Illegible letter cancelled in MS, and the numeral II added in margine.

<sup>34</sup> For Nicolaus Biesius (1516-1573), professor of Medicine at the university of Louvain, and in 1571 invited by the Emperor Maximilian II to become his physician at Vienna, cf. the exhibition catalogue *550 jaar Universiteit Leuven* (Louvain, 1976), p. 264; J.M. Estellés Gonzales, 'Un catedrático de oratorio expulsado del estudi general de la Universitat de València a mitad del siglo XVII. Nicolai Biesii Gandavensis oratio pro bonis literis habita Valentiae ad serenissimos Calabriae duces', in G. Hinojo Andrés & J.C. Fernandez Corte (eds.) *Munus quaesitum meritis. Homenaje a Carmen Codoñer* (Salamanca, 2007), pp. 271-281.

<sup>35</sup> caput] In MS *matrem* et cancelled before *caput* [first spelt *caper*?].

<sup>36</sup> magistram] In MS corrected from *magistrum*.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Amm., 25, 3, 18: 'rerum corruptricem et morum'.

<sup>38</sup> For the Dutch Protestants' unfavourable opinion about the religious and moral life in Italy and their fear of its influence on the young men who visited the country, cf. Filips Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, *De institutione Principum, et Nobilium Puerorum*, ed. Sixtus Arcerius (Franeker, 1615), p. 48: 'Itaque velim ab eis praecipuas quasque Galliae et Germaniae Academies peragrari, Angliam etiam obiri, in Pannoniam atque Illyricum eos proficisci. Italiam autem vel plane attingi nolim vel certe non ante annum vicesimum quintum, et quidem si iudicio maturo, et vita continenti fuerint, neque commorandi, sed tantum visendi studio brevi tempore illic haereant. Alioqui certe putarim Italiam non secus ac pestem ingenuis adolescentibus esse fugiendam'. Cf. also A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour. Tekening van de educatiereis der Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1983), pp. 56-57.

<sup>39</sup> G. Pardi, *Titoli dottorali conferiti dallo studio di Ferrara* (Lucca, 1901 [reprinted Bologna, 1970]), has no doctorates after 1559.

Diligently and conscientiously benefiting from these preceptors (which should be the sheer primary foundation of adolescence, to prevent that one aimlessly drifts and hops from one discipline to another, if one wishes to reap fruits of one's studies well, definitely, and fast), he moved to Leuven, now at a mature age, in the year of Salvation 1565. There he plentifully drew from philosophy's streams, benefiting from great preceptors in this discipline. And he began the study of medicine with other renowned doctors and teachers, and especially with that most praised interpreter of the art of Asclepius Mr Biesius, who at that time was called from Leuven to Vienna in Austria to the Emperor Maximilian II to be his Imperial Majesty's Physician. When he had spent more than four years at Leuven, he traveled to Italy in order to continue in that curriculum of his studies: Italy, pregnant with talents and mother of studies, yet — alas! — source of impiety, mistress of evils, seductress of morals, and temptress of passion and all corruption. There he continued the course of his studies in that discipline especially at Padua, where the most learned and famous lights of that faculty of medicine of the most flourishing school were carrying the torch, until he was finally awarded with the doctor's degree in medicine at Ferrara.

Disgusted for yet another year with the evils that he saw in Italy and wearied by the prospect of the higher expenses which he would incur there for nothing, he broke away from Italy. Under God's guidance, he returned from that impious soil to this more benign and his native one. The prudent man hesitated a little while, and diligently considered where to settle in order not to err rashly or inconsiderately in such a serious matter in these difficult times. Finally, of all Holland's

committeret. Tandem vero ex omnibus Hollandiae locis Lugdunum placuit hoc nostrum vbi domicilium suum deligeret. Amplius autem biennium hic transegerat, quum tristes illa obsidio<sup>40</sup> fuerat, cuius vel sola recordatione horror corripit artus<sup>41</sup>, nec me quodammodo apud me sinit consistere. Qua in obsidione<sup>42</sup> quam bene, quam prudenter quam humaniter hic noster Bontius gesserit, viuunt, viuunt adhuc ciues / quamplurimi testes idonei, qui operam illius satis a se laudari non posse arbitrantur. Atque haec quidem ad ortum hominis studiaque satis. <p. 5>

110 Ad alterum locum venio, quem administrationis esse dicebamus. Nam quae hactenus diximus, ad ipsius apud sese (vt ita dicamus) rationem constitutionemque pertinent: quae autem iam statuimus dicere ea ad rationem<sup>43</sup> ipsius spectant, qua se erga alios gessit, vitamque suam, consilia, instituta, actiones probauit in hac nostra societatis humanae coniungatione (*sic*). Est autem duplex illius pars: priuata et publica.

115 De priuata quid hic attinet dicere? Novit<sup>44</sup> familia, vicinitas, adeoque civitas ipsa, quam bene informaverit vitam privatam suam vir coniugis, liberorumque suorum amantissimus: Indulgentiorem non essem dicturus, nisi hoc commune parentum in suos liberos vitium singularem huius aut illius culpam apud omnes homines alleuaret, quia *στοργῆς φυσικῆς*<sup>45</sup> ferme adnatum est hoc malum et quaedam illius *παραφύας*.<sup>46</sup> Pater familias diligens, vicinis comis, medicus studiosissimus et (quod rei caput est) diligentissimus atque ad omnia in omnes promiscua officia paratissimus.

125 Luget te, Bonti<sup>47</sup>, non solum familia privato luctu et necessario (nam ereptum est familiae columnen<sup>48</sup>) sed grex aegrotorumque, quibus tu obsequentissimus, prout Iurecons[ultos]<sup>49</sup> eis imperantes propter praesentissimam necessitatem ipsorum in malis appellarunt, grex pauperum infirmorum, quibus totum diem in horas singulas subsidium manus medica illius tua fuit quam praesentissimum paratissimumque. Rem meis auribus auditam testor, et multis etiam qui in consessu<sup>50</sup> hoc nostro et hoc frequente auditorio sunt, exploratam.

<sup>40</sup> A Spanish army of the Duke of Alva, commanded by Francisco de Valdez, besieged Leiden from 31 October 1573 until 23 March 1574, and, more seriously, from 25 May until 3 October 1574. Junius certainly refers to the second siege.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Ov., *met.*, 9, 290-291: '(...) nunc quoque frigidus artus, I dum loquor, horror habet, parsque est meminisse doloris'.

<sup>42</sup> obsidione] *Qua in obsidione* underlined. Cf. above n. 22.

<sup>43</sup> rationem] *constitutionemque pertinent* erroneously repeated after *rationem*, then deleted.

<sup>44</sup> novit] The letter ν used within a word; similar examples will follow.

<sup>45</sup> φυσικῆς] Our conjecture. In MS γοτικῆς (?) cancelled, and φυσικῆς added in superscript.

<sup>46</sup> παραφύας] In MS παραγωγός (?) cancelled, and παραφύας added in superscript.

<sup>47</sup> Such an apostrophe addressed to the deceased is not unusual in funeral oratory; it is also found in Junius' oration on Trelcatius (p. 10) cf. below n. 109.

<sup>48</sup> For the phrase *familiae columnen*, cf. Ter., *Phorm.*, 287; Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 3, 176.

<sup>49</sup> Iureconsultos] Abbreviation interpreted as 'Iureconsultos' on the assumption that the sick ('aegroti') are the subject of 'appellarunt' and of 'imperantes' and that 'eis' refers to the lawyers.

<sup>50</sup> Consessu] Our conjecture; *concessu* in MS. Cf. above n. 13, where the transcriber corrected *concessu* as *consessu*.



places, pleased him to choose our Leiden here for his home. It was more than two years after he had moved here when that sad siege happened, by whose sheer memory terror affects my limbs and does not allow me to be myself somehow. How well, how prudently, how worthily our Bontius proved to be in that siege: There are alive, there are still alive numerous citizens who are apt witnesses and are convinced that his accomplishment cannot be praised sufficiently. And this suffices concerning the man's birth and studies.

I come to the second topic, which we said would be about the administration. For what we have told as yet pertains to his personal conduct and type of issue (so to speak); but what we have decided to tell now regards the manner in which he behaved towards others and has shown his life, plans, intentions and actions in our bond of human society. It has two sections, a private and a public one.

What is relevant here to say about his private life? His family, his neighbourhood, and even the town itself knows how well the man full of love for his wife and children organized his private life. I would not call him too indulgent, if this common flaw of parents towards their children did not alleviate some individual's particular guilt among all people, because this vice of *physical love* is almost innate and a sort of *side-growth*. He was a diligent family man, friendly to his neighbours, a very devoted and (which is the main thing) most conscientious physician who was most ready for all possible favours towards everyone.

Not only the family is mourning you, Bontius, in private and unavoidable grief (because the family's pillar has been snatched away), but also the flock of the sick, to whom you were most compliant, just as people have appealed to lawyers, commanding them because of their acutest necessity in their problems — the flock of the poor and the sick, for whom all day at odd hours your healing hand was the most efficient and ready relief possible. I testify to something I have heard with my own ears, and that has also been experienced by many who are in our meeting here and among this numerous audience.

- 130 In administratione publica, dum Rector, dum Assessor<sup>51</sup>, dum senator fuit (fuit autem senator inde a prima institutione florentissimae huius Academiae, et ad perpetuam rei memoriam, nomen ipsius cum alijs praeclaris aliquot viris, in statutis fundamentalibus<sup>52</sup> (vt vocant) huius Academiae perscriptum est)<sup>53</sup> / qualem se <p. 6> praebuerit, tacere<sup>54</sup> malim quam pauca dicere.<sup>55</sup> Prudentiam certo in consilijs, 135 fidem in actionibus et diligentiam animumque pacis amantissimum per omnia probavit Collegio Academiae, Civitati, omnibus adeo vt etiam pacis amore studioque summo a nonnullis mollior haberetur. Noverat profecto vir prudens, vt in corporibus innumeri sunt rerum concursus, qui affectiones eorum subinde variant et medicamentorum vis acrior modo inspergenda, modo subducenda et refringenda 140 est pro varia conditione subiecti, partium, affectionumque ipsius; ita et in rep[ublicae] corpore tam vario, et academia, corpore tam multiplice ingeniorum συρροῖ<sup>56</sup> composito, multa hinc<sup>57</sup> inde contemporari (*sic*); id vero ante omnia spectari a bonis<sup>58</sup> oportere, sicut medicus naturae amans sine magno motu infirmitati plerumque succurrit, vt integrascente<sup>59</sup> natura frangat infirmitatem sensim, ita Politicum hominem amantem rei[publicae] dare prudenter operam, vt sine magno strepitu quo ad eius<sup>60</sup> fieri potest<sup>61</sup>, orbis illius conuersetur, et cursum ita disponere<sup>62</sup>, vt clauum rectum (vt ait Tullius) teneat<sup>63</sup>: Quis enim prudens hoc nesciat, prius esse, vt nos ipsos frangamus ad bonum publicum, quam vt frangamus publicum?
- 145 Agite vero, ad exodum atque excessum huius vitae, quem Deus Bontio nostro dedit, veniamus. Equidem superesse illum adhuc optarem, si ferret voluntas optimi maximi omnipotentis Dei: sed quum ita sit visum paternae illius prudentiae, qua

<sup>51</sup> Assessor] In MS corrected from *Assor*, by cancelling *-or* and adding *essor* in superscript.

<sup>52</sup> fundamentalibus] Our conjecture; *fundamentalibus* in MS.

<sup>53</sup> See Molhuysen, *Bronnen* I, pp. 15\*-18\*, 'Concept-statuten door gecommiteerden en professoren gemaakt', dated 12 February 1575, three days after the opening ceremony of the newly founded university, and signed by Bontius, among other professors.

<sup>54</sup> tacere] *quam* cancelled after *tacere*.

<sup>55</sup> An allusion to the sentence, frequently quoted in Neo-Latin historical literature, of Sal., *Iug.*, 19, 2: 'Nam de Carthagine silere melius puto quam parum dicere'.

<sup>56</sup> συρροῖ] In MS συρρεῖ cancelled, and συρροῖ added in superscript. The MS does not add the iota subscriptum.

<sup>57</sup> Hinc] Our conjecture. The MS seems to have *huic*.

<sup>58</sup> bonis] In MS *nobis* cancelled, and *bonis* added in superscript.

<sup>59</sup> integrascente] In MS corrected from *integrascenti*, by cancelling *-centi*, and adding *cente* in superscript.

<sup>60</sup> eius] In MS *oius* (?) cancelled, and *eius* added in superscript.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Rhet. ad Her.*, 1, 2: 'quoad eius fieri poterit'.

<sup>62</sup> Disponere] In MS corrected from *dispone*.

<sup>63</sup> The phrase is not found in Cicero's works, but stems from Enn., *ann.*, 483 (Vahlen): 'Dum clauum rectum teneam nauimque gubernem', preserved in Isid., *orig.*, 19, 2, 12. Cic., *fam.*, 12, 25, 5 alludes to it: 'Vna nauis est iam bonorum omnium, quam quidem nos damus operam vt rectam teneamus'. Junius probably recalled Erasmus, *Adagia*, 2028, which offers both Ennius' and Cicero's quotes.

As for how he behaved himself in the public administration, as a rector, as an assessor, as a senator (and he was a senator from the very foundation of this most flourishing academy, and to the perpetual memory of this, his name with several other excellent men was inscribed in the so-called foundational statutes), I prefer being silent to saying too little. He certainly proved his prudence in counsels, his trustworthiness in actions, and his diligence and a mind deeply devoted to peace in all respects for the benefit of the university college, the city and everybody — so much so, that some even considered him somewhat soft because of his love and highest devotion to peace. The prudent man knew too well that, just as in bodies there are innumerable combinations of matters which vary their affections often, and just as the sharp strength of medications must sometimes be sprinkled in, sometimes reduced and weakened in accordance with the varied condition of the body itself, its parts and affections, so also in the so varied body politic and the university, a body composed of so complex a *conflux* of intellects, much accumulates from everywhere at the same time; he knew that before all else, rightminded people should consider this, that, just as the physician who loves nature usually relieves the illness without much ado, so that recovering nature gradually subdues the illness, so the citizen who loves the republic must devote himself prudently to turning around its cycle with as little noise as possible, and to governing the course in such a way that he keeps the mast straight (as Cicero says). For which prudent person would not know this, that it has priority to subdue ourselves to the public weal over subduing the public weal?

But let us move to the end and termination of this life which God has given to our Bontius. Indeed, I would wish he were still alive, if it had been the will of the Good, Great and Almighty God; but since this has been decreed so by His

omnia fiunt iustissime et ordinantur sapientissime, nec obsistere par est voluntati eius, nec quempiam nostro studio privato abreptum obloqui. Vixit ergo Bontius, vixit sibi, familiae, Academiae, publico, vitamque suam transegit, vt virum bonum  
 155 decet, generis humani commodis pro conditione sua.

At quomodo e<sup>64</sup> vita excesserit<sup>65</sup> quaeso attendite diligenterque audiat<sup>66</sup>: quam rem a vobis, humanissimi auditores, eo diligentius postulo quia interest nominis ipsius familiaeque totius, interest vestra et publici, vt rem probe cognoscatis, quod vobis ex vsu fiet. Interest / enim aduersos<sup>67</sup> rumores e medio eximi: <p. 7>  
 160 interest bonam existimationem sartam<sup>68</sup> tectam a labe (si qua etiam interdum per imprudentiam atque infirmitatem contracta est) vindicari: Interest bonis exemplo esse bonorum exitum.<sup>69</sup> Vixit ergo nobis, nunc viuut Deo; quomodo id asseramus, paucis accipite.

Duo esse capita ante exponebamus in ratione huius caducae et pereuntis vitae:  
 165 vnum προμελήματος<sup>70</sup>, meditationis praeparationisque<sup>71</sup>, alterum εμπράκτου μελετήματος<sup>72</sup>, administrationis et actus ad eam pertinentis. Haec ad vitam futuram illam, quo Christiani vocati sumus a Deo per gratiam, atque per fidem contendimus, eadem necesse est consimiliter observari. Nam et praeparari hominem Christianum oportet ad illum caelestem gustum et ad Deum caste praemitatumque accedere. Vtrumque si placet, quomodo anima illa, cuius corpus iam  
 170 illic situm est, suo ordine obiuerit, quaeso animum advertite.

Ac primum quidem vt de meditatione et<sup>73</sup> praeparatione dicamus, quis vestrum est, qui illud Platonis dictum nesciat, Philosophiam esse meditationem mortis?<sup>74</sup> Hoc bonus ille Bontius noster ita primum didicerat, vt quo tempore Agrippa illo  
 175 atque Geldorpio praeceptoribus in Schola Delphensi vtebatur, se pietatis, veritatis et beatae illius vitae amantem prae alijs consortibus et condiscipulis ostenderet. Feruebat illi iam tum animus pietatis conscientia et zelus divina face accensus vt cum maxime aestuabat adeo vt alijs etiam qui diuersum sentiebant grauis esse videretur. Atque hic quidem pietatis habitus et sensus in eo per Dei gratiam  
 180 perduravit ardens, donec Louanium peruenisset: vbi tum studiorum suorum, in

<sup>64</sup> e] In MS corrected from *ex*.

<sup>65</sup> excesserit] In MS corrected from *discesserit*.

<sup>66</sup> The phrase recalls Ciceronian oratory; cf. Cic., *Verr.*, 2, 4, 103: 'quaeso, audite et diligenter ... attendite'; *Verr.*, 2, 3, 72; *Quinct.*, 79.

<sup>67</sup> aduersos] In MS corrected from *adversus*.

<sup>68</sup> sartam] Our conjecture; *sertam* in MS.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Sen., *dial.* 9 (= *De tranq. animi*), 16, 1: 'Ubi bonorum exitus mali sunt'.

<sup>70</sup> προμελήματος] In MS -λη- replaces some illegible letters; προμέλημα not in Liddell & Scott.

<sup>71</sup> In MS corrected from *meditationes praeparationisque*.

<sup>72</sup> εμπράκτου μελετήματος] In MS εμπράοντου μελετήματος cancelled, and εμπράκτου μελετήματος added in superscript.

<sup>73</sup> et] In MS *dic* cancelled, and *et* added in superscript.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Plato, *Phd.*, 67d; Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 30, 74: 'Tota enim philosophorum vita, ut ait idem, commentatio mortis est'.

paternal prudence, by which everything happens most fairly and is arranged most wisely, it is not right to resist His will, nor to comment on someone being snatched away from our private concerns. Therefore, Bontius has lived, he has lived for himself, for his family, the university, the community, and he spent his life as a good man should for humankind's commodities according to his ability.

As for how he departed from life, please listen and hear carefully; which I pray you, kindest listeners, to hear all the more carefully because it is important for his and all his family's name and important for you and the community that you understand the matter rightly, because it will be useful to you. For it is important to dispel unfavourable rumours; it is important to claim his good reputation untainted by stains (in case one was left by imprudence and infirmity one time); it is important that the passing away of the rightminded is an example to the rightminded. Therefore he lived with us; now he lives with God. Hear for a little how we assert this.

We explained before that there are two principal parts in the programme of this fragile and fleeting life: One consists in *premeditations*, meditation and preparation, the other in *practical concerns*, the administration and activities pertaining to it. These it is necessary for us to observe equally for that future life to which we Christians have been called by God through grace and after which we strive through faith. For Christians should both prepare themselves to that heavenly foretaste and approach God chastely and well-prepared. If you agree, please turn your attention to how this soul, whose body is already placed there, died at the appointed time.

Now, to speak first about the meditation and preparation, who among you does not know Plato's famous saying that philosophy is the meditation of death? Our good Bontius had first learnt this to such an extent that, when he enjoyed that Agrippa and Geldorpius as his preceptors in the Delft School, he showed himself a lover of piety, truth and that blessed life beyond other fellow students and fellow pupils. Even then his mind burned with a consciousness of piety, and a zeal lighted by the divine torch flourished as much as possible, so much so that he even seemed burdensome to others who thought differently. And this attitude and sense of piety continued to burn in him through God's grace until he had arrived in Leuven. There, carried away by the practice of his studies to which he

- quae incumbabat, meditatione abductus, tum civilium fluctuum quibus aestuabat per illud tempus (vt vidi) Belgium, et insanae tyrannidis, cruentarumque persecutionum terroribus infractus, zelum illum suum expertus est, vix sensit tepescere. Postquam vero e Lovaniensi schola et Euripo<sup>75</sup> Belgij, in Italiam oceanum<sup>76</sup>
- 185 impietatis transmigravit, iam de viatico huius vitae amplius cogitans studijs ita inhaesit, vt de illius vitae, / in quam tunc transijt, meditatione omnis omnino commoditas animo<sup>77</sup> ipsius percepta esse videretur, praesertim cum in Italia tota, ex quo Pontificum Hypocrisis velata religionis specie et dira Tyrannis invaluit, nullum pietatis typum extare norunt<sup>78</sup>, qui videntur, sed Typhum (vt Augustinus
- 190 loquitur<sup>79</sup>) omnia occupare caelumque et solum totius Italiae fumo et periculis Rom[a?] exundante, letaliter inficere. Hic ergo boni viri, sed hominis tamen infirmi tepefactus ante animus, plane refrigescere, et quamvis latente intus semine pietatis secundum deum<sup>80</sup>, at<sup>81</sup> illius zeli ardoribus igniculoque pietatis, quem deus gratiose accenderat, abstinere sensuimus (*sic*), sensuimus (*sic*) et nos toto
- 195 eiusmodi πεπορωμένα<sup>82</sup> satanae et auctoritate, specie, illecebris mundi imprudentes advocati, non extinctam quidem pietatis faciem quam Deus praeluxerat<sup>83</sup>, sed obrutam erroribus, sepultamque in nobis, cheu, experti sumus aliquando.<sup>84</sup> Nunc vero cum fulti praesidio Dei in istis omnibus υπερνικῶμεν in<sup>85</sup> Christo qui
- 200 dilexit nos, praedicamus libenter illud opus misericordiae ad gloriam Dei cum B[eato] illo Apostolo dicente<sup>86</sup>, de me ipso non gloriabor, nisi in infirmitatibus meis libentissime gloriabor potius de meis<sup>87</sup> infirmitatibus, vt inhabitet in me tan-
- <p. 8>

<sup>75</sup> Euripus is a narrow channel in general and also the proper name of a channel between Boeotia and Euboea.

<sup>76</sup> oceanum] Final letters rather vague.

<sup>77</sup> animo] In MS corrected from *animi*.

<sup>78</sup> Norunt] *nocuit* (?) cancelled, and *norunt* added in superscript.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Aug., *c. Parm.*, 3, 2, 16 [Migne, *PL*, 43, 94]; *conf.*, 3, 3, 6.

<sup>80</sup> secundum deum] A biblical phrase from the Vulgate, found in the letters of Paul (Vulg., *Rom.*, 8, 27; *II Cor.*, 7, 9-11; *Eph.*, 4, 24) and Peter (*I Petr.* 4, 6; 5, 2), and meaning 'according to God', or 'to His will, are agreeable to Him'.

<sup>81</sup> At] For this use of *at* or *attamen*, after a concessive sentence, cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* (Darmstadt, 1966 [reprint]), II, 2, 82-83.

<sup>82</sup> πεπορωμένα] Illegible letters in πεπορ...? cancelled and ωμένα added in superscript; from πορώω, furnish with pores.

<sup>83</sup> For the transitive use of *praelucere*, cf. Auson., *Protrept.*, 4, 95: 'lumenque ... praeluceo'.

<sup>84</sup> In his autobiography, Junius mentions that he had become an atheist when studying in Lyon in his youth after reading Cicero's *De legibus*; cf. Junius, *Opuscula theologica selecta*, ed. A. Kuypers (Amsterdam, 1882), p. 15: '... alteri malo occubui plane, atque in eo iacui... Illud malum est ἀθεότης, malum gravissimum, in cuius consensionem et approbationem sensim perductus sum aliorum audacia, et imprudentia mea'; *BWPGN*, IV, 604-616.

<sup>85</sup> υπερνικῶμεν in] υπερνικῶμο in (?) cancelled and υπερνικῶμεν added in superscript and in in margine.

<sup>86</sup> See Vulg., *II Cor.*, 12, 5 and 12, 9.

<sup>87</sup> meis] *meis* cancelled and added again in superscript.

applied himself, and unbroken by the terrors of the civil turmoils with which the Low Countries were boiling at that time (as I have seen), and the terrors of insane tyranny and cruel persecutions, he experienced his zeal, and noticed it hardly grow cool.

But after he moved from the University of Leuven and the Low Countries' Euripus to Italy, that ocean of impiety, thinking more about the sustenance of this life, he engaged himself in studies so deeply, that every moment absolutely his mind seemed to be captured by the practice of that life in which he then moved. For those who have seen it know that in all Italy, ever since the Popes' hypocrisy under veiled pretence of religion and ominous tyranny have prevailed, no kind of piety has existed anymore, but (to speak with Augustine) Typhus has seized everything and, while Rome overflows with smoke and perils, has mortally infected heaven and earth of all Italy. Here, therefore, we have experienced that the mind of a rightminded, but still weak human man that had already become lukewarm chills completely, and although the seed of piety is hiding inside thanks to God, yet it keeps off the glow of that zeal and the spark of the piety that God had graciously kindled: We too have wholly experienced such satanic *hardening*, and naively diverted by the power, beauty and temptations of the world, we ourselves, alas, once experienced that the torch of piety which God had lighted before was not extinguished, indeed, but overwhelmed by errors and buried within us.

Yet now that we, supported by God's aid in all this, have *triumphed* in Christ who has loved us, we gladly preach that work of mercy to the glory of God, with that blessed Apostle who says, I will not boast about myself; except in my weaknesses I shall gladly boast rather about my weaknesses, so that the might of Christ

- quam in suo tabernaculo potentia Christi. Qui itaque Dei gratiam erga me agnosco meis grauissimis erroribus, infirmitatibusque medicatam, idem in Bontio praedico.
- 205 Exijt ex Italia, sed non statim deposuit, quicquid in Italia hauserat: non enim tam cito curantur, quam infliguntur<sup>88</sup> vulnera. Deus medicatus est, fecitque vt hic maxime, in hac nostra Academia amplius disceret salubriusque philosophari. O quam multi Italiam petunt, qui non adeo feliciter Italiam deserunt, quam multi Italiam deserunt<sup>89</sup>, quos nunquam deserit dum viuunt, Italia?!<sup>90</sup> Ite, Iuuenes, ite
- 210 curiosi in Italiam, scilicet hamo aureo piscaturi<sup>91</sup>; Iudaicumque illum (si Deo placet) ac potius Antichristianum<sup>92</sup> Iubilaeorum ritum, qui indictus est in sequentem annum, inuisite.<sup>93</sup> Quid enim? an non Iudaeos ritus et figurales caeremonias ad praesignificationem<sup>94</sup> venturi Christi posita, instaurare Antichristianum est? an non / Bonifacij viij summi in orbe Christiano incendiarij et monstri inter homines <p. 9>
- 215 potentissimi institutum est, et ante annos trecentos Ecclesiae obtrusum ab eodem conturbatore divini et humani Iuris, qui famosam illam huic capitulum<sup>95</sup> (vt vocant) praescripsit *C. unam*<sup>96</sup> sanctam. extravag. de maiortate et obedientia?<sup>97</sup> Imprudentes in illa errorum abysso, apud matrem scortationum<sup>98</sup>, cui inscriptum est nomen Blasphemiae<sup>99</sup>, animos vestros volutate. Moneo, praedico, vaticinor,
- 220 nec sum falsus vates, quos istud impiae novitatis studium titillat, eos sibi nondum bene constare in Christo, et vitae futurae conscientia; quos abripit, eos prudentes in perniciem suam, ex quo praemoniti sint sollicita hac nostra voce, ruituros.<sup>100</sup> Verissimum est illud nostrate dictum:

<sup>88</sup> infliguntur] Corrected from *infigantur* with a cancelled *a* and superscript *u*.

<sup>89</sup> quam multi Italiam deserunt] Added in margine.

<sup>90</sup> Italia] *italia* cancelled, and added again in superscript.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 1160: 'Aureo piscari hamo', from Suet., *Aug.*, 25, 4.

<sup>92</sup> Antichristianum] Our conjecture; *Antichristianam* in MS.

<sup>93</sup> For the proclamation of the Holy Year by Pope Clement VIII (1536-1605, pope from 1592), cf. E. Iserloh – J. Glazik – H. Jedin, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, IV (Freiburg etc., 1967), 532.

<sup>94</sup> praesignificationem] The theologian Junius does not hesitate to use Latin words from early Christian literature, such as *figuralis* and *praesignificatio*.

<sup>95</sup> We assume the transcriber thought of the female word *bullae*, and therefore wrote *famosam suam*, but then used the neutral word *capitulum*. The word *huic* refers to *Iuris*.

<sup>96</sup> *C. unam*] *Caenam* (?) cancelled, and *C. unam* added in margine.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. A. Friedberg, ed. *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (Leipzig, 1879-1881), II, 1245-1246, 'Decretales communes I, Titulus VIII. De maiortate et obedientia Cap. I'. For the proclamation of Boniface VIII, cf. J. van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus. Studies in Late-Medieval Religious Life: Devotion and Pilgrimage in the Netherlands* (Leiden - Boston, 2003), pp. 213-214, and pp. 101-110 ('Roman Indulgences and the Netherlands'); *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, II (Freiburg etc., 1994), 580 (Bonifacius VIII) and X (2001), 375 (*Unam Sanctam*).

<sup>98</sup> scortationum] The word stems from patristic literature.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Vulg., *apoc.*, 13, 1: 'et super capita eius nomina blasphemiae'.

<sup>100</sup> ruituros] Our conjecture; *tuituros* in MS.



lives in me as if in his tent. I, who thus acknowledge that God's grace towards me has cured my most serious errors and weaknesses, preach the same for Bontius. He left Italy, but did not immediately discard what he had swallowed in Italy; for wounds do not heal as quickly as they have been inflicted. God has healed him, and made that especially here, in our university, he learned to philosophize more and more wholesomely.

Oh how many leave for Italy who do not leave Italy just as happily; how many leave Italy whom Italy never leaves as long as they live?! Go, young people, go to Italy with all your curiosity, to fish with a golden hook; visit that Jewish (for God's sake), or rather Antichristian, celebration of the Jubilee, which has been announced for the following year. What then? Isn't it Antichristian to install abolished Jewish celebrations and figurative ceremonies that presignified the coming of Christ? Isn't that an institution of Boniface VIII, the highest incendiary in the Christian world and the biggest monster among the people, an institution that was forced upon the Church three hundred years ago by that same confounder of divine and human Law, who prescribed that notorious paragraph (as they call it) *Canon The only holy Church, misc.*, 'On supremacy and obedience'? Roll your minds naively in that pool of errors, with the mother of fornicators, upon whom is inscribed the name Blasphemy. I warn, preach and prophesy (and I am not a false prophet) that those whom that devotion to impious novelty tickles are not yet consistent in Christ and an awareness of the future life for themselves; that those whom it drags away will bring themselves knowingly to rack and ruin, because they have been forewarned by my concerned voice. Most true is this saying by our fellow:

Non vir Romae aditu melior, meliorue caballus

225 Italiae in cursu<sup>101</sup> corpore, mente redit.<sup>102</sup>

Non omnibus cadet vt Bontio huic nostro, in quo Italia veram Philosophiam tentaverat decutere<sup>103</sup>; Lugdunum vero per dei gratiam (ne quis sibi indulgere audeat et spondere, quod diuinae est misericordiae) confirmavit. Hic ergo, hic pia<sup>104</sup> Bontij anima ad se, ad veram Philosophiam, ad Deum verum reuersa est;

230 reuersionem diu meditata. Nam etiam auctores ipsos Italos, qui ante pauca secula Philosophiam meliorem sequuti<sup>105</sup> fuerant, euoluit ab aliquo tempore diligenter, vt periculosum illum et exitialem morsum tanquam scorpionis Italiae succo et antipharmaco<sup>106</sup> sanaret: eamque suo ipsius (quod aiunt) iugularet gladio.<sup>107</sup>

Marcilium Fecinum, Eugubinum<sup>108</sup> et alios studiose legit, ut peruideret quantum

<p. 10>

235 Italia haec ab illa discessisset: / denique omnibus exploratis stabilimentum in Deo, in Christo, in Euangelio ipsius solidatumprehendit fide. Testis mihi studiorum tuorum Bonti vir clarissime<sup>109</sup> D[ominus] Cornelius Grotius<sup>110</sup> collega noster, qui te ante morbum et in morbo lethali tuo operam his medicamentis salutaribus dantem deprehendit: deprehendit atque gavisus est.<sup>111</sup> Testes et apud

240 me suauissimi sermones tui pietate et fide plenissimi, quos mecum aliquoties habuisti, cum te ex ipso morbo laborare incipientem inuiserem, et de rebus varijs fide coniunctis colloquerer. Quam praeparationem, Deus bone, quam iucundam, quam vtilem, honestam, necessariam! Hac enim sola contingit vere ut homo infirmitatibus suis circum fluens, adeoque in illis refluens radiatur<sup>112</sup> stabiliturque in soliditate Christi. His itaque medijs gratiae meliorisque Philosophiae praeparatus, quomodo misero huic corpori et instabili vitae valedixerit audiamus.

Videor iam mihi videre clarissimum illum virum D[ominus] Bontium Rectorem magnificum, qui te, vir reuerende et collega amantissime D[omine] Gomare,

<sup>101</sup> in cursu] *incursus* cancelled and *in cursu* added in superscript.

<sup>102</sup> We were not able to identify Junius' and the audience's countryman (*nostrate*), who wrote the distich.

<sup>103</sup> decutere] Our correction; *docutere* in MS.

<sup>104</sup> pia] Our correction; *pija* in MS.

<sup>105</sup> Sequuti] Our correction; *sequiti* in MS.

<sup>106</sup> The word is found in Serv., *Aen.*, 2, 299.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Erasmus, *Adagia*, 51: 'Suo sibi hunc iugulo gladio, suo telo'.

<sup>108</sup> Marsilius Ficinus (1433-1499) is the translator of Plato's works and of commentaries on several of them, and the author of the *Theologia Platonica sive de immortalitate animorum* and many other works; Augustinus Steuchus Eugubinus (Agostino Steuco of Gubbio, 1497/8-1548), who polemicized with Erasmus (cf. Ep. 2465, 2513), is the author of a treatise *De perenni philosophia* (Lyon, 1540).

<sup>109</sup> Another example of the oratorical apostrophe; cf. above n. 47.

<sup>110</sup> Grotius] *Grottus* cancelled, and *Grotius* added in superscript. Cornelis Grotius (1544/6-1610) was professor of philosophy and law in 1575-1583 and 1587-1610.

<sup>111</sup> The phrase seems to echo the Vulg., *Ioh.*, 8, 56: 'ut videret diem meum et vidit et gavisus est'.

<sup>112</sup> ut ... radiatur] This phrase added in margine. *qua* cancelled before *ut*.

'No man ever returned mentally better from his journey to Rome, nor did a horse return physically better from its trip to Italy.'

What happened to our Bontius, in whom Italy tried to cut off the true philosophy, but Leiden strengthened it through God's grace (so that nobody dare grant and promise themselves what is proper to divine mercy), that won't happen to everybody. Here, therefore, here Bontius' pious soul has returned to itself, to true philosophy, and to the true God, a return which it had meditated long before. After all, for some time it was precisely Italian authors who followed the better philosophy several generations ago that he diligently read to heal that dangerous and fatal bite of Italy, as if from a scorpion, with a juice and antidote, and cut its throat with its own sword (as they say). He attentively read Marcilio Ficino, Eugubinus and others to perceive how much this Italy had deviated from that one; finally, having explored them all, he reached a stability in God, in Christ, in His Gospel, solidified by faith.

My witness of your studies, most renowned Mr Bontius, is our colleague Mr Cornelis de Groot, who caught you applying yourself to these wholesome medications before and during your fatal illness: He caught you and rejoiced. My witnesses are also your pleasant conversations full of piety and faith which you sometimes had with me, when I visited you when you began to suffer from that very illness, and talked about various matters relating to the faith. What a preparation, Good God, how pleasant, how useful, honest and necessary! Only because of this did it truly happen that a person overflowing with his weaknesses and even floating in them shines and is confirmed in the firmness of Christ. Let us now hear how, prepared by these means of grace and the better philosophy, he said farewell to this miserable body and fickle life.

It is as if I now see how that very renowned sir Mr Bontius, Rector Magnificus, summons you, reverend sir and most beloved colleague Mr Gomarus, as the

- 250 pro rectore<sup>113</sup> ad se vocet, exponat, se iam horrorem lethalis frigoris persentiscere, Academiae bene precetur, tibi committat prouisionem illius, et vices fungenti ex lege et more legitimo, animam Deo, votis, precibus, fide constante, securo animo et fronte hilari commendet: poenitentiam suam fidemque testetur, in ea precetur Deum patrem, a quo omnis bona donatio, vt sibi sit propitius in Christo Iesu;
- 255 denique composito et tranquillo mentis suae sensu subuolet ad Dominum auctorem vitae et salutis.

- Haec, vt dico, vera gesta, non humanae sunt mentis, sed diuinae virtutis. / Quid ergo? Defleamus eum a nobis absentem, quem deo praesentem fruentemque credimus? minime id quidem: non licet inuidere tantum bonum illi, non licet affectibus, studiisque nostris praecipitibus indulgere. Praemissus ad Deum, a nobis amissus est. Quin potius gratias agamus immortales Deo opt[imo] maximo, quod illum vt ouem suam in gregem; vt filium in domum suam receperit!<sup>114</sup> gratias agamus, quod illius viri boni vsum familiae, aegris, academiae, publico tamdiu commodauerit, gratias agamus, quod eum ex ista colluue mundi et tenebrosis<sup>115</sup>
- 260 erroribus huius vitae misericorde Sapientia sua ad gloriam venturi seculi et veritatis praemonstratae fructum euexerit.

- Postremo, cum exemplo quoque illius adeo in hoc loco ab omnibus explorato<sup>116</sup>, opera, labores atque industria summa cum familia ipsius et liberis (Quorum duo<sup>117</sup>
- 270 iam feliciter vestigia patris sequuntur) ornamenta sint et omnibus documento; Laboremus obsecro singuli, vt ad vos ipsos cum resipiscentia vestra<sup>118</sup>, ad Deum, cum fide certa, ad vitam hanc nostram, cum prudentia religiosa et sanctimonia, ad omne officiorum opus cum veritate et iustitia respiciamus solliciti, vt quod reliquum nobis a Deo in stadio huius mundi, tam fallace et anfractuoso et difficili decurrendum in eo constanter ac pie pergamus, exspectantes illustrem illum et optatissimum adventum Domini et Seruatoris nostri Iesu Christi cum gloria in sempiternum. Amen. Dixi.

<sup>113</sup> Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641), professor of theology, obviously held the function of Rector Magnificus after Bontius' death until a new rector was elected on 8 February 1600.

<sup>114</sup> A reference to the parable of the good shepherd, Vulg., *Ioh.*, 10, 1-21, and of the prodigal son, Vulg., *Luc.*, 15, 11-32.

<sup>115</sup> tenebrosis] In MS corrected from *tenebroso*.

<sup>116</sup> This reverts to the third aim of the funeral oration mentioned in the beginning: 'omnibus exemplo ad rem bene gerendam'.

<sup>117</sup> Bontius' son Regnerus (1576-1623) matriculated on 12 February 1590 and was lector in philosophy and later professor of medicine and physics in Leiden. His son Guilielmus (c. 1588-1646) matriculated on 10 February 1599. Cf. *Album studiosorum*, col. 27 and 55, and *NNBW*, IV, 197-198.

<sup>118</sup> This sentence contains a conspicuous change between the first and the second person plural: *Laboremus* – *vos* – *vestra* – *nostram* – *respiciamus* – *pergamus*.

vice-rector, to himself; intimates that he is beginning to feel the chill of fatal cold; prays well for the university; entrusts its care to you, as the legitimate substitute in accordance with law and custom; commends his soul to God with vows, prayers, a steadfast faith, quiet mind and a happy face; testifies to his penance and faith; in faith prays God the father, from whom comes all good, that He may be gracious in Jesus Christ; finally flies to the Lord, Author of life and salvation, with a composed and tranquil sensitivity of his mind.

These actual events, as I say, do not belong with the human mind, but with divine virtue. What now? Should we cry that he is absent to us, while we believe him present with and enjoying in God? Not at all; we should not begrudge him such a great good; we should not indulge in our feelings and our headlong personal interests. Preceding us to God, he has ceded from us. Let us rather give immortal thanks to God Almighty, that He has received him as His sheep in His flock, and as His son in His house! Let us give thanks that He has granted enjoyment of that good man to the family, the sick, the university, the community for so long; let us give thanks that in His clement wisdom He has transferred him from this draff of the world and the dark deviations of this life to the glory of the future age and the fruit of the prerevealed truth.

Finally, now that we all have examined also his example on this very occasion, together with his family and children (two of whom have already followed their father's footsteps), let his work, efforts and highest industry be jewels and proof to us all; let us please each exert ourselves to be solicitously mindful of yourselves through your own reformation, mindful of God with steadfast faith, mindful of our own life with religious prudence and virtuousness, mindful of all devotion to duty with truth and justice, so that what God has left for us to accomplish in this world's stadium that is so fallacious and winding and difficult to finish is to proceed constantly and piously in it, in expectation of that illustrious and much desired Advent of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ with glory in eternity. Amen. I have spoken.

Joachim JACOBY

## INGHIRAMI ÜBER BÜNDNISPOLITIK

Auch am Karnevalsdonnerstag des Jahres 1513 folgte der alljährliche Festumzug in Rom der üblichen Route. Vom Kapitol, wo sich die Mitwirkenden aufgestellt hatten, ging es zunächst hinüber zur Engelsbrücke. Dort, auf dem Platz vor dem Tiber, bog der Zug dann ab, um in Richtung Piazza Navona weiterzuziehen, wo im Anschluß traditionsgemäß die Wettkämpfe abgehalten werden sollten. Auf der anderen Seite des Flusses herrschte an diesem Tag, dem 3. Februar 1513, statt fröhlicher Ausgelassenheit vermutlich eine angespannt konzentrierte Geschäftigkeit, denn Julius II., der Papst, lag im Sterben, oben in seinen Wohnräumen im vatikanischen Palast. Dabei hätte er das Spektakel an dieser *zobia grassa* vielleicht unter anderen Umständen vom Castel Sant'Angelo aus verfolgen wollen, da, von Instruktionen der Camera Apostolica geleitet, in dem Umzug die Person und das Pontifikat von Julius II. in großem Maßstab verherrlicht wurden. Vielleicht aber nahm das Treiben paradoxerweise erst gerade aufgrund des Wissens um den Gesundheitszustand des Papstes einen besonders triumphalen Charakter an, war doch die Hoffnung verbreitet, daß mit dem Tod von Julius II. auch dessen konfliktorientierte und kriegsbereite Politik zu Ende gehen und eine Friedenszeit beginnen könnte.

Auf dem sechzehnten und letzten Wagen des Umzuges war eine Eiche von enormer Größe aufgestellt, deren Zweige kreisförmig zusammengeführt waren. Die Eiche war die Wappenpflanze von Papst Julius II. Das Kirchenoberhaupt war 1443 als Giuliano della Rovere geboren worden und sein Familienname wurde mit dem lateinischen Wort für die Eiche und Ausdruck für Stärke, *robur*, allegorisch verbunden. In dem Eichenkreis war oben in der Mitte ein Bildnis des Papstes eingelassen. Zu seinen Füßen, wo die heraldisch nach oben gebogenen Äste den Stamm des Baumes sichtbar werden ließen, war Kaiser Maximilian I. mit Schwert und Reichsapfel dargestellt. Neben dem Kaiser waren eine Stufe niedriger rechts König Ferdinand der Katholische von Spanien und links König

Heinrich VIII. von England zu sehen.<sup>1</sup> Mit dieser recht simplen Personenanordnung wurde eine politische Verbindung anschaulich gemacht, die schon von den Zeitgenossen mit dem Namen *Liga Santa* bezeichnet wurde.<sup>2</sup> Mit diesem Abkommen, das erst kurz vor der Karnevalssaison im November 1512 seine endgültige Form gefunden hatte, schien das Ende eines mehrjährigen Krieges auf italienischem Boden in greifbare Nähe zu rücken. Nicht umsonst war die Verherrlichung der Liga, die gegen das Engagement Frankreichs in Italien gerichtet war, als Höhepunkt an das Ende des Umzuges gesetzt.<sup>3</sup>

Allein, in der kaiserlich königlichen Trias unterhalb von Julius II. war die Republik Venedig unberücksichtigt geblieben, die ursprünglich ein wichtiger und einziger italienischer Bündnispartner gewesen war. Dabei war gerade die Politik der Republik für die Entstehung der Heiligen Liga ein ausschlaggebender Faktor gewesen. Der wachsende Territorialbesitz Venedigs auf der *Terra ferma* und anderen Teilen der italienischen Halbinsel, Zeugnis für die Verlagerung der wirtschaftlichen Interessen der Republik, hatte all die nordalpinen Mächte, die um ihren Besitz und Einfluß

<sup>1</sup> A. Luzio, 'Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II', *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 9 (1886), 580-581, Bericht eines Unbekannten aus Rom über den Karnevalsumzug am 'zobia grassa', 3. Februar 1513, wiedergegeben in einem Schreiben des Battista Stabellini, 20. Februar 1513, an Isabella d'Este: 'Lo extremo ordine tenne la Querza pur sopra il carro portata, la quale de li sommi soi rami facendo un cerchio serrava forma di Pont[ifice] in effigie di Papa Julio, sotto li piedi di cui qui ne la cavaza de l'arbore era forma de Imp[eratore] con la spada ne la dextra et una sphaera ne la sinistra, e da cadauno de lati un grado più basso a man dextra entro un ramo de l'arbore nel preditto modo eravi somiglianza del Re Cath[olico] la quale teneva ne la dextra la spada et in la sinistra la + [croce] et sotto li piedi stava tenendo *los capos de gran sennores*, credo uno de quelli che in Africa fur vinti et forse ne la Cara Rodamonte chiamato. Da sinistra la persona del Re Inglese pur con l'arme in mano, havea ben ne la sinistra non so che, ma nol compresi'. Zur Camera Apostolica: A. Ademollo, *Alessandro VI, Giulio II e Leone X nel carnevale di Roma. Documenti inediti (1499-1520)* (Florenz, 1886), S. 41; zur Eiche: F. Hartt, "'Lignum vitae in medio paradisi". The Stanza d'Eliodoro and the Sistine Ceiling', *Art Bulletin*, 32 (1950), 129-134.

<sup>2</sup> Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii*, a c. di F. Stefani – G. Berchet – N. Barozzi, 58 Bde. (Venedig, 1879-1903), XV, 451.

<sup>3</sup> Ademollo, *Alessandro*, S. 59: 'E immediate che passomo avanti [die vorangehenden Teilnehmer des Umzugs], l Apparveli una Quercia eminente, l Dove eran sopra tutti i Colleganti. l Il Papa in cima si vedea sedente; l Tra rami, se la vista mia non erra, l Era il Re Ispano, Romano, e d'Inghilterra. l Questo fu 'l sesto Carro trionfale' (aus: Giovanni Iacopo Penni, *La magnifica & sumptuosa festa facta dalli S. R. por el carnovale, M. D. XIII.* (s.l.n.a. [Rom?, nach 27. Juli 1513, vor 23. Febr. 1514], 4°); vgl. B. Mitchell, *Italian civic pageantry in the High Renaissance: a descriptive bibliography of triumphal entries and related other festivals for state occasions*, Biblioteca bibliografica italiana, 89 (Florenz, 1979), S. 116.

in Italien besorgt waren, in der Liga von Cambrai vom 10. Dezember 1508 zu einem Bündnis zusammengeführt. Der Erfolg dieser Liga war für Venedig verheerend. Mit der Schlacht von Agnadello, 14. Mai 1509, verlor die Stadt — allerdings nur für eine kurze Zeit — fast ihren gesamten Besitz jenseits der Lagune.

In einem bis heute in seiner politischen Beweglichkeit und Geradlinigkeit ungewohnten, taktisch überraschenden Schritt verließ Julius II. nach Agnadello zügig die Liga von Cambrai, der er formal am 23. März 1509 beigetreten war, da eine Übermacht der anderen Kollizionäre, Frankreichs, Spaniens und des Reichs, zu befürchten war. Eine Einigung mit Venedig im Februar 1510 und ein Bund mit den Eidgenossen, der im März 1510 ratifiziert wurde, ebneten den Weg, die nordalpinen Mächte in ihrer Eroberungspolitik zu kontrollieren, wenn nicht ganz aus Italien zu vertreiben.<sup>4</sup> Als Folge dehnte Ludwig XII. von Frankreich, im Rumpfbündnis weiter mit Kaiser Maximilian I. alliiert, seine militärischen Maßnahmen gegen Venedig auch auf den Papst aus.

Im Mai 1511 gelang es französischen Truppen, die Stadt Bologna zu besetzen, die Julius II. erst wenige Jahre zuvor, 1506, erobert und dem Kirchenstaat eingegliedert hatte. Der päpstliche Stuhl verlor damit allen Einfluß in der Romagna, im mittleren Norditalien. Aber nicht nur politisch und militärisch, sondern auch kirchenrechtlich wurde der Papst unter Druck gesetzt. Mit der Einberufung eines Konzils zum 1. September 1511 nach Pisa, die in Absprache mit Ludwig XII. von einigen eigenständig handelnden Kardinälen am 16. Mai 1511 ausgesprochen wurde, geriet die Stellung und damit die Legitimität der Politik Julius II. in den Blick.<sup>5</sup> Mit einer atemberaubenden Geschwindigkeit organisierte Julius II. seine Verteidigung. Der Konzilsberufung entzog er die Rechtmäßigkeit, indem er seinerseits am 18. Juli 1511 ein eigenes, päpstliches Konzil zum 19. April 1512 in den Lateran einberief, gegen die militärische Bedrohung richtete sich ein neues Bündnis, das schon im Oktober 1511 in einer ersten Stufe realisiert werden konnte: die Heilige Liga, die dann im Frühjahr 1513 im Karneval triumphierend dargestellt wurde.

<sup>4</sup> Zu den Verflechtungen vgl. F. Gilbert, *The pope, his banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

<sup>5</sup> Vgl. L. von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 16 Bde. (Freiburg i. B., 1886-1931 [Bd. 3 & 4: 5.-7. Aufl.]), III/2, 714-812; N.H. Minnich, *The healing of the Pisan Schism (1511-1513) (with new appendices)*, in N.H. Minnich, *The Fifth Lateran Council (1512-1517). Studies on its membership, diplomacy and proposals for reform*, Collected Studies Series CS 392 (Aldershot, 1993), Nr. II, SS. 59-192.



Das neue Bündnis wuchs, diplomatisch geschickt zusammengebracht, in einem Zeitraum von knapp eineinhalb Jahren. Am 4. Oktober 1511 wurde im vatikanischen Palast das Bündnis zwischen Julius II., der Republik Venedig und Ferdinand dem Katholischen formell abgeschlossen; Ferdinand war aufgrund seines großen Territorialbesitzes im Süden des Kirchenstaats und wegen der großen Kampfkraft seiner Truppen alternativlos zu integrieren.<sup>6</sup> Ein Beitritt Englands, dessen Vertreter an der Kurie seit August 1511 zu Verhandlungen autorisiert war, konnte noch nicht vollzogen werden, da das entsprechende Mandat des englischen Königs bis zu diesem Datum nicht in Rom eingetroffen war.<sup>7</sup>

Erst ein Jahr später, im November 1512, erfolgte der Eintritt von Kaiser Maximilian I. in das Bündnis. Im Oktober 1511 war er noch als Partner von Ludwig XII. ein Gegner der Heiligen Liga und Befürworter des Pisaner Konzils gewesen. Im Sommer 1512 hatte sich aber die strategische Lage grundlegend geändert. Französische Truppen hatten zwar bei Ravenna am 11. April 1512 die Truppen der Heiligen Liga besiegt, waren aber nicht in der Lage, die gewonnene Position zu behaupten. Nach der Räumung Norditaliens fielen die französischen Besitzungen, darunter das Herzogtum Mailand, wieder in die Hände der Alliierten. Maximilian I., der offenbar aufgrund der Blockadepolitik der Reichsstände in ausreichender Form keine eigenen Truppen aufstellen konnte, verlor mit der Schlacht von Ravenna seinen Bündnispartner und trat, wohl auch um Angriffen der Heiligen Liga vorzubeugen, der Liga bei. Die Republik Venedig allerdings, die sich mit Maximilian I. nicht hatte einigen können, wurde aus der Liga ausgeschlossen und nahm erneut mit Frankreich Bündnisverhandlungen auf.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, XIII, 88-93; A. Theiner, *Codex diplomaticus domini temporalis s. sedis*, 3 Bde. (Rom, 1862), III, 518-524; Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/2, 819; R. Brown, *Calendar of state papers and manuscripts relating to English affairs, existing in the archives and collections of Venice, and in other libraries of Northern Italy*, 27 Bde. (London, 1864-1926), II, Nr. 128, 133, 1344-1348; G. A. Bergenroth, *Calendar of letters, despatches, and state papers, relating to the negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas and elsewhere*, 13 Bde. (London, 1862-1954), II, Nr. 56; J.S. Brewer, *Letters and papers foreign and domestic of the reign of Henry VIII*, 21 Bde. (London, 1862-1932), I/1, Nr. 939, 969; J.M. Doussinague, *Fernando el Católico y el cisma de Pisa* (Madrid, 1946), SS. 2-399; J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516*, 2 Bde. (Oxford, 1976-1978), II, 562-564.

<sup>7</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, XII, 333, 370-371 (Mandat zu Verhandlungen, 7. Aug. 1511), 372-373; XIII, 76-77; das fehlende Zeichnungsmandat erwähnt im Vertragstext vom 4. Okt. 1511 (s. Anm. 6).

<sup>8</sup> Bergenroth, *Calendar*, II, Nr. 73; Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/2, 857-864; H. Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I.*, 5 Bde. (Wien - München, 1971-1986), IV, 108-112.

Es ist nicht verwunderlich, daß Julius II. die verschiedenen Teilschritte, in denen die Heilige Liga abgeschlossen und langsam umfangreicher wurde, mit erheblichem Aufwand in Rom feiern und publizistisch nach außen tragen ließ. Die erste Unterzeichnung des Abkommens am 4. Oktober wurde am folgenden Tag mit einem Festgottesdienst in Anwesenheit von Julius II. in Santa Maria del Popolo gefeiert, der Beitritt von Kaiser Maximilian am 19. November 1512 wurde übereinstimmend am gleichen Ort am 25. November 1512 begangen und auch anläßlich des Beitritts von Heinrich VIII. ist anzunehmen, daß eine analoge Zeremonie geplant war.

Im Anschluß an die Gottesdienste vom Oktober 1511 und November 1512 wurden Ansprachen gehalten, in denen das Ereignis in seiner Tragweite und Bedeutung besonders herausgestellt wurde. Die Rede am 5. Oktober 1511 hielt Massimo Corvini, Bischof von Isernia.<sup>9</sup> Klar beschrieb Corvini unter dem Eindruck der tagespolitischen Entwicklungen die Zusammensetzung des Bündnisses, wobei auch Venedig angemessen hervorgehoben wurde. Corvini benannte auch die offizielle Zielsetzung der Allianz, die Sicherung des Heiligen Stuhls, die Rückgewinnung vom Feind eroberter Gebiete, worin sicherlich ein Hinweis auf Bologna zu sehen ist, und letztlich die Unterbindung eines Kirchenschismas, das sich drohend im Konzil von Pisa abzeichnete.<sup>10</sup>

Sicherlich wird der neue Vertrag schnell im Wortlaut an den europäischen Höfen bekannt geworden sein, da deren Botschafter in Rom durchaus in der Lage gewesen sein dürften, sich eine Kopie des Textes zu verschaffen. Im übrigen wurde die Nachricht auch im diplomatischen Schriftverkehr

<sup>9</sup> *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 29 (Rom, 1983), 832-834.

<sup>10</sup> Maximus Corvinus [Episcopus Iserniensis], *Oratio maximi Coruini Parthenopei. I Episcopi Esernien[sis]. Sanctiss[imo] Iulio II. Pontifi[ci] Maxi[mo] dicta* (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Johannes Beplin für Marcellus Silber, nach 5. Okt. 1511], 4°), fol. 2r: das Bündnis wurde geschlossen

Primo pro salute praesidio, statu atque libertate, tam sanctitatis tuae quam huius Apostolici Imperii, ne quid detrimenti amplius patiat; inde ut iura, munia, oppida. Ciuitates et loca Ecclesiastice iurisdictionis, que huic sacro imperio, immo iesu xpo [Christo] humani generis redemptori, Hostes nimis superbe & auare non sine dolo malo eripuerunt, recuperentur; postremo ut tyrannorum atque seditiosissimorum animi, qui furore agitantur atque ab una sancta Catholica & Apostolica Ecclesia dissidere uidentur, aliquando ad sanitatem redeant, ne superbissimi Luciferi ritu aut Gigantum more aduersus praepotentem Deum amplius impios conatus moliantur, sed penitentia ducti tranquilla in pace resideant.

Zur Publikationsfeier vgl. L. Frati, *Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II tratte dal diario di Paride Grassi Bolognese maestro delle cerimonie della Cappella Papale su manoscritti di Bologna, Roma e Parigi*, Documenti e studi della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna, 1, Documenti (Bologna, 1886), SS. 299-302.

gemeldet und weitergeleitet. So übermittelten die *Dieci di Balìa* der Republik Florenz schon am 8. Oktober 1511, ihrerseits offenbar sehr schnell von ihrem Vertreter an der Kurie informiert, die Neuigkeiten an Francesco Pandolfini, den Florentiner Botschafter bei den von Rom abgewichenen, schismatischen Kardinälen, die ein Konzil nach Pisa einberufen hatten. Statt sich aber der offiziellen Sprachregelung zu bedienen, wurde die tatsächliche Stoßrichtung des Bündnisses klarer benannt: Das Abkommen zwischen Papst, Ferdinand und Venedig sei unter Wissen des als Partner vorgesehenen englischen Königs zur Wiedereroberung Bolognas, anderer Gebiete des Kirchenstaates und zum Widerstand gegen das Pisaner Konzil geschlossen.<sup>11</sup>

Schließlich wurde die Ansprache von Massimo Corvini im Buchdruck verbreitet. Man hat aufgrund typographischer Merkmale verschiedene Ausgaben der Rede identifizieren können. Ein Druck wurde in Rom von Etienne Guillery und Ercole Nani verlegt, ein weiterer am gleichen Ort vermutlich von Johannes Beplin für Marcello Silber gedruckt. Beide Häuser wurden regelmäßig von der Kurie für die Publikation von offiziellen Schriften herangezogen.<sup>12</sup> Ob die Ausgaben gleichzeitig oder nacheinander entstanden, ist nicht bekannt, und auch über die Höhe der Auflagen bestehen keine Erkenntnisse.<sup>13</sup> Die Nachfrage scheint jedoch so groß gewesen zu sein, oder ein Angebot konnte kalkulierbar eine entsprechende Nachfrage hervorrufen, daß sich sowohl für den Verleger Martin Landsberg in Leipzig wie für seinen Kollegen Johann Weißenburger in

<sup>11</sup> A. Renaudet, *Le concile gallican de Pise-Milan: Documents florentins (1510-1512)*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut français de Florence, ser. 1, 7 (Paris, 1922), S. 348 (Florenz, 8. Oktober 1511, Dieci an Francesco Pandolfini): 'Noi ti scrivemo per l'ultima quanto era seguito ad Roma dello accordo tra il Papa et Spagna. Essi dipoi tucto verificato: et a di 5 in Sancta Maria del Popolo et dopo una messa solemne fu publicata tal lega et accordo, tra il Papa Hispana et Viniziani, et con saputa et con conscientia d'Inghilterra lasciando luogo etc., ad effecto di ricuperare Bologna et le altre terre della Chiesa et obviare al concilio pisano'. Weitere Berichte in: J. Godefroy (Ed.), *Lettres du Roy Louis XII, et du Cardinal George d'Amboise. Avec plusieurs autres lettres, mémoires et instructions écrites 1504 jusques et compris 1514*, 4 Bde. (Brüssel, 1712), III, 60, 76-77; Sanuto, *Diarii*, XIII, 75-88; *Corpo diplomatico portuguez*, ed. A. Rebello da Silva, Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 14 Bde. (Lissabon, 1862-1910), I, 137, 138-139.

<sup>12</sup> Maximus Corvinus [Episcopus Iserniensis], *Oratio maximi corvini | Parthenopei. Episcopi | Esernien[sis] Sanctiss[imo] | Iulio II. Pontifi[ci] | Maxi[mo] dicta* (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Stephanus Guileretus & Hercules Nani, nach 5. Okt. 1511], 4°); zur Ausgabe von Silber/Beplin s. Anm. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Für eine Bulle (27. April 1509), mit der Julius II. Venedig exkommunizierte, liefert Sanuto, *Diarii*, VIII, 182, eine Auflage von 600 Exemplaren, vgl. F. Ascarelli, *Le cinquecentine romane: Censimento delle edizioni romane del XVI secolo possedute dalle biblioteche di Roma* (Mailand, 1972), SS. 146-147; Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/2, 763.

Nürnberg ein Nachdruck finanziell rechnete; beide Schriften erschienen vielleicht noch 1511 oder zu Beginn des Jahres 1512.<sup>14</sup> Mit der Veröffentlichung im Druck wurde der Rede die Funktion zugewiesen, im Sinne der Kurie auf die Meinungsbildung, allerdings einer sehr kleinen, latinisierten Öffentlichkeit, Einfluß zu nehmen. Wie die Publikation auch anderer Ansprachen, etwa von Obedienzreden, vor dem Papst gehaltener Predigten oder päpstlicher Bullen, wurde auch für die Ansprache von Corvini eine Nutzung des Buchdrucks als Medium angeordnet.<sup>15</sup> Bei Guillery und Nani erschien außerdem ein den Anlaß verherrlichendes Gedicht des stadtrömischen Dichters Pietro Corsi. Die Verse waren offenbar für eine Zeremonie gedacht, die, wie aus dem Vorwort der Schrift hervorgeht, einige Zeit nach der Vertragsunterzeichnung am 1. November 1511 abgehalten werden sollte.<sup>16</sup> Der besondere Charakter, der Veranstaltungsort und der

<sup>14</sup> Maximus Corvinus [Episcopus Iserniensis], *Oratio sanctissimi fedelris initi inter pontifice[m]: Hispanu[m] | et Venetos. habita Rhome tercio | Nonas Octobris Anno undeci[m]o* [5. Oktober 1511] | *Breve Julii secu[n]di pon[tificis] max[imi] ad | reges duces et principes christianos: in quo continentur potiores | licet plures sint alie cause priuatio[n]is cardinaliu[m] Hereticor[um] Scis= | maticorumq[ue]* (Leipzig: Martin Landsberg [nach 18. Dez.] 1511, 4°); Maximus Corvinus [Episcopus Iserniensis], *Oratio maximi cor | uini Parthenopei Episcopi | Esernien[sis] Sanctissimo | Julio Secundo | Pont[ifici] Max[imo] | dicta* (s.l.n.a. [Nürnberg: Johann Weißenburger, 1512], 4°); zum gleichzeitig gedruckten *Panegyris* des Pietro Corsi s. Anm. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Obedienzreden bisher nicht systematisch gesammelt, vgl. R. de Maulde-La Clavière, *La diplomatie au temps de Machiavel*, Histoire de Louis XII, 2, 3 Bde. (Paris, 1892-1893), I, 124; II, 222, 225, 230, 239. Für die *Orationes inter missarum solennia*: J.W. O'Malley, *Praise and Blame in Renaissance Rome. Rhetoric, Doctrine and Reform in the Sacred Orators of the Papal Court, c. 1450-1520*, Duke Monographs in Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 3 (Durham, N. C., 1979), SS. 245-255; für die Veröffentlichung von Bullen und das gesamte römische Schrifttum vgl. die Hinweise bei Johannes Burckardus, *Liber notarum*, a c. di E. Celani, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 32/1, 2 Bde. (Città di Castello, 1907-1913), passim; Sanuto, *Diarii*, XII, 256, 362, 371; XIV, 428, 450; XV, 384-389, 411, 416; Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/2, 763, 774, 812, 820 usw.; Ascarelli, *Cinquecentine*, passim; *Short title catalogue of books printed in Italy and of Italian books printed in other countries from 1465 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London, 1958), S. 570-571; J.M. McManamon, 'The ideal Renaissance Pope: Funeral oratory from the Papal Court', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 14 (1976), 10-18.

<sup>16</sup> Petrus Cursius, *Cursii Panegyris | de foedere in- | ter Iulium II. | Pont[ificem] Max[imum] | et Hispani[arum] | Regem* (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Stephanus Guileretus & Hercules Nani, nach 31. Oktober 1511], 4°); vgl. H. Elie, 'Un Lunévillois imprimeur à Rome au début di XVIème siècle: Etienne Guillery', *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* (1939), 189, Anm. 39. Handschriftlich (urschriftlich?) liegt Corsis Text unter dem Titel 'Panegyris de nono anno pontificatus Julii II et foedere inter Iulium pontificem et hispanum regem' vor in der Sammelhandschrift: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 5383, fol. 137r-139r. Johann Weißenburger in Nürnberg brachte die Schrift gleichzeitig mit seiner Ausgabe der Rede Corvinis heraus (s. Anm. 14): Petrus Cursius, *Cursij Panegyris | de federe inter Iuliu[m].ij. Pont[ificem] | Max[imum] et Hispani[arum] Rege[m]* (s.l.n.a. [Nürnberg: Johann

Ablauf dieser Zeremonie liegen im Dunkeln. Unbekannt bleibt auch der spezielle Anlaß, für den Fausto Evangelista Maddaleni de' Capodiferro, ein weiterer, bekannter stadtrömischer Dichter, einige Zeilen zur Verherrlichung des Ereignisses verfaßte. Capodiferro schrieb regelmäßig und wohl meist im Auftrag der Kurie zu den verschiedensten Themen kürzere und umfangreichere Gedichte. Vielleicht entstand der Text im Zusammenhang mit den weiteren Feierlichkeiten, die die Vertragsunterzeichnung begleiteten.<sup>17</sup>

Die Druckschriften verbreiteten sich vermutlich recht schnell und vielfach bestimmungsgemäß auf diplomatischem Weg. Zumindest läßt sich dies daraus schließen, daß einige Erzeugnisse dieses Typs von Johannes Blankenfeld, dem Prokurator des Deutschen Ordens in Rom, an seinen Dienstherren, Hochmeister Albrecht von Brandenburg-Ansbach, als Beilage zur diplomatischen Post übersendet wurden.<sup>18</sup> Aber auch eher unliebsame Schriften fanden den Weg in den Vertrieb, wie eine einige Jahre zuvor in Rom gedruckte und in Venedig bekannt gewordene Schmähsschrift gegen Papst Alexander VI. bestätigt.<sup>19</sup> Es ist davon auszugehen, daß eine Kontrolle während der Drucklegung erfolgte, die vermutlich häufig von

Weissenburger, 1512], 4°); Rede und Panegyris zusammen nachgedruckt in: W. Roscoe, *Leben und Regierung des Papstes Leo des Zehnten*, aus dem Engl. von A.F.G. Glaser, 3 Bde. (Leipzig, 1806-1808), I, 566-567.

<sup>17</sup> Fausto Evangelista Maddaleni de' Capodiferro, *Actio de laudibus Hispaniae. Interloquuntur Fortitudo et Fides*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 3419, fol. 155r-156v. Weitere Gedichte: Petrus Gravina, *Ferdinando utriusque Hispaniae Regi*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Ottob. Lat. 2860, fol. 18v; späteren Datums ist Marco Antonio Casanova, *Epitaphium Regis Hispaniarum*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 2834, fol. 15r (wiederholt auf fol. 43v, 67r, 81r; auch Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 5227, pars 2, fol. 72v); Id., *De eodem [Rege Hispaniarum]*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 2834, fol. 67r (wiederholt auf fol. 103r).

<sup>18</sup> Einem Schreiben vom 8. April 1513 legte Blankenfeld eine Aufstellung der Kabinenverteilung im Konklave nach dem Tod von Julius II. bei: *Ordo Mansionu[m] Reveren[dis]simorum domi[n]or[um] Card[inalium] in Conclavi existentiu[m]: assignatar[um] secu[n]dum Prophetias in Capella pontificia figuratas*. (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Marcellus Silber, vor 11. März 1513], 4°): Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, XX. Hauptabteilung (Staatsarchiv Königsberg), Ordensbriefarchiv, Nr. 19730 (vgl. D.S. Chambers, 'Papal conclaves and prophetic mystery in the Sistine Chapel', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 41 (1978), 322-326); einem Schreiben vom 16. November 1516 fügte Blankenfeld die Zitationsbulle an Francesco Maria della Rovere, Herzog von Urbino, an: Leo X., *Monitorium penale contra Franciscum mariam Ducem Urbini: per Sanctum d[omi]n[u]m nostrum papam Leonem X decretum* [Bulle] Ex ore sedentis in throno [1. März 1516] (Rom [Marcellus Silber], s.a. [nach 1. März 1516], 4°): Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, XX. Hauptabteilung (Staatsarchiv Königsberg), Ordensbriefarchiv, Nr. 21095 (vgl. Pastor, *Geschichte*, IV/2, 102, 683-684, Nr. 14).

<sup>19</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, III, 112: 29. November 1500.

den Autoren als Selbstkontrolle im Sinne ihrer Auftraggeber oder Dienstherrn vorbereitet wurde. Papst Julius II. etwa untersagte den Druck einer Rede, die ein Dr. Antonio Zusto aus Neapel veröffentlichen wollte, da diese Rede nicht, wie der Autor behauptete, vor Kaiser Maximilian I. gehalten worden war.<sup>20</sup> Sind in diesem Fall die recht unbedeutenden Hintergründe für den Zensureingriff rekonstruierbar, bleiben diese Zusammenhänge in der Regel im Dunkeln. Aufgrund der Zugriffsmöglichkeit war auch eine Abänderung oder beabsichtigte Verfälschung zu realisieren, die dem Druckwerk einen neuen, genehmen Tenor verlieh.<sup>21</sup>

Auch die Publikation des Abkommens mit Maximilian I. verlief entlang dieser Linie, wenn auch offenbar aufgrund der Bedeutung des Vertragspartners obige Maßnahmen intensiviert wurden.<sup>22</sup> Nicht ein sonst kaum besonders hervorgetretener Kuriale wie Massimo Corvini, sondern der berühmte General der Augustinereremiten Egidio da Viterbo, der als Theologe, Redner und Diplomat gleichermaßen europäische Anerkennung gewonnen hatte, hat in Santa Maria del Popolo im Anschluß an den Gottesdienst die Ansprache gehalten.<sup>23</sup> In seiner Rede behandelte Egidio

<sup>20</sup> R. Cessi, *Dispacci degli ambasciatori veneziani alla corte di Roma presso Giulio II (25 giugno 1509-9 gennaio 1510)*, Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Venezie, ser. 1, Documenti, 18 (Venedig, 1932), S. 59 (Schreiben vom 29. Juli 1509). Antonio Zusto (Giusto) als Diplomat nicht faßbar, vgl. P. Krendl, 'Spanische Gesandte berichten über Maximilian I., den Hof und das Reich', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 87 (1979), 101-120; W. Höflechner, *Die Gesandten der europäischen Mächte, vornehmlich des Kaisers und des Reiches 1490-1500*, Archiv für österreichische Geschichte, 129 (Wien, 1972). Den Druck seiner Obedienzrede organisierte der mailändische Botschafter Girolamo Morone vor Ort: Hieronymus Moronus, *In praestanda obedientia Leoni X. pont[ifici] max[imo] pro Maximiliano Sfortia Mediolani Duce... oratio* [14. Dezember 1513] (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Johannes Beplin?, nach 14. Dezember 1513, vor 2. Januar 1514], 4°); zum Datum 2. Jan. 1514 vgl. G. Müller (Ed.), *Documenti che concernono la vita di Girolamo Morone*, Miscellanea di storia italiana, 3 (Turin, 1865), S. 174; zu einem späteren Druck: E. Sandal, *Editori e tipografi a Milano nel Cinquecento*, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana, 68, 72, 83, 3 Bde. (Baden-Baden, 1977-1981), III, Nr. 530.

<sup>21</sup> Die venezianischen Botschafter in Rom meldeten am 5. Juli 1509, daß ein Brief des Dogen an Papst Julius II. vom 5. Juni 1509 verfälscht gedruckt worden sei; Julius II. bestritt hierfür jede Verantwortung (Cessi, *Dispacci*, S. 23, 121; vgl. Sanuto, *Diarii*, VIII, 371).

<sup>22</sup> C. O'Reilly, "Maximus Caesar Pontifex Maximus": Giles of Viterbo proclaims the alliance between Emperor Maximilian I and Pope Julius II, *Augustiniana*, 22 (1972), 83-95.

<sup>23</sup> Egidio da Viterbo [Egidio Antonini], *Oratio habita post tertiam sacri Lateranensis Concilii sessionem: in ecclesia divae Mariae virginis de populo... de federe inito inter Iulium secundum Pontificem Maximum et illustrem Maximilianum Imperatorem* [25. November 1512] (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Marcellus Silber, nach 25. Nov. 1512], 4°). Der seltene Druck wurde von Clare O'Reilly neu ediert (nach dieser Ausgabe im folgenden zitiert): O'Reilly, 'Maximus Caesar', 100-117. Zur Verbreitung der Nachricht in den diplomatischen

da Viterbo die ursprünglichen Ziele der Heiligen Liga nur kurz: Den Schutz und die territoriale Integrität des Kirchenstaates in der von Julius II. in Anspruch genommenen Form und die endgültige Bannung der Gefahr eines Schismas, die mit der Verlagerung des Pisaner Konzils nach Mailand und später Lyon absehbar geworden war.<sup>24</sup> Beide Themen können hinter dem ersten Anliegen, dem Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen, zurücktreten, zu dem Egidio da Viterbo mit großer rhetorischer Kraft aufrief. Auch die Rede von Egidio da Viterbo wurde in einem Druck verbreitet; vielleicht läßt sich hinter der relativen Seltenheit des Quartheftchens eine große Nachfrage und somit hohe Verluste vermuten.

Aber auch dieser Vertragsabschluß wurde in weiterer Form publik gemacht. Neben den üblichen Informationen der Diplomaten, die bereits den Charakter zeitungsmäßiger, aber noch handschriftlich verbreiteter Berichterstattung annehmen, stehen weitere Druckerzeugnisse, die mit dem Beitritt des Kaisers zur Heiligen Liga zusammenhängen.<sup>25</sup> Der Dichter Pierio Valeriano, der später durch seine *Hieroglyphica* (ed. princ. 1556) Berühmtheit erlangte, verfaßte mit dem Datum 7. November 1512 eine Beschreibung der Ankunft des kaiserlichen Sonderbotschafters Matthäus Lang zu letzten Verhandlungen und zur Vertragsunterzeichnung. Die Schrift erschien wahrscheinlich noch vor der feierlichen Ratifizierung bei dem römischen Verleger Giacomo Mazzocchi.<sup>26</sup> Auch gingen aus der römischen Druckerei des Johannes Beplin vermutlich in diesen Tagen zwei schmale Bändchen hervor, in denen panegyrische Gedichte über Matthäus Lang zum Abdruck kamen.<sup>27</sup>

Kanälen vgl. A. J. G. Le Glay (Ed.), *Négociations diplomatiques entre la France et l'Autriche durant les trente premières années du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 Bde. (Paris, 1845), I, 513-516.

<sup>24</sup> H. Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 Bde. (Freiburg i. B., 1949-1975), I, 84-92; W. Ullmann, 'Julius II and the schismatic cardinals', *Studies in Church History*, 9 (1972), 177-193.

<sup>25</sup> F. Martin, 'Eine Zeitung über den Einzug Matthäus Langs in Rom', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 41 (1926), 210-215; J. Sallaberger, *Kardinal Matthäus Lang von Wellenburg (1468-1540)* (Salzburg, 1997), SS. 90-95.

<sup>26</sup> Pierio Valeriano, *Epistola l de honoribus illustrissimo ac l reverendissimo Gurgensi l Caesareo totius Italiae vicario l urbem ingredienti l habitis*. [7. Nov. 1512] (Rom: Giacomo Mazzocchi, s.a. [nach 7. Nov. 1512], 4°); Paolo Pellegrini, *Pierio Valeriano e la tipografia del Cinquecento. Nascita, storia e bibliografia delle opere di un umanista*, Libri e Biblioteche, 11 (Udine, 2002), SS. 50-54, 115-116, Nr. IX-1.

<sup>27</sup> Ianus Franciscus Vitalis, *Panegyris. R. D. l Mathei Episcopi l Gur[censis] Per l J. Fran[ciscum] Vitalem l Panor[mitanum]* (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Johannes Beplin, nach 11. Nov. 1512], 4°). C. Sylvanus Germanicus, *.C. Sylvani Germa[nici] Panegyris l Ill[ustrissimo] Principi Matheo Longo Imperatoris l Caes[aris] Maximiliani Aug[usti] l legato dicta*. (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Johannes Beplin, nach 13. Nov. 1512], 4°). Vielleicht stehen diese Gedichte

Schon im Februar 1513 wurde in Straßburg bei Matthias Schürer ein Nachdruck herausgebracht, der vermutlich für die Leserschaft im Reich gedacht war und auch die zu diesem Anlaß verfaßten Gedichte im Anhang mit abdruckte. Das Interesse am kaiserlichen Engagement in Italien schlug sich schließlich in einer deutschen Übersetzung von Valerianos Schrift durch den Humanisten und Nürnberger Ratskonsulenten Christof Scheurl nieder, die vielleicht noch 1513 in Nürnberg von Friedrich Peypus verlegt wurde.<sup>28</sup> Wohl anlässlich einer feierlichen Prozession wurde im November 1512 zwischen Vatikan und Castel Sant'Angelo eine ephemere Triumphbogenarchitektur errichtet, deren Inschriften das Bündnis zwischen Papst und Kaiser feierten.<sup>29</sup>

mit einer Dichterkrönung in Zusammenhang, die Julius II. am 10. Nov. 1512 im Beisein Langs vornahm: E. Schröter, 'Der Vatikan als Hügel Apollons und der Musen. Kunst und Panegyrik von Nikolaus V. bis Julius II.', *Römische Quartalschrift*, 75 (1980), 237-239.

<sup>28</sup> Pierio Valeriano, *Pierii Valeriani de hono-ribus illustrissimo ac reverendissimo Gurlicensi Caesareo totius Italiae vicario | vrbem ingredienti habitis | Epistola*. (Straßburg: Matthias Schürer, Februar 1513, 4°); Pellegrini, *Valeriano*, S. 117, Nr. IX-2. Dieser Ausgabe sind die unter dem Namen von Giano Francesco Vitale veröffentlichten Gedichte angehängt (s. Anm. 27); einen Nachdruck von Valerianos *Epistola* und den Gedichten bietet Marquard Freher, *Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores*, 3 Bde. (Straßburg, 1717), II, 569-586. Pierio Valeriano, *Ein Epistel von | den Ererpiettungen dem | hochwirdigen von Gurgk | Keyserlichen Vicarien in | allen welschlanden besche | hen, als sein Furstlich gnad | zu Rom eingeritten ist, am | funfften tag Nouembris. | Anno. M. CCCCC.xij.,... C. S. D.* [Christof Scheurl Doctor] *traducebat* (s.l.n.a. [Nürnberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1513], 4°); Pellegrini, *Valeriano*, SS. 117-118, Nr. IX-3.

<sup>29</sup> Battista di Pietro Zenobio Brunelleschi, *Epitaphia moderna [Raccolta di iscrizioni antiche e moderne]*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 6041, ff. 60v-61r:

nellarco di Cechotto in roma fatta p[ro] papa Julio addi 12 dinouembre 1512  
 Julio II pont. max. maximiliano caes. aug.  
 italie atque ecclesiae liberatori  
 Laborem pro generositate & optasti & superasti  
 Nil gloriosum nisi prius laboriosum  
 [61r] Te virtutes Te fortuna circumuallarunt  
 Nihil meditaris corde quod fastis non exequaris  
 et alia parte  
 Libertas & pax restitute aduentu  
 tuo perpetuae memoriae erexere  
 In utraque fortuna inuictissimo principi  
 Euectus est in astra honos tuus  
 Gloriose fidei immortale ornamentum  
 Tuae magnificentiae admiratio triumphum peperit.

(zur Handschrift vgl. A. Nesselrath in *Raffaello a Roma. Katalog der Ausstellung im Braccio di Carlo Magno, Città del Vaticano, 16. Oktober 1984-16. Januar 1985* (Mailand, 1984), SS. 52-53, Nr. 34). 'Ceccotto' ist der genuesische Schneider und burleske Astronom Francesco de Castilione (*Pasquinate romane del Cinquecento*, a c. di V. Marucci – A. Marzo – A. Romano, 2 Bde. (Rom, 1983), II, 1022; A. Ferrajoli, *Il ruolo della corte di Leone X*



Für den Beitritt von König Heinrich VIII. zur Heiligen Liga steht nicht fest, ob eine aufwendige Zeremonie bei der Vertragsunterzeichnung abgehalten worden ist. Der englische König zeichnete das Abkommen in Westminster am 13. November 1511. Ab Dezember 1511 wurde in Rom ein baldiges Eintreffen des Mandates erwartet, das dem englischen Botschafter, Kardinal Christopher Bainbridge, eine Unterzeichnung des Vertrages erlaubte.<sup>30</sup> Jedoch heißt es auch, das Mandat werde zunächst dem spanischen König zur Weiterleitung nach Rom übersandt, und nicht nur an Bainbridge, sondern auch an den Vertreter der spanischen Krone in Rom, Jerónimo de Vich, geschickt; De Vich könne zeichnen, wenn es ihm angemessen erscheine.<sup>31</sup> Diese Nachrichten lassen darauf schließen, daß Heinrich VIII. vor einem endgültigen Beitritt zur Liga mehrere politische Ziele gesichert wissen wollte. Zum einen traf er im November 1511 eine separate Absprache mit Spanien, mit der sich eine strategische Bedrohung Frankreichs verband, zum anderen verhandelte er weiter mit dem päpstlichen Stuhl, bis ihm Julius II. im März 1512 in einem Geheimpakt unter bestimmten Bedingungen mit dem Titel des französischen Königs, 'rex christianissimus', auch die französische Königswürde selbst zusicherte.<sup>32</sup> Erst nach diesen Verzögerungen traf das Zeichnungsmandat Heinrichs VIII., das vom 26. April 1512 datierte und erneut den englischen und den spanischen

(1514-1516), a c. V. di Caprio, Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 23 (Rom, 1984), S. 21, 484). Auch am 11. April 1513 ließ Castiglione anlässlich des Festumzuges zum Possess Leos X. einen Bogen vor seinem zwischen Vatikan und Castel Sant'Angelo gelegenen Haus errichten (F. Cruciani, *Teatro del Rinascimento, Roma 1450-1550*, Europa delle Corti, Centro studi sulle società di antico Regime, Biblioteca del Cinquecento, 22 (Rom, 1983), S. 395). Daher kann ein übereinstimmender Standort auch für den Bau vom November 1512 angenommen werden. Zwar wurde Anfang November 1512 der Empfang des kaiserlichen Vertreters Matthäus Lang in Rom vorbereitet (Sanuto, *Diarii*, XV, 307), aber nach dem Einzug Langs in Rom, 5. Nov. 1512, ist für die Vertragszeichnung oder -publikation (19. & 25. Nov. 1512) keine Prozession überliefert (Sanuto, *Diarii*, XV, 324-390); vielleicht war eine Prozession für den 12. November geplant, aber die Verhandlungen zogen sich länger als vorgesehen hin. Auf dem Weg vom Vatikan nach Santa Maria del Popolo wäre der Bogen berührt worden. Vielleicht bezieht sich das Datum '12. November 1512' auf die Fertigstellung des Bogens oder den Tag, als Brunelleschi seine Notizen anfertigte.

<sup>30</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, XIII, 317, 392, 394; Bergenroth, *Calendar*, II, Nr. 58; Brewer, *Letters*, I/1, Nr. 939, 969/40.

<sup>31</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, XIII, 392, 397, in Schreiben des venezianischen Botschafters in Rom, 7.-11. Jan. 1511: 'et è lettere di Ingaltera, con la commission dil Re a l'orator ispano [De Vich] et al cardinal Eboracense [Bainbridge] a sottoscriver la liga come e quando parerà a dito orator yspano'; Brewer, *Letters*, I/1, Nr. 1020.

<sup>32</sup> Bergenroth, *Calendar*, II, Nr. 59; Brewer, *Letters*, I/1, Nr. 945, 995, 1054. A. Ferrajoli, 'Breve inedito di Giulio II per investitura del regno di Francia ad Enrico VIII d'Inghilterra', *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 19 (1896), 425-441.

Botschafter zur Unterschrift autorisierte, in Rom ein. Der Eintritt Englands in die Heilige Liga wurde schließlich am 17. Mai 1512 auf der zweiten Sitzung des V. Lateranischen Konzils mit der Verlesung des entsprechenden Dokumentes durch Baldassare Tuerdo (Balthasar Stuart), den Sekretär des Papstes, proklamiert.<sup>33</sup>

Auf diese Weise in das politische Agieren des Heiligen Stuhles integriert, wurde von der Kurie keine eigenständige Publikationsfeier geplant, sondern nur eine Freudenbekundung angeordnet. Jedoch war zu Beginn des Jahres 1512, als der Beitritt Englands in Rom und Venedig euphorisch aufgenommen wurde, an eine solche Feier gedacht worden. Der Papst, so notierte der venezianische Historiograph Marin Sanuto im Januar 1512, habe aus England erfahren, daß man das Abkommen für abgeschlossen betrachten könne, daß also Heinrich VIII. der Liga beitreten werde; auch erwarte der englische Botschafter bald das Zeichnungsmandat und man werde größere Publikationsfeierlichkeiten abhalten als aus Anlaß des spanischen Beitritts.<sup>34</sup>

Vielleicht wurden die Vorbereitungen von dem englischen Botschafter Kardinal Christopher Bainbridge vorangetrieben, der 1512 erstmals das Patronat über das alljährliche Fest des Pasquino übernehmen und sich auch um die Drucklegung der dazu verfaßten Satiren und Gedichte kümmern sollte.<sup>35</sup> Die Angelegenheit wird jedoch in der weiteren venezianischen diplomatischen Korrespondenz bis zum englischen Beitritt im Mai 1512 nicht weiter aufgenommen. Auch eine Ansprache, die bei diesem Anlaß gehalten werden sollte, ist in den Quellen nicht dokumentiert,

<sup>33</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, XIV, 225, 242-245; Brown, *Calendar*, II, Nr. 162 & 165; Brewer, *Letters*, I/1, Nr. 1191, 1204; M. Dykmans, 'Le cinquième Concile du Latran d'après le Daire de Paris de Grassis', *Annuaire Historiae Conciliorum*, 14 (1982), 312-313. Ein Mandat von Heinrich VIII. (1. April 1512) bezieht sich auf den Beitritt Englands zum Laterankonzil: T. Rymer, *Foedera, conventiones, literae, et cujuscunque generis Acta publica, inter Reges Angliae, et alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates*, 20 Bde. (London, 1704-32), XIII, 325.

<sup>34</sup> Sanuto, *Diarii*, XIII, 392, 394, 420. Am 28. Januar 1512 (394) faßt Sanuto Briefe aus Rom vom 5. Januar 1512 zusammen: 'Il Papa stà di bona voglia, sì per la presa di la Bastia, come per le lettere de Inghilterra, che si tien per conclusa la liga, e che quel Re intrarà in la liga nostra, e presto, come dice il cardinal anglese [Christopher Bainbridge], sarà qui il mandato, e se farano molto più solennità in publicarla che non fu fato quando fo publichà l'altra con Spagna'. 'La Bastia' ist die ferraresische Festung *Bastia del Fossato Zannaio* [Fossà di Ziniol] (D. Chambers, *Cardinal Bainbridge in the court of Rome, 1509-1514* (Oxford, 1965), S. 82), auch *Bastia del fossato di Genivolo* genannt (Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, a c. di C. Panigada, Scrittori d'Italia, 5 Bde. (Bari, 1929), III, 155).

<sup>35</sup> Chambers, *Bainbridge*, SS. 120-125; *Pasquinate romane*, II, 987-988.

jedoch scheint eine solche Rede von dem Humanisten und Bibliothekar der Vatikanischen Bibliothek Tommaso 'Fedra' Inghirami vorbereitet worden zu sein: Von Inghirami ist ein Text überliefert, der thematisch, aber auch aufgrund der erschließbaren Entstehungszeit präzise mit den historischen Umständen korrespondiert. Die Rede, die im Anhang in einer Arbeitsausgabe zugänglich gemacht wird, trägt den Titel: *De recuperanda Bononia Iulio II. Pontifici Maximo dicta oratio* (fol. 76r).<sup>36</sup> Damit wird bereits in der Überschrift das politische Ziel benannt, das nicht nur die Entstehung der Heiligen Liga an sich motivierte, sondern auch in dem Text des Bündnisses vom 4. Oktober 1511 erschien.<sup>37</sup>

Eine Eroberung Bolognas war nicht erst im Sommer 1511 ein politisches Ziel von Julius II., da er schon einige Jahre früher mit der Eroberung und seinem Einzug in die Stadt am 10. November 1506 ein übereinstimmendes Vorhaben realisiert hatte. Inghiramis Ansprache kann aber nicht mit diesem ersten Bologna-Zug in Zusammenhang stehen, da er ihn als historisches Ereignis in seiner Rede erwähnt (fol. 77v). Die Entstehungszeit der Ansprache wird weiter eingengt durch die Feststellung, Julius II. sei nach schweren Krankheiten genesen (fol. 79r), was sich sinnvoll nur auf einen Zeitpunkt nach August 1511 beziehen läßt. Auch Inghiramis Angabe (fol. 80v), Ferdinand der Katholische habe die Truppen, die für einen Sommerfeldzug in Nordafrika vorgesehen waren, nach Italien Julius II. zu Hilfe geschickt, entspricht — wenn auch in schmeichelhafter Übertreibung — den historischen Gegebenheiten und läßt eine Entstehung erst nach den Ereignissen des Sommers 1511 wahrscheinlich werden. Da Inghirami auch auf den Beitritt des spanischen Königs zur Heiligen Liga (fol. 80v) anspielt, kann ein Datum nach dem 4. Oktober 1511 ins Auge genommen werden. Schließlich beginnt der Autor seine speziellen Ausführungen mit dem Hinweis, er spreche an dem Tag, an dem England dem Bündnis beitrete (fol. 79r). Der Anlaß und die Zielsetzung seiner Ausführungen sind daher grundsätzlich recht klar auf die Publikation des englischen Beitritts zu Heiligen Liga zu beziehen.<sup>38</sup>

Obgleich aus den venezianischen Quellen die Planung einer Publikationsfeier erschlossen werden kann, scheint eine entsprechende Zeremonie

<sup>36</sup> Im folgenden verweisen die Folioangaben in Klammern auf die Redaktion der Rede in der Handschrift in der Biblioteca Guarnacci in Volterra (s. Anhang). Zu Inghirami: F. Cruciani, 'Il teatro dei ciceroniani: Tommaso 'Fedra' Inghirami', *Forum Italicum*, 14 (1980), 356-377; *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 62 (Rom, 2004), 383-387 (S. Benedetti).

<sup>37</sup> Zum Vertragstext s. Anm. 6.

<sup>38</sup> Den Beitritt von Kaiser Maximilian I. zur Liga erwähnt Inghirami nicht.

nicht abgehalten worden zu sein. Inghirami hätte demnach eine Ansprache für den Anlaß vorbereitet, sie aber dann nicht öffentlich vorgetragen. Freilich ist auch nicht auszuschließen, daß die Rede möglicherweise dem Anlaß nicht angemessen erschien und zurückgezogen wurde: Statt allein Heinrich VIII. hervorzuheben (ff. 79r-80r), hat Inghirami eine überlange, hymnisch lobende Passage über Ferdinand den Katholischen eingearbeitet (ff. 80r-81v). Den vorgeblich uneigennütigen Dienst des spanischen Königs, der besonders seit der Einnahme Granadas 1492 verherrlicht wurde, hatte Inghirami schon 1498 in einer Trauerrede auf dessen Sohn behandelt.<sup>39</sup> Und erst kurz vor der Rede zum Abschluß der Heiligen Liga hatte Inghirami 1510 anläßlich der Feiern zur Eroberung der Stadt Bougie durch spanische Truppen erneut die Bedeutung Ferdinands für die Kirche nachgezeichnet.<sup>40</sup> Auch scheint der päpstliche Stuhl in Inghiramis

<sup>39</sup> Tommaso Fedra Inghirami, *De obitu illustrissimi Joannis Hispaniae principis ad senatum apostolicum oratio* [16. Januar 1498] (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Marcellus Silber, nach 16. Jan. 1498], 4°); vgl. R. Weiss, 'Un'orazione dimenticata di Tommaso Fedra Inghirami', *Rassegna Volterrana*, 21-23 (1955), 46-52. Zur Einnahme Granadas: Burckardus, *Liber*, I, 336-338; G. C. Rossi, *I re cattolici in testimonianze letterarie e storiche italiane del tempo*, in *V Congreso de la historia de la corona de Aragón*, Saragossa, 4.-11. Okt. 1952, *Estudios*, 3 Bde. (Saragossa, 1955-1956), I, 45-69; Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/1, 276-278; B. Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante il Rinascimento* (Bari, 1922), SS. 96-98.

<sup>40</sup> Tommaso Fedra Inghirami, *In laudem Ferdinandi Hispaniarum regis catholici ob Bugiae Regnum in Africa captum oratio dicta Iulio II. Pontifici Maximo*, hrsg. P.A. Galletti in *Anecdota litteraria ex Mss. codicibus eruta*, ed. G.C. Amaduzzi – G.L. Bianconi, 4 Bde. (Rom, 1773-1783), II, 121-162, vgl. L. D'Ascia, 'Una Laudatio Ciceronis inedita di Tommaso Fedra Inghirami', *Rivista di letteratura italiana*, 5 (1987), 484. Die Nachricht von der Einnahme von Bejaia (Bougie) im heutigen Algerien am 6. Jan. 1510 hatte Ferdinand dem Papst in einem Brief vom 12. Februar 1510 mitgeteilt, der wohl im Auftrag der Kurie in Rom im Druck erschien: Ferdinand V. [König von Spanien], *Epistola... ad Iulium II. Pontificem] Max[imum] super expugnatione Bugiae civitatis Africae* [12. Februar 1510] (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Giacomo Mazzocchi, 1510], 4°); vgl. Sanuto, *Diarii*, IX, 531-534. Inghirami hielt seine Rede während eines Festgottesdienstes am Tag Cathedra Petri, 22. Februar 1510, vgl. J. M. Doussinague, *La política internacional de Fernando el Católico* (Madrid, 1944), S. 590, Julius II. an Ferdinand, Rom, 15. Febr. 1510: '... hemos determinado que el día 22 de este mes en el cual se venera la cátedra de San Pedro, que se reuna, en las mismas rogativas, todo el clero romano en la basílica de San Pedro, y en nuestra presencia se tenga un panegírico de tus notabilísimas hazañas y de tu santo deseo de proseguir tus victorias y de propagar la religión cristiana'; Sanuto, *Diarii*, IX, 555. Auch die Eroberung der Stadt Oran durch spanische Truppen am 19. Mai 1509 hatte Ferdinand nach Rom gemeldet, eine von Ciprianus Benetus verantwortete Übersetzung ins Lateinische erschien wenig später wohl auf Veranlassung der Kurie: Ferdinand V., *Ad laudem & gloriam sanctissime trinitatis, & ob honorem sacro sancte matris ecclesie... cuius s[anctus] d[ominus] n[oster] d[ominus] Iulius diuina prouidentia papa II. pont[ifex] max[imus] est caput & princeps totius orbis, sequitur epistola serenissimi ac catholici regis eidem s[anctitati] Sue nuperrime transmissa* [1. Juni 1509], *de hispanico in latinam linguam per Ciprianum beneti aragonensem... transcripta, etc.* (s.l.n.a. [Rom?], 4°);

Rede unter der Hand von der Hilfeleistung weltlicher Herrscher abhängig zu werden. Für eine Darlegung der päpstlichen Machtposition hätte hierin ein besonderer Schwachpunkt bestanden. Indem Inghirami am Ende seiner Rede sogar in den Raum stellt (fol. 82v), das Papsttum könnte zum Wohl der Christenheit auf einige Rechte und Vorrechte verzichten, konterkariert er in untragbarer Weise die auf weltliche Herrschaft konzentrierte Politik Julius' II. Vielleicht also hat gar nicht das Ausfallen der Publikationsfeier, sondern allererst die inhaltliche Grundaussage von Inghiramis Rede dazu geführt, daß sie nicht gehalten und wie die Ansprachen von Massimo Corvini und Egidio da Viterbo im Druck verbreitet wurde.<sup>41</sup>

Inghiramis Überlegungen zu einem partiellen Rechtsverzicht hängen mit seiner Konzeption vom Verlauf historischer Entwicklungen zusammen. Der Vergleich der Reden von Corvini, Egidio da Viterbo und Inghirami kann gut am Beispiel ihrer historiographischen Grundlagen einsetzen. Inghirami sieht historische Veränderungen in direktem Zusammenhang mit der Konzentration von Macht: Die Zeitalter folgen einander, so führt er aus, auf die römische Antike folgten weitere Reiche und in der Gegenwart blüht aufgrund seiner militärischen Stärke und Übermacht Spanien unter Ferdinand dem Katholischen (fol. 81v). Da Ferdinand, wie es heißt, an höchster Stelle steht, ist ohne weiteres das Bild des Schicksalsrades, in dem in einer Kreisbewegung die von der Geschichte Begünstigten vorübergehend am Zenit erscheinen, auf Inghiramis Geschichtsdenken zu beziehen. Inghirami folgt damit einem besonders im 15. Jahrhundert verbreiteten Modell, in dem der Geschichtsverlauf auf innere Kräfte, nicht auf eine von außen kommende, göttliche Bestimmung zurückgeführt wurde.<sup>42</sup> In seinen *Istorie fiorentine* wird Machiavelli den Gedanken wenig später in einer bekannten, abstrakten Formulierung zusammenfassen:

Sogliono le provincie il più delle volte, nel variare che le fanno, dall'ordine venire al disordine, e di nuovo di poi dal disordine all'ordine trapassare: perché non essendo dalla natura concesso alle mondane cose il fermarsi, come le arrivano alla loro ultima perfezione, non avendo più da salire, conviene che scendino, e similmente, scese che le sono e per li disordini ad ultima

vgl. Sanuto, *Diarii*, VIII, 401, 416. Für weitere, mir nicht erreichbare Drucke zur Einnahme Orans vgl. L. de Germon – L. Polain, *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu M. le Comte Riant*, 2 Bde. (Paris, 1896-1899), II/2, Nr. 3598 & 3599; C. Göllner, *Turcica*, 3 Bde. (Berlin – Bukarest – Baden-Baden, 1968-1978), I, Nr. 37 & 39.

<sup>41</sup> Es ist bemerkenswert, daß der portugiesische Gesandte in Rom, Francisco Juzarte, über die Publikationsfeier vom 4. Oktober 1511 berichtet, 'micer fedra', also Inghirami, habe die Ansprache gehalten (*Corpo diplomatico portuguez*, I, 238). Daß Juzarte Corvino mit Inghirami verwechselte, läßt auf Inghiramis hohe Wertschätzung schließen.

<sup>42</sup> F. Gilbert, *Machiavelli and Guicciardini* (Princeton, 1973), SS. 269-270.

bassezza pervenute, di necessità non potendo più scendere conviene che salghino: e così sempre da il bene si scende al male, e da il male si sale al bene.<sup>43</sup>

Auf der Grundlage dieser Konzeption, in der bestimmte Gegebenheiten für den Augenblick, wenn auch vielleicht nur vorübergehend, als übermächtig zu akzeptieren sind, kann Inghirami seinen Vorschlag entwickeln, auf bestimmte Vorrechte zu verzichten. Vielleicht verbindet sich damit sogar die pragmatische Sicht, daß mit eingeschränkten Kräften nur ausgewählte Ziele zu verfolgen sind, da andernfalls kein einziges Vorhaben erfolgreich zu realisieren wäre.

Egidio da Viterbo ist einem anderen, dem christlichen Geschichtsbild verpflichtet, in dem die Menschheitsgeschichte, speziell in der nach-paradiesischen Phase in Folge des Sündenfalls, einem göttlichen Erlösungsplan folgt und aufgrund der Vorhersehung Gottes letztlich bis in jede Einzelheit festgelegt ist. Egidio da Viterbo sah in dem Bündnisabschluß von Papst und Kaiser vom 25. November 1512 das vierte und vorläufig letzte Glied einer epochalen Ereigniskette, die mit den ersten drei Sitzungen des von Julius II. einberufenen V. Laterankonzils — der Eröffnung und den ersten beiden Vollversammlungen — eingesetzt hatte. In einer von gewissen Willkürlichkeiten nicht freien Assoziationskette verklammert Egidio da Viterbo die vier Einheiten typologisch, im Sinne einer inhaltlichen Matrix, mit den ersten vier Tagen der Schöpfung. Am vierten Tag, um hier nur die letzte Phase des Geschehens zu rekapitulieren, schuf Gott die Sonne (*Genesis*, 1, 14-19) und wie ein Adler als einziges Lebewesen den Strahlen widerstehend in die Sonne zu sehen vermag, ist an diesem Tag der Kaiser, dessen Wappentier der Adler ist, als Zufluchtsspender zu empfangen.<sup>44</sup> Diese Wendung im Gang der Geschichte ist aber nur auf das willentliche Eingreifen Gottes (*numen*) oder die göttliche Vorhersehung (*providentia*) zurückzuführen.<sup>45</sup>

Die historiographischen Konzeptionen sind recht unterschiedlich: Der auf ein transzendentes Ziel hinlaufende Plan Gottes, dem in einer gleichsam bodenständig einfachen Version auch Corvini folgt, steht der in sich kreisende Geschichtsverlauf gegenüber, dem zumindest bei Inghirami der

<sup>43</sup> Niccolò Machiavelli, *Opere*, a c. C. Vivanti, 3 Bde. (Turin, 1997-2005), III, 521 (*Istorie fiorentine*, lib. 5, c. 2).

<sup>44</sup> Egidio da Viterbo, *Oratio*, S. 104-105; vgl. O'Reilly, 'Maximus Caesar', 91-92. Zur Geschichtskonzeption von Egidio vgl. J.W. O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform*, *Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, 5 (Leiden, 1968), SS. 100-103.

<sup>45</sup> Egidio da Viterbo, *Oratio*, S. 103 (*numen*), 104 (*providentia*), 107 (*numen*).

Gedanke des Fortschritts noch fern liegt.<sup>46</sup> Mit diesen Grundannahmen hängt auch zusammen, in welcher Form die Autoren historische Beispiele als Belege für ihre Überlegungen auswählen und welche Beweiskraft sie ihnen zuschreiben. Im engeren Sinn führt Egidio da Viterbo nur einmal Beispiele aus dem Alten Testament an. Mit Abraham, Mose, Samuel und anderen Persönlichkeiten des Alten Bundes werden Führer benannt, die unter Anleitung Gottes das Volk Israel siegreich in den Kampf geführt haben. In historischer Analogie wird postuliert, daß auch der Ausgang der Schlacht von Ravenna nicht den Menschen allein, sondern der *pietas*, dem Glauben und dem Wirken Gottes zuzuschreiben ist.<sup>47</sup> Die soteriologische Terminiertheit aller historischen Ereignisse, die eine Grundannahme von Egidio da Viterbo bildet, wird anschaulich greifbar.

Das Gegenteil findet sich bei Inghirami. Kaum erwähnt er biblische Gestalten, seine Überlegungen zu den machtpolitischen Grundlagen des Papsttums sichert er fast ausschließlich — und verständlicherweise — mit Beispielen aus der Papstgeschichte ab, auf die er in ihrer Gesamtheit zurückgreifen kann. Für diese Zwecke scheint eine Benutzung der Papstvitae des Bartolomeo Platina, die mit der *editio princeps* seit 1479 auch gedruckt vorlagen, weitgehend ausgereicht zu haben. Einige nahezu wörtliche Übernahmen belegen die Benutzung (fol. 78v, 79v).<sup>48</sup> Erst zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt ist für Inghirami auch die Konsultation anderen historischen Materials nachzuweisen. Im September und November 1514 entlieh er aus der Vatikanischen Bibliothek eine Petrusvita (*De gestis beati Petri*) und die Lebensbeschreibungen der Päpste von Ptolemaeus von Lucca, die bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts reichen.<sup>49</sup> Vielleicht stand diese erneute Lektüre mit den großen Dekorationsprogrammen in Zusammenhang, die Papst Leo X. (1513-1521) zu diesem Zeitpunkt für

<sup>46</sup> Corvini, *Oratio* [Anm. 10], fol. 2r: 'omnia quecunque futura sunt diuino numine, diuina iustitia & tua diuina potentia atque uirtute (quam superis simillimam iudico) gloriosa & serena fore decerno'.

<sup>47</sup> Egidio da Viterbo, *Oratio*, SS. 103-104.

<sup>48</sup> Bartolomeo Platina, *Liber de vita Christi ac omnium pontificum* [ed. princ. 1479], a c. G. Gaida, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 3/1 (Città di Castello, 1932), SS. XCII-XCIII. Zur Papsthistoriographie: M. Miglio, *Storiografia pontificia del Quattrocento* (Bologna, 1975); R. Fubini, 'Papato e storiografia nel Quattrocento', *Studi medievali*, ser. 3, 18 (1977), 321-351.

<sup>49</sup> M. Bertola, *I due primi registri di prestito della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, codici vaticani latini 3964, 3966*, *Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi*, 27 (Città del Vaticano, 1942), S. 113: Ausleihe Petrusvita am 12. September 1514, Ausleihe Ptolemaeus am 4. November 1514 (vielleicht handelte es sich um die Handschrift: Ptolemaeus de Lucca, *De vitis pontificum*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 3766).

die Sixtinische Kapelle und für die Stanza dell'Incendio im vatikanischen Palast von Raphael entwerfen ließ.<sup>50</sup>

Bemerkenswert ist, daß Inghirami seine historischen Beispielfälle gemäß ihrer chronologischen Folge anordnet; vielleicht hat sich darin eine problemorientierte Lektüre der historischen Schriften niedergeschlagen. Inghirami fand in der Geschichte für die unterschiedlichsten Fragestellungen nutzbare, wenn auch nicht immer voll belastbare Belege: Für die Notwendigkeit, Bologna im Besitz des Heiligen Stuhls zu halten (fol. 77r), für die im kanonischen Recht ausgeschlossene, aktive Teilnahme von Päpsten an Kampfhandlungen (fol. 78r), für die Parteinahme Englands für die Kirche (ff. 79r-79v), für die Suche nach geeigneten Auszeichnungen (ff. 81r-81v) oder für den darwinschen Gedanken, nur wer harten Anforderungen widerstanden habe, werde erfolgreich sein (ff. 82r-82v). Die Geschichte ist für Inghirami nach dem Wort Ciceros die Lehrmeisterin des Lebens, *historia magistra vitae*. Persönlichkeiten der Geschichte können als *exempla* zur Orientierung und als Handlungsmaximen dienen.<sup>51</sup> Daß er dabei neben einer neuen Durchsicht der historischen Literatur auch auf topische Beispiele zurückgreift, versteht sich von selbst. So gehört die mit der ersten Kaiserkrönung verbundene *translatio imperii* (fol. 78v, 82r) oder die Übertragung des Kaiserwahlrechts auf die Kurfürsten (fol. 81r) zu den Säulen päpstlichen Machtanspruchs.<sup>52</sup> Bei der Besprechung von Ferdinand dem Katholischen verzichtete Inghirami auf historische Beispiele, um dessen Einzigartigkeit besonders hervortreten und ihm damit selbst die Bedeutung eines *exemplum* zukommen zu lassen.

Wenn auch die rhetorische Nutzung der Geschichte im Sinne der *exempla* bei Inghirami gleichsam in Reinform faßbar wird, ist diese Sichtweise im frühen 16. Jahrhundert weit verbreitet und auch in anderen Zusammenhängen anzutreffen. Seit der Frühzeit des Humanismus, seit Petrarca, hat die rhetorisch geleitete Geschichtsauffassung in vielen Disziplinen

<sup>50</sup> J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen and the tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London, 1972); vgl. P. Künzle, 'Raffaels Denkmal für Fedra Inghirami auf dem letzten Arazzo', *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, 7 Bde., Studi e Testi, 231-237 (Città del Vaticano, 1964), VI, 499-548.

<sup>51</sup> Cic., *de orat.*, 2, 36; Gilbert, *Machiavelli*, S. 216; vgl. M.P. Gilmore, *Humanists and Jurists. Six Studies in the Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), SS. 18-25.

<sup>52</sup> Leonellus Chieriegatus, *Sermo habitus Rome in ecclesia sancti petri in die palmarum* [4. Dezember] anno M. CCCC. XCV. coram sanctissimo in christo patre et domino nostro domino Alexandro divina providentia papa .vj. in publicatione confederationis inite inter ipsum et Romanorum et hispaniae reges (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Stephan Planck, nach 4. Dez. 1495], 4°), fol. 3r (für diesen Druck und weitere Ausgaben der Rede vgl. GW 6626-6631).



Fuß gefaßt.<sup>53</sup> Für den römischen Kontext bilden die Schriften des Kurialen Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, gleichnamiger Sohn des berühmten Humanisten Gianfrancesco Poggio, ein besonders gutes Beispiel. Als Jurist, Poggio war Doktor des kanonischen Rechts, ist es für ihn selbstverständlich, seine Rechtsauffassung mit dem Nachweis der jeweils einschlägigen Abschnitte vorrangig aus dem kanonischen Recht abzusichern. Zweifellos ist der Übergang vom Paragraphen über den Präzedenzfall zum *exemplum* durchaus fließend. Das historische Beispiel hat einen systematischen Stellenwert und muß nicht zwingend einer historisch analytischen Betrachtung unterliegen.<sup>54</sup> Obwohl mit den humanistischen Gepflogenheiten vertraut, konnte Poggio aber auch ohne weiteres dem scholastischen Argumentationsmodell folgen und seinen Vortrag nach Argument, Gegenargument und Lösung strukturieren. Jurisprudenz, scholastische Methode und ein humanistisches Weltverständnis sind eine enge Bindung eingegangen.<sup>55</sup> Als Poggio 1504 dem neu gewählten Papst Julius II. einen Fürstenspiegel widmete, ordnete er die Aufgabenbereiche eines Papstes gemäß der überkommenen aristotelischen Tugendlehre an, sicherte seine Überlegungen mit Präzedenzfällen aus dem Kirchenrecht ab und untermauerte seine Überlegungen auch mit historischen *exempla*.<sup>56</sup> Vielleicht

<sup>53</sup> Gilmore, *Humanists*, SS. 18-22; vgl. auch: M. Menzel, *Predigt und Geschichte. Historische Exempel in der geistlichen Rhetorik des Mittelalters*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 45 (Köln – Weimar – Wien, 1998).

<sup>54</sup> Gilmore, *Humanists*, SS. 29-34.

<sup>55</sup> O'Malley, *Praise*, S. 163.

<sup>56</sup> Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, *Ad S. D. N. Iulium papam ii de officio principis liber* (Rom: Johann Besicken, 19. Dezember 1504, 4°), fol. e4v: unter der Rubrik *Magnanimitas* beschreibt Poggio unter anderem die Pflicht des Papstes zur Selbstverteidigung:

Debet ergo Pontifex ([C.] xxiii. q. viii. c. [7] igitur c. [17] ut pridem et ecce notat per glossa in summa) in primis si vult bene iura sua defendere propugnatores penes se habere (non possunt enim Regna atque Imperia sine armis defendi) ([C.] xxiii. q. v. c. [20] principes et seq.) & contra violatores ecclesiasticae libertatis: vel res ecclesiae invadentes si oportuerit arma suscipere ([C.] xxiii. q. iii. c. [2] maximianus et c. seq.) hereticos etiam eorumque fautores expugnare. Ovesque sibi commissas a luporum rapina defendere. Aliorum quoque Principum ([C.] xxiii. q. v. c. [20] principes c. [23] Regum et c. [26] administratores) vires quando sue non sufficerent implorare Stephani.ii. & Hadriani.i. Pontificum exemplo: quorum unus Pipinum alter Carolum Francorum Reges contra Longobardos accivit. Contra etiam delinquentes, & Apostolicae sedis maiestatem contemnentes severitate uti oportet, nec ullum pertimescere, quamvis etiam preponentem Ambrosii & Innocentii primi Pontificum instar, quorum unus Theodosium: alter Arcadium excommunicare (xcvi. d. c. [10] duo) non timuit. Gregorius etiam.vii. Henricum.iiii. Romanorum Imperatorem iura ecclesie invadentem anathematizatum prius imperioque privatum ad petendam veniam compulit. Contra quem etiam

ist es nicht abwegig anzunehmen, daß diese Vermischung der Traditionen den Hintergrund für die Reden von Inghirami und Egidio da Viterbo bildet und das Rezeptionsniveau spiegelt, auf dem die Ansprachen vom jeweiligen Publikum aufgenommen wurden.

Mit seinen Hinweisen auf das, was Julius II. politisch unternehmen sollte, und seinem Lob für die Herrscher, die die päpstliche Politik tatkräftig unterstützten, verband Inghirami zwei Formen der Redekunst, die beratende und die lobende Rede (*genus deliberativum*; *genus demonstrativum*). Klassisch beginnt er mit der dramatisch formulierten Darlegung eines scheinbar allgemeinen Gesetzes, der Beistandspflicht (fol. 76r-76v), geht über zur Schilderung des konkreten Problems (ff. 76v-77v), wendet sich den bereits erfolgten Lösungsmaßnahmen zu (ff. 77v-81v), um mit einer Verherrlichung der Person zu enden, vor der er seine Rede vorträgt: Papst Julius II. (ff. 81v-83r). In der Wortwahl, dem Aufbau der Sätze und der so häufig verwendeten Reihung rhetorischer Fragen liegt die Ausrichtung am vorbildhaften Stil Ciceros klar zu Tage. Dort, wo für die historischen und zeitgenössischen Gegebenheiten allgemeine Schlußfolgerungen und Maximem hergeleitet werden sollen, greift Inghirami in Paraphrase oder wörtlichem Zitat auf entsprechende Gedanken Ciceros zurück (fol. 80r).<sup>57</sup>

Tatsächlich galt Inghirami seinen Zeitgenossen als neuer Cicero. Vor allem Äußerungen von Erasmus von Rotterdam, der Inghirami in Rom selbst kennengelernt und wohl auch gehört hatte, haben seinen Ruhm verbreitet.<sup>58</sup> Mit dem Lob für Inghirami und anderen Rednern der Epoche verbindet sich aber bekanntermaßen bei Erasmus die Ablehnung einer sinnentleerten Normierung des Redestiles, bei dem der Sinnzusammenhang aus den Augen gerät und statt der christlichen Erlösungslehre weltliche

pactiones minime observantem rursumque Pontificem oppugnantem Robertum Cuis-cardi Apuliae ducem accivit armis iniuriam vindicaturum.

Einige Jahre später wird Poggio ähnliche Gedanken in einer Schrift zu Ehren von König Emanuel von Portugal äußern: Giovanni Francesco Poggio Bracciolini, *Emanuelis Portugaliae Regis Elogium*, ed. T. Coelho – G. Battelli, *Documentos para o estudio das relações culturais entre Portugal e Italia*, 1 (Florenz, 1934), S. XIX.

<sup>57</sup> Inghirami zitiert die einschlägigen Abschnitte über das Verhältnis von Lob, *virtus* und ehrender Erinnerung; ob sich hier eine Art Florilegium im Sinne eines Zettelkastens spiegelt, bleibt dahingestellt.

<sup>58</sup> P.S. Allen – H.M. Allen, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami*, 12 Bde. (Oxford, 1902-1958), V, 246 (Nr. 1347, 1. März 1523); vgl. L. Gualdo Rosa, 'Ciceroniano o Cristiano? A proposito dell'orazione *De Morte Christi* di Tommaso Fedra Inghirami', *Humanistica Lovaniensa*, 34A (1985), 52-64; O'Malley, *Praise*, S. 114; D'Ascia, *Una Laudatio*, SS. 479-484; L. D'Ascia, *Erasmus e l'Umanesimo romano*, Biblioteca della Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa, Studi, 2 (Florenz, 1991), SS. 195-196.

Dinge in den Vordergrund gestellt werden. Die Verweltlichung der Kirche, so scheint Erasmus zu diagnostizieren, hat ein Niveau erreicht, in dem eine Rückkehr zu einer wahrhaften Glaubensübung dringend geboten ist. Der eingangs erwähnte Karnevalsumzug bestätigt dieses Urteil — in Hinblick auf die Außenwirkung der päpstlichen Politik — in exemplarischer Form, da nahezu alle Festwagen die Territorialpolitik oder den Papst selbst verherrlichten.<sup>59</sup> Nur in einem Fall, in dem Wagen, der dem V. Laterankonzil gewidmet war, schien der Zustand der Kirche, ihre Reformbedürftigkeit, thematisiert zu werden, jedoch brachte auch hier nur eine ausgewählte Gruppe höchster, auch weltlicher Würdenträger die kirchliche Herrschaft zur Anschauung, kaum aber ein religiöses Anliegen.<sup>60</sup>

Die Reden von Corvini, Egidio da Viterbo und Inghirami sind ein getreuer Spiegel dieser Politik, die in ihrer selbstverlorenen Machtbesessenheit nicht fähig war, statt oberflächlicher Reformversprechungen eine tiefgreifende Veränderung der Strukturen in Angriff zu nehmen. Eingebettet in ihren Kontext erfüllten die Ansprachen aber durchaus den Zweck, den die Kurie ihnen als Mittel einer politischen Propaganda zugewiesen hatte. Es ist besonders augenfällig, daß die verschiedenen Medien, die im frühen 16. Jahrhundert für die Meinungsbildung genutzt werden konnten, zur Anwendung gekommen sind. Die öffentliche Zeremonie, die Publikation der Festansprachen in gedruckter Form, die Errichtung ephemerer, das Ereignis verherrlichender Bauten, die thematische Ausgestaltung eines Festumzuges wie die zusätzlich entstandenen Gelegenheitsgedichte umfassen die Gesamtheit der Künste: Redekunst, Druckkunst und Architektur, die vermutlich mit Bildern oder Skulpturen ausgeschmückt war. Nur die Musik wird für die Feierlichkeiten aus Anlaß der Publikation der Heiligen Liga nicht erwähnt. Erst unter dem Nachfolger von Julius II., Papst Leo X. de' Medici, der die Musik in außerordentlicher Weise förderte und selbst musizierte, wurde auch diese Kunst mit eingebunden. Als Kardinal Matthäus Lang, der Gesandte von Kaiser Maximilian I., Ende des Jahres 1513 erneut nach Rom kam, um dem neu gewählten Papst Obedienz zu leisten, ließ er in schmeichelhafter Geste

<sup>59</sup> Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Opera omnia*, I-1 (Amsterdam, 1969), S. 637.

<sup>60</sup> Ademollo, *Alessandro*, S. 58: 'E passò il bel Concilio Laterano | Sopra un carro, dove si vedeva | Il Papa in sedia e lo Imperio Romano | Che accanto a quello a seder si poneva, | E quel re detto Cattolico Ispano | Che come gli altri ancora lui sedeva; | L'Unghero, lo Inglese e Cardinali | Ed altri Ecclesiastici principali'; Luzio, *Federico Gonzaga*, 580: 'Et nelle parti più remote seguiva *Concilium Lateranense Triumphans*, segnato per un seggio entro il quale erano forma di Pont[ifice] Imp[eratore] Re Catol[ico] Inglese, Car[dinal]li Duca Veneto et di Melano'.

eine Motette aufführen, die der bekannte Komponist Heinrich Isaac für diesen Anlaß über einen panegyrischen Text verfaßt hatte.<sup>61</sup> Wie all diese Kulturleistungen war auch die Rede Inghiramis über die Wiedereroberung Bolognas den Zwecken der Politik ein- und untergeordnet. Die Instrumentalisierung der Rhetorik und der anderen Künste ist sicherlich nicht neu, aber in ihrer Geschlossenheit und Dimensionierung bemerkenswert und für die Staatsrepräsentation seit dem Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts insgesamt richtungsweisend.

Rochusstraße 36  
D-40479 Düsseldorf  
joachimjacoby@arcor.de

<sup>61</sup> A. Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555* (Utrecht, 1970), SS. 45-48. Auch bei diesem Anlaß verfaßte Pierio Valeriano eine Schrift über das Ereignis: Pierio Valeriano, *Exempl[um] Litterarum Pierii Valeriani. | De iis quae facta sunt a Bononia Romam usque in honorem | Illustrissimi ac Reuerendissimi D. D. Math. Longi Gurcensis | Cardinalis. S. Angeli. Ac Caesaris in Italia | Locumtenentis &c* [12. Dezember 1513] (s.l.n.a. [Rom: Johannes Beplin?, nach 12. Dez. 1513], 4°); Pellegrini, *Valeriano*, SS. 54-56, 118, Nr. X; Salaberger, *Kardinal Matthäus Lang*, SS. 99-100.

### Anhang: Tommaso ‘Fedra’ Inghirami, *De recuperanda Bononia*\*

Die Rede ‘De recuperanda Bononia’ von Tommaso ‘Fedra’ Inghirami ist in einer Reinschrift des 16. Jahrhunderts erhalten in der Handschrift: Volterra, Biblioteca Comunale Guarnacci, Cod. LIII. 4. 8, fol. 76r-83r (ehemals Cod. 5885; abgekürzt: G); zu den in der Handschrift enthaltenen Schriften Inghiramis vgl. P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 7 Bde. (London-Leiden, 1965-1997), II, 309. Eine Abschrift nach diesem Volterranner Codex für Pierluigi Galletti (1724-1790) befindet sich in der Handschrift Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 7928, fol. 39r-45v (abgekürzt: V). Beide Handschriften bieten naturgemäß einen nahezu identischen Text. Der folgende Abdruck ist in der Schreibweise, gestützt auf das *OLD*, der klassischen Orthographie angepaßt, Diphthongen (ae; oe) sind berücksichtigt, der lange Vokal (j) ist immer kurz geschrieben, die Abkürzungen sind aufgelöst und die Interpunktion vereinheitlicht. Die Unterteilung in die Abschnitte I-VI stammt von mir.

#### T. Phedri Inghirramii Volaterrani de recuperanda Bononia Iulio .II. Pont. Max. dicta oratio:

[G: fol. 76r;  
V: fol. 39r]

- I. Quod unum omnibus votis a Deo Optimo Maximo precabamur, cotidie flagitabamus, et in horas paene singulas expectabamus, serius omnino quam nostra necessitas postulabat, aliquando tamen Christianorum Principum animi tuis pulcherrimis cohortationibus excitati atque inflammati expergiscuntur, et ad auctoritatem sedis apostolicae maiestatemque Romanae Ecclesiae defendendam atque ad hoc grave exitiabileque incendium extinguendum, quod late serpit magnamque
- 5     pernitium huic imperio tanto sudore sanguineque parto, nisi propere succurratur, est allaturum conspirant, concurrunt, animantur. Et aliorum quidem ingentia studia in decretis faciendis, auxiliis pollicendis, auctoribus se nostrae defensionis praestandis agnoscimus: aliorum vero dispessa signa, expedita arma, instructosque exercitus perspicimus nec cuiquam dubium esse debet ceterorum animos cum
- 10

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1-2 Tit: T. Phedri Inghirami: om. V; Iulio II. Pont. Max. dicta G; Iulio II per T. Phaedrum dicta: V     5 nostra G, vostra V

\* Mein besonderer Dank gilt Prof. Gilbert Tournoy, ohne dessen Beistand die editorischen Aufgaben nicht hätten bewältigt werden können.

- 15 tantam virtutem horum intueantur, ad hanc laudem, ad decus, ad gloriam de hac  
Ecclesia benemerendi, vehementissime accendi, eamque flammam in pectore  
eorum crescere quae neque extinguere neque sedari prius possit quam horum famam  
gloriamque adaequarit. Qua enim animi tranquillitate illos posse consistere arbi-  
tratur cum novis cotidie nuntiis aures eorum offendantur, manus videant huic  
20 imperio indignissime ab his qui praeclarum prae se ferant titulum Ecclesiae pro-  
tegendae afferri: neque in eo aut suam dignitatem aut auctoritatem, aut patroci-  
nium susceptum magni aestimari: quin hac se / indelebili nota iniuri intelligant, [G: fol. 76v]  
ut cum tantam iniuriam quae infertur propulsare possint, si eos quos tutari debeant  
desertos esse patiantur, non minore vitio se implicitos esse et inquinatos quam si  
25 filios parentes patriamque deseruerint. Quantum enim, obsecro, distat is qui  
iniuste impetum in quempiam facit ab illo, qui cum possit iuvare deserit vitae  
societatem, defensionem praetermittit, et aut labore aut sumptu vel negligentia  
perterritus tantae iniuriae non obsistit? Itaque vidimus saepe tenui de causa et aut  
de finibus aut legatis violatis duriusve appellatis, itum esse ad arma, gravissima  
30 bella suscepta / nec solum urbes populosque sed ipsas etiam provincias ac [V: fol. 39v]  
regiones concurrisse, non quod tam caedis humanique sanguinis hauriendi avidi  
essent, sed cum ea societas maxime laudanda sit quae ad iniuriam propulsandam,  
<non> vero inferendam initur, optimeque beneficium collocetur, cum illis succurritur  
qui in maximarum rerum discrimine versantur, reges illi populi nationes quaecumque  
35 fuerant, posthabitis rebus omnibus, iniuste laborantibus succurrendum, et dum  
eos conservarent, in discrimen etiam dubiamque aleam certaminis descendendum  
existimarunt. Quod si privatorum causa saepe factum meminimus magnamque  
eos qui id fecerint tulisse gloriam non ignoramus, arcem hanc Christiani Impe-  
rii, hoc domicilium verae religionis, hanc omnium gentium nationumque matrem  
40 bello premi, urgeri, vexari quivis Christianus princeps non sui nominis deco-  
risque oblitus patietur? An vero hoc bellum est quod maxime illorum animos  
excitare atque inflammare non debeat? Agitur de ea urbe recuperanda pro qua  
multa maiores nostri magna et gravia bella gesserunt, auri vim ingentem effude-  
runt, cum imperatoribus omnibus semper conditionibus exceptam esse voluerunt,  
45 qua nulla urbs eligi potest aut opportunior ad Italiam occupandam aut commodior  
ad Ecclesiasticam dicionem evertendam, ut amitti nullo pacto possit quin secum  
ingentem ruinam trahat magnamque huic imperio cladem relinquat. Etenim, Pater  
Beatissime, ceterae provinciae / tuae speciem quidem habent amplam et dignita- [G: fol. 77r]  
tem, una Gallia togata est ex qua et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem sustinere  
50 possumus. Illa munita nihil est quod tota in dicione possis metuere. Tolle illam,  
nihil erit quod possis servare, cumque huius provinciae, idest totius Ecclesiasticae  
dicionis, arx praesidium firmamentum Bononia sit, ut illa amissa, una medius fidiis  
equitatus excursione ceterae urbes quamvis munitae propitiaeque sint perbrevis

tempore possint amitti. Quis tam est iniquus rerum aestimator qui non intelligat  
 55 aut Bononiam in fide dicioneque retinendam aut de omni provincia desperan-  
 dum? Itaque Pontifices illi quondam barbati, qui hanc tuam dignitatem non volup-  
 tatem, / non ocium, non quietem, sed laborem curam sedulitatem esse existima- [V: fol. 40r]  
 bant, Bononiam in primis custodiendam servandam et in fide continendam esse  
 putaverunt. Nicolaus.iii.<sup>1</sup> cum illa imperatoribus pareret in suam ipse potestatem  
 60 redegit. Ioannes.xxii.<sup>2</sup> eiecto legato suo praesidioque oppresso quid non fecit ut  
 illam redimeret? Innocentius certe.vi.<sup>3</sup> redemit obsessam et oppugnatam Arduino  
 abbate cisterciensi duce defendit. Iam vero Gregorius.xi.<sup>4</sup> an non ingentem Gal-  
 lorum exercitum in illos rebellantes immisit? Quid ipse Bonifatius.ix.<sup>5</sup> in illo  
 rerum turbine, illis tenebris, illo Romanae Ecclesiae discidio: an non diu obsessam  
 65 per Baldassarem Cossa qui Ioannes postea fuit.xxiii.<sup>6</sup> vi pugnando recepit? De  
 Martino.v.<sup>7</sup> quid notius qui Romam suam diu desideratam invisere nisi Bononia  
 recuperata turpe sibi et Romanae Ecclesiae, quae in illo lacertos movere tunc cepe-  
 rat, flagitiosum esse duxit? Eugenius.iiii.<sup>8</sup> et illam adiit et arcem in ea erexit et rebel-  
 lem Alfonso Aragonum rege favente copiasque iungere obsedit. Quid si reliquos  
 70 etiam pontifices spectes qui post illos fuere: neminem umquam sapienter de re  
 Ecclesiastica cogitantem fuisse invenies qui non hanc sibi maculam inveteratam  
 / et penitus in Romanae Ecclesiae nomen insidentem delendam existimarit. [G: fol. 77v]

II. Alium alia ratio avertit; multos multa deterruerunt; quidam quibusdam pactio-  
 75 nibus contenti et quae necessitas ferre cogeat passi tyrannidem in ea stabilive-  
 runt, donec tu exortus et Dei immortalis munere datus simul atque primum ali-  
 quid lucis ostendere tempora visa sunt nullis fucis coloribusque contentus, quibus  
 rebus alii terrentur maxime negotii magnitudine invitatus, illud dedecus tam turpe,

#### 67 lacertos G, laceratos V

<sup>1</sup> Nicolaus III., 1277-1280; Platina, *Liber*, S. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Johannes XXII., 1316-1334; Platina, *Liber*, S. 271. Ob Inghirami hier tatsächlich Johannes XXII. vor Augen hat, ist nicht eindeutig, da dessen Legat aus Bologna erst so kurz vor seinem Tod in Avignon eintraf, daß er keine Gegenmaßnahmen mehr ergreifen konnte.

<sup>3</sup> Innozenz VI., 1352-1362; Platina, *Liber*, S. 277.

<sup>4</sup> Gregor XI., 1371-1378; Platina, *Liber*, S. 281.

<sup>5</sup> Bonifaz IX., 1389-1404; Platina, *Liber*, S. 292.

<sup>6</sup> Johannes XXIII., 1410-1415 (Geburtsname: Baldassare Cossa); Platina, *Liber*, SS. 300-304.

<sup>7</sup> Martin V., 1417-1431; Platina, *Liber*, SS. 307-308. Inghirami stellt den Sachverhalt schmeichelhaft dar: Auf dem Weg vom Konzil in Konstanz nach Rom mußte Martin V. aus Gründen der Sicherheit Bologna umgehen, erst später geriet die Stadt erneut in den Besitz des päpstlichen Stuhles.

<sup>8</sup> Eugen IV., 1431-1447; Platina, *Liber*, S. 325, mit Erwähnung des Abkommens mit König Alphons von Neapel.

tam vetus, tam immissis radicibus firmatum unica cursura abolevis-  
 80 hiemis, non nives, non longitudo itineris, non asperitas viarum,<sup>9</sup> non tuum istud  
 corpus tot morbis affectum ut iam bis te uno anno luxerimus retardavit.<sup>10</sup> Civita-  
 tem ipsam in tuam et Romanae Ecclesiae potestatem, idest in libertatem, rede-  
 gisti ex crudelissimo teterrimoque dominatu sine caede, sine sanguine, et sine  
 fere incommodo eripuisti. Quod beneficium dum tanti apud illos esse existimas  
 85 quanti apud gratissimum quemque esse deberet, nec radices abscindere omnes ne  
 se efferre / et ad renovandam tyrannidem reviviscere possint festinas, ecce tibi ad [V: fol. 40v]  
 antiquum illud suum ut semper rebellet revertitur. Tuis pollicitationibus invitata,  
 tuis blanditiis delinita, tuis premiis sollicitata, aurem obstipat. Tot gravissimis  
 tamquam multis iudiciis ignominiisque concisa sic resistit, ut nullum locum sibi  
 90 relictum non modo ad pacem sed ne ad deditionem quidem fecerit? Quid igitur  
 te facere aequum est tandem? num pati hanc ignominiam? num herbam hosti  
 dare? num ferre ut ad horum exemplum ceteri deficiant? At saltem hunc finem  
 faciunt hostes iniuriarum? hic consistunt? hoc uno sunt contenti? Nullus extat  
 in te locus qui plagam capere possit qui non petatur? omnis turbatur respublica  
 95 ut disturbetur et dissipetur; omnia seditionibus miscentur? divina humanaque  
 simul vexantur. Res honor dignitas auctoritas, omnia in discrimen adducuntur.  
 Reges Christiani ad defectionem sollicitantur. Nomen huius imperii in commune  
 odium gentium nationumque vocatur; nec iam utrum Bononia vestra sit futura,  
 sed utrum vos futuri sitis, utrum paucorum conspiratio hoc imperium possit ever-  
 100 tere, utrum penes unum hunc qui huic imperio praeest et ita pontificatum gerit quo  
 uno modo geri graviter et libere / potest summa sit potestas decernitur. [G: fol. 78r]

III. Et tu, Pater Beatissime, his rebus non resistes vehementer atque acriter? Haec  
 patieris homines te Pontifice perniciose consilia expromere? Hoc malum inclu-  
 105 sum intestinum domesticum serpens pullulansque non recides? non resecabis?  
 non extinguēs? Et te aut cuiusvis arma, aut periculum quod intentatur, aut rei dif-  
 ficultas deterrebunt? Leo.ix.<sup>11</sup> qui sub persona inopis Christum creditur hospitio

88 eigentlich obstipescere, vielleicht folgt Inghirami der korrupten Lesart in Plautus, Cist.,  
 579 105 paululansque G durch Streichung von 'a' zu pul[l]ulansque korrigiert

<sup>9</sup> Zum ersten Bologna-Zug, während dem tatsächlich, wie Inghirami beschreibt, Schnee, große Entfernungen, schlechte Wege und Krankheiten den Anmarsch behinderten, vgl. Frati, *Spedizioni*, SS. 1-186; Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/2, 734-739.

<sup>10</sup> Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/2, 815-818.

<sup>11</sup> Leo IX., 1049-1054; Platina, *Liber*, S. 184. Die Aufnahme eines Gebrechlichen oder Leprösen, der im Nachhinein für Christus gehalten wurde, ausführlich auch in anderen historischen Schriften behandelt: Jacopo Zeno, *Vitae Pontificum*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Vat. Lat. 5942, fol. 167v; Antoninus Florentinus, *Opus excellentissimum trium partium hystorialium seu Cronice*, 3 Bde. (Basel: Nicolaus Keßler, 11. Januar 1502, 2°), II, fol. 185r (p. 2, tit. 16, c. 1).



- accepisse, dum in Cusulfum Beneventum occupantem movet cum omnium cardinalium collegio captus, nihil tamen de sententia motus ea animi constantia fuit, ut Benevento recuperato incolumis cum omni comitatu sit remissus. Tu unius urbis defectione perterritus ab incepto desistes? Gregorius.vii.<sup>12</sup> dum Henricum persequitur quas clades non substinuit? quae exilia non pertulit? carcerem obsidionem antipapam passus nihil tamen divinus ille animus perfractus perdomitum hostem supplicem ad pedes perspexit: Tu omnis iacturae expers, omnis felicitatis particeps pauxillo accepto incommodo pedem referes et huic te pe/riculo committere non audebis? Innocentius.ii.<sup>13</sup> cum contra Rogerium Apuliae invasorem movisset, et acie victus captus esset indeque dimissus non modo non destitit ab incepto sed et Lothario adiuvante omni illum Italia expulit atque Anacleti pseudopontificis ab illo excitati amentiam perfregit. Tu integris copiis tuis, tot Christianis principibus tecum sentientibus tantis cum viribus, et tanto numero militum quam maiores tui nihilo te fortiores parere potuerunt ne retinere quidem posse iudicaberis? Vide ne si illis pulcherrimum fuit imperii fines propagare atque auctoritatem minime laesam per sexcenta incommoda fugas exilia vitaeque discrimina relinquere, tibi in tantis divitiis quarum ope non minus bellum stat quam armorum tot regibus coniunctis, conspirantibus provinciis, paratis exercitibus, expeditis ducibus, indecorum turpe ignominiaeque plenum sit futurum quod illi reliquerint tueri et conservare non potuisse. At enim viri multi clarissimi, summis ornamentis honoris fortunae virtutis ingenii praediti ab hac longe ratione dissentiant. Armis certandum negant, diu consultandum censent. Contra exempla atque instituta maiorum fieri queruntur. / Quorum auctoritas licet <a> me tanti fiat quanti ipsi maxime a suis fieri expostulant, in hac tamen causa longe mihi a recto iudicio aberrare videntur. Nihil importunius quam lacessitos iniuria docere quomodo consultare conveniat, illorum propria esse debet consultatio qui iniuriam inferre meditantur. Vis vi est repellenda,<sup>14</sup> nec subsidia differenda sunt, ubi non differtur iniuria. An vero exempla nulla suppetunt maiorum qui omnia decere non existimaverint quae in rem Christianam Ecclesiasticamque esse perspicerent, semperque ad novos casus temporum, novorum consiliorum rationes accommodarent?

[V: fol. 41r]

[G: fol. 78v]

122 iudicabis V      131 ipsi: *correx*i ex ipse GV

<sup>12</sup> Gregor VII., 1073-1085; Platina, *Liber*, SS. 189-191.

<sup>13</sup> Innozenz II., 1130-1143; Platina, *Liber*, S. 211. Das Schisma unter Gegenpapst Anaklet II. als *amentia* bezeichnet.

<sup>14</sup> Verbreitete Rechtsauffassung, die als eine naturrechtliche Grundgegebenheit betrachtet wurde und im *Corpus iuris civilis* niedergelegt war (Dig., 9, 2, 45, 4; 43, 16, 1, 27); vgl. E.-D. Hehl, *Kirche und Krieg im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu kanonischem Recht und politischer Wirklichkeit*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 19 (Stuttgart, 1980), SS. 132-133, 194-196; V. Krey, 'Zur Einschränkung des Notwehrrechts bei der Verteidigung von Sachgütern', *Juristische Zeitschrift*, 34 (1979), SS. 703-704.

- Quid ergo sibi volebant illae crebrae Stephani.ii.<sup>15</sup> itiones in Gallias ad auxilia imploranda, nisi ut Romanos a tributo liberaret quod Aistulphus Longobardorum rex exigebat? Quid illa Caroli per Hadrianum<sup>16</sup> in Italiam accitio, quid imperii per Leonem<sup>17</sup> largitio? Quid tot bellorum implicatio? Quid Longobardorum optime de hac sede meritorum quippe qui primi oppida provinciasque nobis dederint possidendas eversio? nisi ut Desiderium regem<sup>18</sup> cervicibus Ecclesiae imminentem et hanc de qua nunc agimus Galliam occupantem ulciscerentur. / Denique [V: fol. 41v]
- 145 quid tam novum quam Romanum pontificem cogere copias? ductare exercitum? in aciem descendere? At Leo.ix.<sup>19</sup> et Nicolaus.ii.<sup>20</sup> copias eduxerunt, in aciem prodierunt, praefuerunt, pugnaverunt. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem quam in oppidis oppugnandis pontifices occupari? At Pascalis.ii.<sup>21</sup> Beneventum Civitatem Castellanam ab hostibus occupatam ipse obsidens recepit, Cavas Zagarolum
- 150 Columnam vi pugnando eripuit, Tibur expugnavit. Quid vero tam inauditam quam Romanum pontificem de perduellionibus triumphare? At Ioannes.x.<sup>22</sup> superatis apud Vinturnas Sarracenis Romam triumphantis in morem rediit. Eugenius.ii.<sup>23</sup> capto Sutrio pseudopontificem camelo impositum in triumphi speciem lepidum populo Romano spectaculum perduxit. Atque haec tot exempla si ex illis sunt
- 155 pontificibus quos divinis prope honoribus posteritas est persecuta, videant hi veterum institutorum consuetudinumque tam curiosi indagatores, ne per/iniquum sit ea [G: fol. 79r]
- his moribus reprehendere, quae quondam cum nihil non summo cum decore fiebat qui faciebant magnam sunt laudem necdum etiam post tot annos intermortuam consecuti. Ego vero, Pater Beatissime, cum in te multa soleo commendare, tum

138 sibi volebant illae...in Gallias volebant G      144 ulcisceretur V      150 Columnam V, columnen G      152 Minturnas V

<sup>15</sup> Stephan II. (III.), 752-757; Platina, *Liber*, SS. 129-131.

<sup>16</sup> Hadrian I., 772-795; Platina, *Liber*, SS. 134-138.

<sup>17</sup> Leo III., 795-816; Platina, *Liber*, S. 140. Die Krönung Karls des Grossen besaß für das Papsttum eine eminente historische und rechtliche Bedeutung.

<sup>18</sup> Karl der Grosse half Hadrian I. gegen Desiderius, König der Longobarden (Platina, *Liber*, S. 135).

<sup>19</sup> Leo IX., s. Anm. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Nicolaus II., 1059-1061; Platina, *Liber*, S. 187.

<sup>21</sup> Paschal II., 1099-1118; Platina, *Liber*, SS. 201-202 (knappe, wörtlich analoge Paraphrase). Cave, Zagarolo, Colonna: kleinere Orte im Südosten Roms im Besitz der Familie Colonna; *Tibur* ist das heutige Tivoli.

<sup>22</sup> Johannes X., 914-928; Platina, *Liber*, S. 165.

<sup>23</sup> Eugen II., 824-827. Offenbar ein Schreibfehler für Calixtus II., 1110-1124, der sich auch in Hinblick auf die chronologische Reihung besser einfügt; Platina, *Liber*, S. 209: 'Quare Calistus comparatis repente copiis, praemissoque cum expeditissimo quoque Ioanne Cremensi Sancti Chrysogoni presbytero cardinali, subsequens ipse hostem [den Gegenpapst Gregor, der zuvor Burdinus hieß] vincunt, Sutrium capiunt, Burdinum camelo impositum, in triumphi spe<cie>m Romam ducunt...'; vgl. auch *Le liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 Bde. (Paris, 1886-1957), II, 323, 347-348, 377.

- 160 istud tuum tuendae dicionis Ecclesiasticae studium numquam videor satis posse  
admirari. Illi quondam pontifices quos modo recensui, haud sane magnam mihi  
solent admirationem excitare, quod eo tempore fuerunt cum quidam imitationis  
ardor semperque melior accendebat. Postquam vero praeclara facere desitum est,  
quam magnum, obsecro, putandum est sine aemulo sineque ullo recenti exemplo  
165 id sponte facere, quod illi aemulatione stimulati, imitatione invitati, exemplo fre-  
quenti provocati quasi coactu quodam faciebant? Ita aequabiliter erant omnes  
eiusmodi ut ea laus non solum hominum verum etiam temporum illorum esse  
videatur. Recte tu igitur nondum ex longinquitate gravissimi morbi recreatus nihil  
animi tui vires corporis imbecillitate retardante, quasi vitam quam Dei immorta-  
170 lis dono retinuisti pro Romana Ecclesia, immo pro Deo ipso, cuius causa agitur  
in discrimen adduceres, / nullum tempus dimisisti neque diurnum neque nocturnum [V: fol. 42r]  
quin de libertate et dignitate Romanae Ecclesiae quod cogitandum sit cogitares,  
quod agendum atque faciendum appeteres ac deposceres.
- 175 IV. Insperantibus nobis nec opinantibus sed omnem spem in virtute ac felicitate  
tua reponentibus Deus immortalis nova tibi praesidia adiunxit: principes Chris-  
tianos ad tuam pristinam <Ecclesiam> servandam excitavit atque inflammavit.  
Classes exercitus duces et integras tibi validasque nationes adiunxit. Quorum  
quae mihi potior esse debet in laudando quam quae hunc nobis diem, quod in nos-  
180 trum foedus adscripta sit, festum celebrem et laetitiae plenum facit? Anglorum  
multis magnisque rebus spectata erga hanc sanctam sedem pietas minus facit  
admirabilem huius honestissimi facti gloriam. Ex quo enim Lucius illorum rex  
ab Eleutherio Pontifice Maximo<sup>24</sup> petiit ut ipse cum omni ea natione Christianis  
sacris / initiaretur, numquam illi in fide claudicarunt; numquam diversa a Roma- [G: fol. 79v]  
185 nis pontificibus senserunt; numquam leges scitaque nostra detrectaverunt. Quin  
Alidulphus illorum rex<sup>25</sup>, cum liber et omni solutus etiam Romani imperii iure  
esset, insulam omnem Romanae Ecclesiae tributariam fecit, servire Deo id vere  
esse regium existimans. Quam rem si recte penitusque considerare et prima novis-  
simis comparare, nulla natio plura maioraque Romanae Ecclesiae tribuisse iudica-  
190 bitur. Longobardi<sup>26</sup> licet Alpes Cottias donaverint, Sabini Picinusque ager illo-  
rum iugo liberati accesserint,<sup>27</sup> togatam Galliam et quicquid Padum et Apenninum

166-168 Ita... videatur V: in mg. dextro add. G

<sup>24</sup> Eleutherius, c. 174-189; Platina, *Liber*, S. 129.

<sup>25</sup> Æthelwulf, König von England, 839-858; Platina, *Liber*, S. 151 (Pontifikat Leo IV.).

<sup>26</sup> Schenkung der Cottischen Alpen: Platina, *Liber*, S. 120 (durch Arithpert, König der Longobarden, im Pontifikat Johannes VII., 705-707).

<sup>27</sup> Piceno, also die bis dahin longobardischen mittellitalienischen Gebiete entlang der Adria, und das Sabinerland wohl auf die Pippin'sche Schenkung zu beziehen, die 756 an Stephan II. erfolgte: Platina, *Liber*, S. 131.

interiacet ab Placentinis ad stagna Venetorum Carolus<sup>28</sup> largitus sit, nulli tamen Anglorum munificentiam exaequarunt. Illi enim aliena, hi sua donarunt; illi vicissim multa maioraque datis accipiebant, in hos nulla nostra insignis extat liberalitas; illi cum semel bene cepissent mereri, multa deinde mala intulerunt, ex quo  
 195 duplici digni sunt supplicio quod mali ex bonis sint facti; hi non modo numquam facto dictove laeserunt sed et sub Alexandro.iii.<sup>29</sup> pro libertate Ecclesiastica in perpetuum tutanda conceptis verbis sacrisque rite peractis se devoverunt. Illi denique libertate / sua retenta alios nobis subdiderunt; hi se ipsos sponte inro-  
 200 gati volentes prudentesque se dediderunt, neque quicquam sibi nostra causa reliqui fecerunt. Et dubitabamus quin patrita avitaeque virtus non maiores in posteror radices immisisset? et hanc illi de nobis benemerendi voluntatem per manus quasi cursores lampada accipientes<sup>30</sup> servavissent? Nihil igitur novum, nihil non usitatum, nihil non suum facit Henricus rex<sup>31</sup> qui quantum divitiis fide populorum  
 205 auctoritateque maiores suos antevertit, tantum erga Romanam Ecclesiam studio virtute fide voluntateque nititur antecellere. Audito periclitantis Ecclesiae nuntio ex altero fere terrarum orbe occurrit; difficillimo tempore auctoritate / consilio  
 opibus exercitu subvenit; quicquid habet virium quicquid potestatis quicquid roboris offert; maria terrasque miscere paratus est ut te tuumque imperium tueatur. O, regem (nihil enim maius habeo quod dicam) vere felicem qui ineunte fere  
 210 aetate docuit ab excellenti eximiaque virtute progressum aetatis expectari non oportere! Hoc sibi rudimentum sumpsit, hoc se tirocinio exercendum duxit, ut eam complecteretur causam quae pia, sancta, gentibus omnibus probata, Deoque praepotenti esset carissima, ex qua non minus ornamenti acciperet quam ipse praesidii praestaret. Quid hunc facturum putamus si aetate processerit, cum admodum  
 215 adulescens a tam insigni laude primam militiam sit auspicatus? Sunt sane superiora illius multa quae et maxima sunt et bonorum omnium iudiciis celebrata. Hoc tamen meritum recens, hanc praesentem pietatem, hanc novam fidem satis admirari, satis laudari, satis decantari posse non video. Quae enim laus tantae virtuti  
 220 par esse potest<sup>32</sup>? Attamen quae sola merces praestari solet summae virtuti ibit

[V: fol. 42v]

[G: fol. 80r]

201 patrita G, patria V

<sup>28</sup> Bestätigung der Pippin'schen Schenkung durch Karl den Grossen im Pontifikat Hadrians I. (772-795): Platina, *Liber*, S. 136. *Sabini... Venetorum*, vgl. die Spezifizierung der Pippin'schen Schenkung bei Platina, *Liber*, S. 131 (Pontifikat Stephan II.): 'Redditus itaque Romanis hexarchatus: quicquid Padum et Apenninum interiacet a Placentinis usque ad stagna Venetorum, et quicquid intra Isaurum flumen, Apenninum et Hadriaticum continetur. Addo etiam quae Aistulphus de Hetruscis et Sabinis ceperat'.

<sup>29</sup> Alexander III., 1159-1181; Platina, *Liber*, S. 219.

<sup>30</sup> Vgl. Lucr., 2, 79; Varro, *rust.*, 3, 16, 9.

<sup>31</sup> Heinrich VIII., König von England (1491-1547, reg. 1509-1547).

<sup>32</sup> Vgl. Cic., *Planc.*, 27: 'illius [A. Torquatus] frater patruelis et socer, T. Torquatus, illi omni et virtute et laude par'.

ad posteros celebris facti fama et in memoria gratorum hominum tamquam in luce posita laetabitur.<sup>33</sup>

- V. Nec vero de Ferdinandi regis<sup>34</sup> meritis sileri potest: Quis enim amicior? quis studiosior? quis additior umquam sibi fuit quam Ferdinandus rex Christiano imperio? Mitto vetera, quae (iam tantus est cumulus novorum / meritorum) paene exolvere, quae totiens hoc loco decantata sunt ut plures supplicationes Ferdinandi regis nomine a summis pontificibus decretae sint, quam a sexcentis annis omnium regum populorumque qui inter Christianos censi fuerunt. Quin immo solus ipse fecit ut cum antea divinae irae avertendae ergo, utque finis tandem hostili furori felicitatique daretur ad omnia pulvinaria publico edicto cotidie supplicaremus, nunc iam contra rebus bene gestis, finibus propagatis provinciis in dicionem nostram redactis sacrificia solemnia faciamus. / Hoc vero recens beneficium, hoc praestantissimum meritum erga Romanam Ecclesiam certe silentio non potest praeteriri. Difficillimo tempore magnis luctibus calamitatibusque subvenit; signum ad bene de hac Ecclesia merendum substulit: subito praeter spem omnium prius confecit exercitum quam quisquam hoc eum cogitare suspicari potuisset. Suum regnum, spem paratam Africae potiundae, et ipsam paene Hispaniam reliquit ut tibi opitularetur; tibi praesto esset, perque tot sua incommoda atque pericula tibi placeret et quisquam erit qui non fateatur Dei immortalis beneficio et munere Ferdinandum datum ad dignitatem libertatemque Christianam vel constituendam vel recuperandam?<sup>35</sup> Quae enim est ista tua pietas, Ferdinande rex, quam vera, quam solida, quam nullis fucata coloribus? Saeviebas in hostes nostri nominis, vincebas regna, tertiam orbis terrarum partem debellabas, nec ullo tibi incepto deerat Deus. Quis te illinc avertisset? quis ardentem animum flexisset? quis vadentem per victoriarum cursum revocasset? quis a tua te Africa avellisset? Nemo sane, nisi ingens ut nullis comprehensa terminis pietas tua, quae tuum illum animum semper invictum sola superavit. Cessisti illi; multum frendens fremens gemensque ac vix lachrimis temperans hostium terra excessisti. Ad matrem tuam Romanam Ecclesiam laborantem Iuliumque Pontificem Maximum patrem tuum, auxilium implorantem tuum accurristi. O perdita mortalium consilia; o facinora nullo umquam luenda supplicio! O Mahumetanam factionem nostris dissidiis quam suis armis validiorem! Quantum hoc uno paucorum scelere amittimus felicitatis! Quantum / damus Mahumetanis hostibus spatii ad vires recipiendas! Quantum imperii hoc auro, hoc tempore, hoc sanguine qui in hostes Ecclesiae funditur, poteramus adipisci! Cui enim dubium esse potest

<sup>33</sup> *et in memoria... laetabitur*: Cic., *Phil.*, 5, 35: 'Neque enim ullam mercedem tanta virtus praeter hanc laudis gloriaeque desiderat; qua etiam si careat, tamen sit se ipsa contenta, quamquam in memoria gratorum civium tamquam in luce posita laetetur.'

<sup>34</sup> Ferdinand V., der Katholische (1452-1516, 1466 Mitregent, 1468 König von Sizilien, 1474 mit Isabella König von Kastilien, 1479 König von Aragon).

<sup>35</sup> Spanische Truppen im Sommer 1511 in Italien: Pastor, *Geschichte*, III/2, 813-814.

- quin aestate hac proxima potuerit Ferdinandus quod reliquum erat Africae ex/pugnare, atque ad Aegyptum copias admovere, si per nostros homines licuisset? Quibus igitur beneficiis haec gentium mater Ecclesia peculiarem hunc filium demerebitur? Quibus muneribus compensabit? Quibus donis prosequetur? Quibus honoribus decorabit qui non maiores debeantur? Gregorius.v.<sup>36</sup> quod Othone duce Germanorum armis in urbem reductus sit, ius imperatoris eligendi transtulit ad Germanos. Nicolaus.ii.<sup>37</sup> Robertum Guiscardum Apuliae et Magnae Graeciae ducem fecit quod copiolas ab eo accepit ad Praenestinos Tusculanos Nomentanos et qui Galeram oppidum incolunt perdomandos. Alexander.v.<sup>38</sup> partem Galliae togatae quae in Apennino extenditur Florentinis, quod contra Ladislaum communem hostem auxilia tulissent, ea lege concessit ut bellum gerente Pontifice in ea provincia Florentini.xxv. pedites cum signis eorum publicis auxilio mittere cogerentur; meriti illi quidem honores sed tamen immortales atque singulares ac fortasse si meritis comparentur amplissimi sunt habiti. Quid ergo huic regi pro maximis plurimisque in Christianam rempublicam et hanc potissimam sanctam sedem meritis, ut haec res memoriae demandetur sempiternae, ne tanta pietas intestata relinquatur? An non exquirendi sunt aliqui honores novi, muneraque dari non solita excogitanda? Quamquam, Pater Beatissime, sua ingenti gloria contentus est Ferdinandus neque aliud ex recte factis praeter pulcherrimam facti memoriam et praeclaram conscientiam expostulat, atque hoc illius meritum magis magisque extollit. Quod si ab initio repetas et ad extrema perducas, atque auxilia huic sanctae sedi lata consideres semper aut relata gratiam, aut sperata praemia invenies. Hoc in bello quid est aliud propositi praemii praeter laudem gloriam pietatem, quamquam quis est qui maiora putet his praemia posse excogitari? Itaque tulerint alii nomen imperii, / acceperint provincias possidendas, regna ad/epti sint opulentissima, plus hic mihi hoc solo pietatis titulo videtur consecutus, ut perfecterit quomodo plus esse posset quam Catholicus. O regem natum Christianae reipublicae tuendae, natum Sarracenis hostibus extirpandis; natum nostro saeculo segni effeto intermortuo excitando, roborando, animando! Quid enim est nostra memoria praeclare gestum, quod non ab hoc uno sit perfectum? Quod exemplum verae fortitudinis pietatis iustitiae religionis quod non ab hoc uno sit emanatum? Quid est ab quovis rege ullo tempore postulatum? quod non ab hoc uno sit exhibitum? Sic est, Pater Beatissime: non possunt primi esse omnes omni in tempore;

[G: fol. 81r]

[V: fol. 44r]

[G: fol. 81v]

<sup>36</sup> Gregor V., 996-999; Platina, *Liber*, S. 176.

<sup>37</sup> Nikolaus II., s. Anm. 20; Platina, *Liber*, S. 187: 'Is [Nicolaus] vero cum postea rogatu Rhoberti in Apuliam profectus fuisset, receptis quae de Ecclesia amiserat, non solum hominem in gratiam accepit, verum etiam eundem vectigalem Ecclesiae factum, Calabryae et Apuliae, provincias romanae ecclesiae censuarias, ducem creat. Accepto deinde magno a Rhoberto exercitu, ad Urbem rediens, Praenestinos, Tusculanos, Nomentanos Romanae Ecclesiae rebelles perdomuit. Tiberim quoque traiciens, directa Galera, aliisque Gerardi comitis Sutrium usque castellis expugnatis, ditionem Romanam tutiorem reddidit.'

<sup>38</sup> Alexander V., 1409-1410; Platina, *Liber*, SS. 299-300 (ohne Erwähnung der Florentiner); Angaben zu den Truppen von Florenz: Antoninus, *Opus*, III, fol. 158r-158v.

290 nihil semper floret; aetas succedit aetati. Fuimus quondam Itali; successere alii;  
alii postmodum subiere. Nunc vigent Hispani; floret ea natio; in excelso est Fer-  
dinandus armis, viris virtute, gloria, felicitate. Et dubitamus quod hic, adiunctis  
tuis copiis, tuo sumptu, quo bellum non minus stat quam ope armorum, tua etiam  
felicitate facturus sit qui superioribus tot bellis suis cum eodem hoste gestis solus  
295 ostenderit quam esset invictus? An non vides iam impetus illos hostium repres-  
sos, iam furores illos genuinos retardatos? Languerunt animi eorum et malacis-  
sati sunt; et qui extrema quaeque impavidi minitabantur, nunc de eventu belli  
dubio cogitare ceperunt. Perraro bellum eo quo evasurum praedicatur evadit.  
300 Simile est incendio quod flamma regit, quam novus saepe exortus ventus unde pro-  
fecta est impellit et avertit. Sic haec clades quae ab illis parata fuerat et immissa qui  
nihil aliud maluerunt quam tibi obesse avertetur spero. Ibit in auctores pravaque  
incepta consultoribus noxae erunt.

305 VI. Felicem te tuis tot rebus secundis quae tot iam annos sine ulla intermissione  
fluxerunt; feliciorem tamen pauxillo quod paulo ante accepisti incommodi; ges-  
seris enim multa fortiter licet, multa sapienter fe/ceris, integras adieceris huic [G: fol. 82r]  
imperio provincias, auctoritatem iam intermortuam restitueris, contumaciam pro-  
vincialium contuderis, audias licet fortasse invitus, felicitati tuae non defuerunt  
310 qui ea adscribenda potius putarent quam sapientiae, quod unus idem aeternusque  
tenor rerum secundarum humanis viribus ingenioque fieri / nonnullis et illis [V: fol. 44v]  
quidem gravibus viris incredibile videbatur. Nunc cum te adversis rebus tam  
praeclara praesidia parasse, sic calamitatem quae ingens iam iam imminere puta-  
batur declinasse, sic compositas insidias avertisse intuentur, iidem illi vel ingra-  
tis fateri coguntur eandem fuisse rerum secundarum parandi quae et malarum  
315 avertendi rationem ex summa providentia proficiscentem. An vero tu tibi aliter  
laudem ingentem partum iri putabas? nisi per res adversas, per insidias, per  
magnorum virorum simultates? Repete memoria quibus tu gradibus ad hanc  
sedem ascenderis, regredere per omnem anteactam vitam tuam, recurre per tot  
320 res gestas tuas, semper tu maior in adversis quam in secundis rebus fuisti,  
cumque te maxime depressum esse multi iudicarent, tunc tu potissimum emer-  
sisti, exilisti, atque ad summum evasisti. Gaius ille Octavius Caesar,<sup>39</sup> unicum  
Romanae felicitatis exemplum, sexcentis petitis coniurationibus, totidem bellis  
vexatus, caelo caput extulit supraque invidiae metas consedit. Leo.iii.,<sup>40</sup> gemma  
325 pontificum atque huius imperii si non unicum at saltem alterum decus, captus  
privatus verberibus caesus, hostes confudit, tranquillitatem sibi saeculoque suo  
peperit; Latino nomini imperium quo tot annos caruerat restituit. Quid illa vetus-  
tas quae caelo regendo eandem sortem putabat esse quam in terris conspiciebat?

<sup>39</sup> Caius Octavius Caesar: Adoptivname von Kaiser Augustus (63 v. Chr. – 14 n. Chr.).

<sup>40</sup> Leo III., 795-816; Platina, *Liber*, S. 139: '... captus, ac pontificali amictu privatus, multisque verberibus adeo caesus'; zur Krönung Karls d. Gr. s. Anm. 17.

- An non Iovem<sup>41</sup> illum suum optimum maximum divum atque hominum regem  
 330 Gigantum bello petitem caelique imperio paene deiectum fabulatur? Croesus  
 Polycrates Sardanapalus<sup>42</sup> perpetuam felicitatem nihil umquam interruptam ultimo  
 saevoque supplicio luerunt. Rarus princeps et meo hoc dixerim periculo nullus,  
 ad summum decus nisi per res adversas per pericula per calamitates evasit. Tibi  
 nisi illud contigisset incommodi, nisi haec iniuria fieret tam insignita, nisi tam  
 335 manifestae insidiae pararentur, quis hos maximos principes orbis chri/stiani [G: fol. 82v]  
 coniunxisset? Quis hunc quem videmus animorum ardorem accendisset? Quis  
 tanta praesidia tam valida tam insperata comparasset? Quae semel nactus, per  
 Deum immortalem e manibus elabi non sinas. Commune imperium communi  
 studio / atque ardore defende, frange perditorum audaciam et nefariorum perni- [V: fol. 45r]  
 ciosa consilia; dicionem tuam ab his turbatam quos prohibere magis decebat sta-  
 bili; firma rem Ecclesiasticam; Maiestatem huius sedis adauge; Pacem meditare,  
 cuius dulcissimum et pulcherrimum nomen facit ut aequo animo belli iniuriam  
 patiamur, dum tamen illa pax non ficta non fucata non cuius nomine bellum  
 involutum, sed firma stabilis atque perpetua sit quae non pactione sed victoria  
 345 comparetur. Saepe enim multi dum cum hoste paciscuntur, non pacem faciunt sed  
 bellum differunt atque imprudentes victoriam etiam concedunt. Ad huius tu  
 inanem spem ne devolaris, illam tutam, illam dignam, illam perpetuam etiamsi  
 tibi aliquantulum sit de summo tuo iure decedendum sectare. Multa sunt quae  
 350 postulanti hosti dari nullo modo possunt, eadem ipsa concedi possunt supplicanti.  
 Multa sunt quae victorem ferre oportet ad maiores praesertim res maioraque nego-  
 tia properantem. Te enim manet Asia et imperii quondam sedes nostri Byzantium.  
 Tibi manus tendat Aegyptus. Tuum auxilium implorant Hierosolymae, macula  
 dedecus infamiaque Christiani imperii. Suos sibi liberatores reddi postulat Africa;  
 355 quibus succurri non potest nisi domi prius pacata omnia et tranquilla reddantur.  
 Haec tu tua auctoritate consensuque horum regum; eo sunt animo, consilio, viri-  
 bus, concordia. Aut facere solus potes, aut omittenda est cura omnibus. Ea fecisti,  
 ea gessisti, is fuit cursus rerum tuarum ut nihil tam arduum difficileque sit quod  
 non te in ista custodia et specula persistente, tua vigilia et providentia perfici  
 360 posse non arbitremur. Tu rempublicam convulsam, luxatam, quassamque accepisti;  
 tu civilibus ardentem bellis orbem excepisti; tu dicionem hanc omnem infidam  
 / contumacem rebellem offendisti; tu auctoritatem huius sedis mancā, debilem, [G: fol. 83r]  
 intermortuam invenisti. Nulla tibi nox et nullus dies curam animi sedavit  
 quousque rempublicam firmam, integram, stabilem reddidisti. Nationes nostras  
 365 inter se armis certantes sedasti; dicionem amplissimam et maximam prope iam  
 ab occasu restituisti; amorem, metum, voluntatemque imperata faciendi redemisti;

<sup>41</sup> Jupiter wehrte der Sage nach den Angriff der Giganten, die ihn entmachten wollten, mit Hilfe der olympischen Götter ab.

<sup>42</sup> Croesus, König von Lydien, Polycrates, Tyrann von Samos, und Sardanapal, König von Assyrien. Durch Selbsttötung suchten alle drei, einer Bestrafung ihrer Hybris zu entgehen.



domi militiaeque / praeclara facinora fecisti. Nunc hic tibi unus scrupulus super- [V: fol. 45v]  
est; hic obex tuo cursui est obiectus; haec remora tuae felicitati quae dispensis  
velis ferebatur moram affert. Si hoc te nodo exolveris, si ex hac difficultate emer-  
370 seris, quis te clarior, quis maior in terris fuerit? Et licet eo honore sis apud mor-  
tales eaque virtutis gloria ut altius nihil sit quo quidem possis ascendere, tua  
tamen unius mors vita clarior habebitur. Cuius virtus in dies magis magisque  
extolletur, celebrabitur a posteris, narrabitur minoribus, et quasi per manus  
immortalitati tradetur. Tum autem hoc imperium tuis armis et bonis pacis arti-  
375 bus firmatum, non orbis terrarum, non cunctae gentes conglobatae movere aut  
contundere valebunt; eaque auctoritas quae apud maiores nostros quondam fuit,  
et nunc maxime desideratur per te longo intervallo restituetur, rebusque nostris  
feliciter atque e sententia compositis ad illa externa quae te tantopere, ut dixi, invi-  
tant; animum adiicies illuc nervos atque vires tuas omnes convertes. Illuc hunc  
380 quem habes tibi devinctum bonorum principum consensum impelles. Illi novas  
tibi cotidie laureas desudabunt, nova cotidie praecepta exposcent, et quae optave-  
ris novis cotidie eventis praevertent. Tu ex hac arce imperii communi orbi pro-  
spicies, caelesti nutu iura decernes, auspicia bellis gerendis dabis, leges pacibus  
componendis impones, faciesque ut veluti Romana Ecclesia suam auctoritatem  
385 dicionem gloriamque per te receperit, sic Christiana religio suis sedibus, idest toto  
terrarum orbe, diu possesso per te eundem restituta et imposita esse iudicetur. DIXI.

Paul THOEN – Gilbert TOURNOY

*LUCRETIA LOVANIENSIS.*  
THE LOUVAIN HUMANISTS AND THE MOTIF  
OF LUCRETIA'S SUICIDE\*

**0. Introduction**

In the narrative tradition each of the three political regimes of ancient Rome is introduced by a kind of ritual killing. The era of Kings starts with Romulus's fratricide. The Republic results from the rape of Lucretia by Sextus, the son of the last king Tarquinius Superbus, and her subsequent suicide. The murder of Caesar has been consecrated as the ritual founding of the Roman Empire. Of these three highly symbolic ritual acts only the first and the last have continuously survived in the collective historical memory.

Still, the fate of L. Tarquinius Collatinus's wife had been represented for centuries in innumerable literary and artistic ways. Its temporary disappearance during recent centuries may have to do with the increased prudery which banished the story from schools. Today, however, feminist interests and gender studies are restoring to life the reminiscence of the woman who was the Roman matron *par excellence*.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. Galinsky, *Der Lucretia-Stoff in der Weltliteratur*. Sprache und Kultur der Germanisch-romanischen Völker. B. Germanistische Reihe, Bd. III (Breslau, 1932); B. Croce, 'Lucrezia nella poesia e nella casistica morale' in *Aneddoti di varia letteratura*, 3 vols (Napoli, 1942), I, 318-326; I. Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia. A Myth and its Transformations* (Oxford, 1982); R. Kleszczewski, 'Wandlungen des Lucretia-Bildes im lateinischen Mittelalter und in der italienischen Literatur der Renaissance', in E. Lefèvre – E. Olshausen (eds.), *Livius. Werk und Rezeption. Festschrift für Erich Burck zum 80. Geburtstag* (München, 1983), pp. 313-335; N. Holzberg, 'Metamorphosen des römischen Mythos in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit am Beispiel der Lucretia-Legende', *Auxilia*, 38

The basic elements for the story in Antiquity are to be found in Livy (1, 57-58), Ovid (*fast.*, 2, 721-852) and the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4, 64-67). The latter's purely epic elaboration only partially affected the tradition of the motif. Still, it offered the frame for several retakes of the story, as will be seen hereafter in the case of Petrus Nannius's *Dialogismus Lucretiae*. In his epic poem *Lucretiae libri II* (Fano, 1506) the Italian humanist Pacifico Massimi (1406-1506) also follows to a large degree Dionysius's concept of the course of events. On the whole, however, it was Livy's dramatic presentation that was decisive for its lasting success, proved by the host of authors and editors writing their comments on the closing chapters of the first book of his *Ab urbe condita*. The dramatic approach adopted by the great Roman historian was deepened and interiorised in Ovid's elegiac version at the end of the second book of the *Fasti*.

Relying on these authors, pagans as well as early Christians considered Lucretia to be a heroic example of virtue, feminine chastity and fortitude. Her story started to be used very often as a case and an argument in the rhetorical debate, and as such it had its most far-reaching influence in general culture.

The drastic intervention of St Augustine, subverting the traditional praise for Lucretia, changed the entire panorama forever. Polemicizing against pagan Rome in the first book of his *De civitate Dei*, St Augustine condemned Lucretia's suicide, maintaining that suicide is always a sin. He moreover cast fundamental doubt (*civ.*, 1, 16-19) on the precise motives of her action. In this way he left his readers with a dilemma (*civ.*, 1, 19): 'Si extenuatur homicidium, adulterium confirmetur; si purgatur adulterium, homicidium cumuletur; nec omnino invenitur exitus, ubi dicitur: "Si adulterata, cur laudata; si pudica, cur occisa?"' In the translation by Henry Bettenson<sup>2</sup>: 'If her homicide [i.e. self-killing] is extenuated, her adultery is established; if she is cleared of adultery, the murder is abundantly proved. There is no possible way out: "If she is adulterous, why is she praised? If chaste, why was she put to death?"'

(1995), 72-95; S. Fontanarosa, 'La fortuna di Lucrezia. Ricezione e attualizzazione di un modello di virtù muliebre. 1. Tra Medioevo e Rinascimento', *Aufidus*, 38 (1999), 115-147; Id., 'La fortuna di Lucrezia. Ricezione e attualizzazione di un modello di virtù muliebre. 2. Iconografia e produzione letteraria: ricerche <e> riflessioni, da Livio a Giraudoux', *Aufidus*, 39 (1999), 93-121.

<sup>2</sup> Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*. A new translation by Henry Bettenson. With an introduction by John O'Meara, Penguin Books (Harmondsworth – New York, etc., 1986), p. 30.

St Augustine's analysis was intended to unveil the pretensions of pagan culture and to define the new Christian anthropology and way of life. Nevertheless, by his extremely sharp argumentation concerning the psychological and moral position of the raped woman and by his absolute condemnation of her suicide, this Church Father laid the foundations for all subsequent reactions against the blind idealizing of the heroine in Antiquity.<sup>3</sup>

From the very beginning of humanism the Lucretia-motif attracted the attention of humanists such as Francesco Petrarca (mainly in his *Africa*, 3, 684-737), Giovanni Boccaccio (*De mulieribus claris*, c. 48) and Coluccio Salutati. Especially the latter's *Declamatio Lucretie* proved to be seminal for the divergent attitudes towards the Roman heroine displayed in the many adaptations by Neo-Latin authors.<sup>4</sup>

In this contribution we focus on the two ways in which the Lucretia-example was received by the Louvain humanists. On the one hand the example as a whole was interpreted by different authors such as Juan Luis Vives, Erasmus, or Justus Lipsius, who link up with the different generic tracks on which the motif developed in Antiquity. On the other hand, in reaction to the idealizing of the exemplary woman, there are the attempts to enter into the ambiguities of her subjective experience. For this last approach, Salutati's *Declamatio* had provided the guiding model. We study its partial imitation in the Livy-commentary by Hadrianus Barlandus and the surprisingly new generic approach in the *Dialogismi heroinarum* by Petrus Nannius.

## 1. Different approaches to the closed Lucretia-example

The different adaptations of the Lucretia-story take their starting point from three thematic *nuclei*, that is, the fidelity and chastity of the ideal

<sup>3</sup> Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia*, pp. 37-38: 'Augustine's arguments in *The City of God* have a major impact upon the development of the story of the rape of Lucretia. Many later commentators are content merely to repeat his arguments in a spirit of dialectical triumph.... Yet Augustine's 'dilemma' — as the word itself suggests — had an air of debater's cleverness about it, an element of provocation that often generated counter-argument and rebuttal.'

<sup>4</sup> Stephanie H. Jed, *Chaste Thinking. The Rape of Lucretia and the Birth of Humanism (Theories of representation and difference)*, Renaissance Studies – MB 506 (Bloomington – Indianapolis, 1989); Jan Follak, *Lucretia zwischen positiver und negativer Anthropologie. Coluccio Salutati's Declamatio Lucretie und die Menschenbilder im "exemplum" der Lucretia von der Antike bis in die Neuzeit* (Konstanz: Univ. Diss. 2002). The entire text is available on internet: <http://www.ub.uni-konstanz.de/kops/volltexte/2002/914>.

matron, the motivation of her suicide and the political implications of the popular rising led by Brutus in revenge. The second of these three themes is pivotal for the other two. At the same time it is the most undecided and the most open of the three, whilst the other two give rise to a rather clear-cut treatment. Hence it is mainly this theme — the motivation — which leads to rhetorical and dramatic elaborations. The theme of chastity and the idea of political liberation are expressed in rather short and unambiguous versions.

As to the theme of fidelity and chastity, plain illustrations are found in the works of Vives. In the collection of dialogues entitled *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* (1539), the twelfth one, *Domus*, presents two boys returning from school and visiting a beautiful mansion.<sup>5</sup> Above all they interest themselves in a number of works of art. A statue of Christ replaces the ancient Hercules in the function of ἀλεξίκακος. In the main hall the boys admire a series of paintings, beginning with representations of the sky, the earth and the new world discovered by the Spaniards. Still on this floor there are three more paintings, one with the ground plan of the house and two representing a scene from Antiquity, introducing in this way a series of exemplary women and men, pagans as well as Christians, who are represented in paintings and statues.

Lucretia's suicide is depicted on the first one, and one of the boys asks: 'Quid, quaeso, dicit? Nam moriens, ut videtur, loquitur'. The master of the house answers: 'Multae hoc mirantur, quia non cuique tantum dolet'.<sup>6</sup> With those words, which seem to be written on the painting itself<sup>7</sup>, Vives interprets Lucretia's violence upon herself as a form of self-denial and martyrdom. In this sense the painting matches the following one, hidden by a veil and representing Pero breast-feeding her father Cimon, a story taken from Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia* (5, 4, ext. 1), where it is cited as an example of *pietas*.

Before any attention is paid to some male figure, the description of the house continues with the marvellous stained-glass windows of the dining

<sup>5</sup> J.L. Vives, *Los Diálogos (Linguae Latinae Exercitatio)*. Estudio introductorio, edición crítica y comentario de M<sup>a</sup> Pilar García Ruiz (Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2005), pp. 228-235.

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. Plin., *epist.*, 3, 16: 'Paete, non dolet' (and Mart., 1, 13).

<sup>7</sup> On the many paintings representing Lucretia's suicide, e.g. by Joos van Cleve, Lucas Cranach, Lorenzo Lotto or Dürer, there is no sign of a banderol containing these words. The only painting with a text, as far as we know, is the one by Lorenzo Lotto (now in the National Gallery at London): on the table lies a piece of paper, on which we can decipher Livy's words (1, 58, 10): 'Nec ulla impudica Lucretia<e> exemplo vivet.'

room on the first floor. There three victims of their cruel husbands are portrayed: one imaginary one, the faithful Griseldis, whose fate was described in Boccaccio's *Decameron* (X, 10) and was widely known all over Europe thanks to Petrarch's Latin version, and two historical personages, the 11th-century Flemish saint Godeliva, strangled by order of her husband Bertulf, and the English Queen Catherine of Aragon, repudiated in a most shameful way by Henry VIII.

It is obvious that for Vives the most important value incarnated in this lavishly decorated mansion is virtue, and especially feminine virtue.

Lucretia had already appeared in Vives's *De institutione feminae christianae* (1523), dedicated to Queen Catherine, and also in his *De officio mariti* (1528). In the first work she is portrayed as the ideal housewife busy toiling at her wool (1, 15; 2, 118), and thus as an example of a woman preserving her chastity (1, 44; 2, 13); in the first chapter of the third book Lucretia is mentioned only in passing, where Vives compares the case of a widow mourning the loss of her loving husband, with the year-long mourning of the Roman matrons for the death of a man they hardly knew, namely Junius Brutus, the defender of another woman's — Lucretia's — honour (3, 3 = Liv., 2, 7, 4). For all these passages Vives directly relies on Livy.<sup>8</sup>

In the *De officio mariti* Lucretia is quoted among the women because of whom violence broke out (§ 9) and among the ideal women of the past (§§ 34, 55, 127). Moreover, in § 34, Vives compares Catherine of Aragon with Lucretia and characterises her with the words used by Valerius Maximus (6, 1, 1) to portray the Roman heroine: 'cuius virilis animus maligno errore fortunae muliebre corpus sortitus est'. Only once does the humanist situate Lucretia in a more open and dramatic context. In § 167 he links Collatinus's recklessness with that of Candaules at the beginning of Herodotus's *Histories* (1, 8-13). The description of both cases is intertwined with biblical citations advising a husband inclined to talk to other men about his relation to his wife to be extremely cautious.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> J.L. Vives, *De institutione feminae christianae. Liber primus. Liber secundus & liber tertius*. Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes. Edited by C. Fantazzi and C. Mattheuissen. Translated by C. Fantazzi, Selected Works of J.L. Vives, 6-7, 2 vols (Leiden – New York – Köln, 1996-1998).

<sup>9</sup> J.L. Vives, *De officio mariti*. Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Notes. Ed. by C. Fantazzi, Selected Works of J.L. Vives, 8 (Leiden – Boston, 2006); a Spanish translation in Juan Luis Vives, *De officio mariti* / "Los deberes del marido". Traducción, introducción y notas por C. Bernal, Colección J.L. Vives, 4 A (Valencia, 1994).

Summarizing, one could say that for Vives in general Lucretia offers an evident and closed exemplum of chastity, modesty and fidelity. So far as he is concerned, her suicide as such and the political dimension of her act receive no attention.

Quite a different approach to the Lucretia-exemplum is to be found in the works of Erasmus. He hardly mentions her in his *Encomium matrimonii*, and from the entire Tarquinius Superbus-story he only treats the anecdote about the king topping the poppies (Liv., 1, 54, 5-8) in his *Lingua* and his *Enarratio Psalmi XXXIII*.<sup>10</sup> In his colloquy *Adolescentis et scorti* ('The Young Man and the Harlot')<sup>11</sup> published in 1523 he treats the Roman heroine in an ironical way. Lucretia is the prostitute who is brought back to the path of virtue by her former lover Sophronius, who himself — as his name suggests — had changed his mind... after having read Erasmus's edition of the New Testament! Although the dialogue as a whole is meant as a serious lesson, it is intertwined with satirical notes and details. One can suppose that precisely the choice of the name of the prostitute does not go without a wink. Erasmus thus links up with a long tradition of sceptical readings of the Lucretia-case such as those of Martial (1, 90; 11, 16; 11, 104) or Juvenal (10, 289-298) in Antiquity, the *Carmina Burana*<sup>12</sup> (c. 6) in the Middle Ages and Lorenzo Valla or Enea Silvio Piccolomini with his famous *De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia* in the 15th century.

In the *De voluptate* (1431), revised and enlarged as *De vero falsoque bono*, Valla, in agreement with Augustine, argues that Lucretia's *audax facinus* was not motivated by *honestas* but by *pudor inter feminas*. In a highly rhetorical passage he manifests his disbelief in the exceptional virtue of Collatinus and his wife. They were no other sort of human beings than was Sextus Tarquinius, the rapist, he says. In the given circumstances,

<sup>10</sup> Erasmus, *Encomium matrimonii*, ed. J.-Cl. Margolin, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* [= ASD], I.5 (Amsterdam – Oxford, 1975), pp. 333-416 (p. 410); *Lingua*, ed. J.H. Waszink, ASD, IV.1A (Amsterdam – New York – Oxford – Toronto, 1989), p. 56; Erasmus, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Jo. Clericus (Hildesheim 1962 = Leiden 1704), IV, 675 E; V, 372.

<sup>11</sup> Erasmus, *Colloquia*, ed. L.-E. Halkin – F. Bierlaire – R. Hoven, ASD, I.3 (Amsterdam, 1972), pp. 339-343. English translation: *The Colloquies of Erasmus*. Translated by C.R. Thompson (Chicago – London, 1965), pp. 153-158.

<sup>12</sup> *Carmina Burana*. Mit Benutzung der Vorarbeiten Wilhelm Meyers kritisch herausgegeben von A. Hilka und O. Schumann. I. Band: Text. I. Die moralisch-satirischen Dichtungen. Zweite, unveränderte Auflage (Heidelberg, 1978), p. 8: 'et castitas Lucretie | turpi servit lascivie'.

what happened to Lucretia was inevitable and afterwards no other Roman woman ever imitated her example.<sup>13</sup> Valla's frank realism goes to the extreme end of the critical and sceptical interpretation. It can be supposed that Erasmus's suggestive approach derives from that same vein.

The readings of Vives and Erasmus represent the extreme possibilities in the interpretative spectrum of the Lucretia-case. In contrast with the wholly idealizing approach by Vives and the ambiguously critical one by Erasmus the rhetorical tradition develops many other treatments of the story. Lucretia's experience can be introduced into a large range of argumentative contexts or analysed from several points of view. In Antiquity already, Augustine's keen dialectical treatment of the case resulted from that age-old practice.<sup>14</sup>

A remarkable use of the tragic event is made in Lipsius's main work: *De constantia in publicis malis* (1584).<sup>15</sup> In I, 19 the author distinguishes God's universal *providentia* from the *fatum* of each matter in particular, in which that *providentia* reveals itself in a differentiated way. That differentiation is expressed in the elements of sequence, place and time. As an example of the sequential factor, Lipsius points to the connection between the rape of Lucretia and the fall of the kingdom: 'Fatum est Tarquinium regno eiici? fiat: sed adulterium praecedat: ordinem vides'.

Lipsius's use of the story seems to be in itself an allusion to its interpretation by two predecessors in the Neo-Latin tradition. First of all there is Valla's *Dialogus de libero arbitrio* (1438/1439). In this dialogue between Laurentius (Valla) and Antonius (Glarea), the former postulates that God foresees our actions but this does not mean that they inevitably must happen, because man has a free will. In order to illustrate this thesis, Laurentius imagines the following event: Sextus Tarquinius consults

<sup>13</sup> Lorenzo Valla, *De vero falsoque bono*. Critical edition by M. de Panizza Lorch (Bari, 1970), 2, 4, 1-4 (pp. 49-50); see also: 1, 5, 3 (p. 9) and 3, 5, 10 (p. 104). A German translation is offered in Lorenzo Valla, *Von der Lust oder Vom wahren Guten. De voluptate sive De vero bono*. Lateinisch-deutsche Ausgabe. Hrsg. und übersetzt von P.M. Schenkel. Eingeleitet von E. Kessler, Humanistische Bibliothek, II.34 (München, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> In this respect the detailed elaboration by Emporius seems to have been highly decisive. In his treatise *Praeceptum deliberativae materiae* he thoroughly analyses the motivation of Lucretia's suicide as an example of the application of the technique of the 'inventio' in the deliberative genre, taking into consideration the pros and cons of the matter. Cfr. C. Halm (ed.), *Rhetores Latini Minores* (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 572-574; Follak, *Lucretia*, pp. 44-48.

<sup>15</sup> Justus Lipsius, *De constantia. Von der Standhaftigkeit*. Lateinisch-deutsch. Übersetzt, kommentiert und mit einem Nachwort von F. Neumann, Excerpta Classica, 16 (Mainz, 1998), p. 142.



the oracle of Apollo concerning his future. The god answers<sup>16</sup>: ‘Exul inopsque cades irata caesus ab urbe.’ Sextus protests. He had offered such a generous gift to the god, hoping to receive a favourable prediction. Apollo cannot but disillusion the prince. The god’s role is to know what is ordained by fate, not to bring it about or to change it. Sextus as well as Laurentius, who thought out this discussion, are both caught in the problem about the relation between divine will and human freedom. Lipsius obviously reads the Lucretia-case in the same context of the problem of the freedom of the will as Valla does.

Another aspect of his approach is the explicit connection established between Lucretia’s misfortune and the fall of Tarquinius, and the suggestion that great evil can be the source of extremely good consequences. This conclusion had already been arrived at by Rudolph Agricola in his programmatic letter *De formando studio* addressed to Jacobus Barbirianus (1484). In the chapter on the importance of an adequately developed ‘topical’ method he analyses the Lucretia-story as a first illustration. In that event he discovers the ‘topics’ of honesty, beauty, death and voluptuousness. As regards the last of these, Agricola points out the ambiguity of Lucretia’s fate (§47)<sup>17</sup>: ‘hinc de libidine, quas clades, quae bella ea moverit; utque etiam ingentia mala magnorum sepe bonorum prebeant causam, quando ex eo scelere populo Romano sit libertas quesita.’

The interdependence between the views on Lucretia of Valla, Agricola and Lipsius is confirmed by the end of Leibniz’s *Essais de théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l’homme et l’origine du mal* (1710). The last part of that work summarizes the discussion of Valla’s *De libero arbitrio* (3, 405-412). In the closing paragraphs (3, 413-417) Leibniz tells an allegorical tale about the further history of Sextus and the rape of Lucretia that dilates upon Valla’s discussion. The last words regarding Sextus not only express a typical idea of the philosopher concerning the best of all possible worlds but contain a direct echo of Agricola’s citation and an indirect one of that of Lipsius: ‘Le crime de Sextus sert à de grandes choses; il en naîtra un grand empire, qui donnera de grands exemples’.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Lorenzo Valla, *Dialogue sur le libre-arbitre*. Edition critique, traduction, introduction et notes par J. Chomarat, Textes et documents de la Renaissance, 5 (Paris, 1983), p. 39 § 68. Valla’s fiction can be seen as an extension of the story of the visit to Delphi in Livy (1, 56, 4-13).

<sup>17</sup> Rudolph Agricola. *Letters*. Edited and translated, with notes by A.H. van der Laan & F. Akkerman (Assen – Tempe/AZ, 2002), ep. 38, § 47 (p. 214).

<sup>18</sup> G.W. Leibniz, *Opera Philosophica quae exstant Latina, Gallica, Germanica omnia*. Instruxit J.E. Erdmann. Faksimiledruck der Ausgabe 1840 durch weitere Textstücke ergänzt und mit einem Vorwort versehen von R. Vollbrecht (Aalen, 1974), p. 623.

## 2. Towards a dramatization of Lucretia's experience

So far we have studied the external use of the example. The most interesting readings of the Lucretia-case, however, are those that try to uncover and evaluate the motives of the heroine. This line of interpretation starts with the dramatization effected by Livy and Ovid and is carried to extremes by Augustine's attack on the pagan use of the example. In this respect, the comparison with the story of Verginia (Liv., 3, 33-58), so often linked with that of Lucretia, is very instructive. The former lacks any motivation on the part of the girl. Verginia is killed immediately by her father, who in a moment of despair tries to save her innocence from the indecent purposes of the decemvir Appius Claudius. Lucretia is silenced by Sextus's violent attack but has the occasion to regain herself and to formulate her motives and her wishes before she kills herself.

That difference is illustrated very well by Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* (1772). This prose drama as a whole is an adaptation of the Verginia-story. But in the scene of Emilia's death, the author feels compelled to transform his protagonist into a Lucretia. Otherwise, the character of Emilia would not have had any tension and her tragic death would not have been possible.

Lessing completes that transformation of the heroine in the next to the last scene of the play. When Emilia's father Odoardo says that his daughter's innocence rises high above all violence, she immediately replies: 'But not above all temptation'. Physical violence is not the problem, she continues; temptation that is the real violence: 'I have blood in my veins, father, as youthful, as warm blood as anyone else. And my inclinations are real inclinations'. She confesses that even the strictest practice of religion could scarcely calm her inner commotion, and she adds: 'To avoid nothing worse, many thousands leapt into the flood-tides and now are saints!' With this argument she begs her father for his dagger with the intention of killing herself.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Werke. Zweiter Band: Trauerspiele – Nathan – Dramatische Fragmente*, ed. H.G. Göpfert et al. (Darmstadt, 1971), pp. 202-203: (V, 7):

ODOARDO: (...). — Auch du hast nur ein Leben zu verlieren.

EMILIA. Und nur eine Unschuld!

ODOARDO. Die über alle Gewalt erhaben ist. —

EMILIA. Aber nicht über alle Verführung. — Gewalt! Gewalt! wer kann der Gewalt nicht trotzen? Was Gewalt heißt, ist nichts: Verführung ist die wahre Gewalt. — Ich habe Blut, mein Vater, so jugendliches, so warmes Blut, als eine. Auch meine Sinne, sind

Commentaries on Lessing's play inform us that Emilia's argument is taken from Augustine's *De civitate Dei* (1, 26).<sup>20</sup> In the broader discussion on the suicides of Lucretia and Cato Minor that Church Father does indeed mention the case of women that had drowned themselves in order to avoid sinning and adds that he would not venture to give an opinion about such a dramatic decision. So Emilia's final argument is an undeniable borrowing from Augustine. But, as Croce already noticed, Emilia's confession about her sensual feelings also contains an echo of Augustine's treatment of the Lucretia-story.<sup>21</sup> In the course of his rhetorical analysis of her choice in *civ.*, 1, 19, Augustine insinuates the possibility that this woman, carried away by her feelings, had consented to the rape and had then decided to kill herself with the intention of paying for her guilt. Thus Augustine was able to formulate his dreadful dilemma. Certainly Emilia's confession in Lessing's play is to be read against the background of Augustine. But probably the relation is not a direct one. Augustine makes Lucretia's feelings appear in an unfavourable light. A more sympathetic understanding of what she may have felt does not occur until the appearance of some humanistic texts with which Lessing was very well acquainted.

A very popular text from early humanism is Coluccio Salutati's *Declamatio Lucretie* of 1367. In this rhetorical discussion between Lucretia's father and husband on the one hand and herself on the other, Augustine's exalted *virtus* is rejected and an attempt is made to sympathize with Lucretia's intimate experience. Let us now examine the development of the two speeches.

In the first one Spurius Lucretius and Collatinus Tarquinius argue that Lucretia should leave behind her the violent experience that had befallen to her. She has proved sufficiently that she is wholly without guilt, that she has been entirely the victim of the outrage inflicted upon her by the

Sinne. Ich stehe für nichts. Ich bin für nichts gut. Ich kenne das Haus der Grimaldi. Es ist das Haus der Freude. Eine Stunde da, unter den Augen meiner Mutter — und es erhob sich so mancher Tumult in meiner Seele, den die strengsten Übungen der Religion kaum in Wochen besänftigen konnten! — Der Religion! Und welcher Religion? — Nichts Schlimmers zu vermeiden, sprangen Tausende in die Fluten, und sind Heilige! — Geben Sie mir, mein Vater, geben Sie mir diesen Dolch.

ODOARDO. Und wenn du ihn kenntest diesen Dolch!

EMILIA. Wenn ich ihn auch nicht kenne! — Ein unbekannter Freund ist auch ein Freund. — Geben Sie mir ihn, mein Vater, geben Sie mir ihn.'

<sup>20</sup> See for instance Gesa Dane, *Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Emilia Galotti. Erläuterungen und Dokumente*, Universal-Bibliothek, 16031 (Stuttgart, 2002), p. 25.

<sup>21</sup> Croce, 'Lucrezia nella poesia', p. 323.

King's son, and that, after her frank confession, she will rightly be entitled to witness how her rapist will be punished. The two men develop this argument in three steps. First of all they say that her unfeigned virtue has been proved by the unexpected visit of her husband and the other princes some days before. In view of that, they can immediately proceed to the punishing of the impudent King and his criminal son. Secondly they contend that Lucretia may not legitimately offer Sextus an additional satisfaction by killing herself and thus afflicting her father, husband and children. Vengeance will be complete only if the delinquent realizes that the victory does not go to his brutality but to the renown of his victim. Finally there is no reason for her suicide. Physically she had no defence against her attacker and morally she resisted someone who by his various attractions was capable of seducing many women. Her mind had remained untouched. Nothing could offer her a more splendid glory than the fact that she had resolutely resisted Sextus's brutal attack. When she had yielded, it was not out of fear of death but only in an attempt to avoid the dishonour with which Sextus threatened to destroy her reputation. The conclusion of this first speech not only recapitulates the three preceding arguments but adds the idea that the very act of suicide could be interpreted as an admission of guilt on her part.

Now, in the introduction to her own speech in reply, Lucretia immediately refutes two points in their argumentation. By dying bravely she will prove that she did not seek to avoid death but to escape from dishonour. The only choice for chaste Lucretia is to say goodbye to life; only an adulterous Lucretia could remain alive. As to the vengeance, her main concern is that she should put a stop to sexual violence in Rome, for, if even a Lucretia can become a victim of that kind of aggression, no woman is safe any longer. Lucretia also develops her point of view in three steps. Her first argument is that her identity is wholly compromised. So, she rejects the second argument of the men, who urged her to preserve her fame and her close ties with her relatives. Her second argument refutes the first one of the men. Sextus had been provoked by what she had most aimed at in her former existence. His main intention had been to destroy her chastity. Now, in her actual condition, she could only lead the life of a prostitute. In a detailed third argument she rejects the third step of the first speech. Her body is irrevocably stained by the feelings she had experienced during intercourse with Sextus. As a weak woman she is burdened forever with this indelible reminder of sensuality. Only by piercing her breast, that part of herself where the illicit contact had begun, can she regain her

integrity. And it is only by showing no mercy to herself that she can escape from the vortex of ambiguous feelings that are tormenting her. In her conclusion Lucretia stresses the aspects of courage and revenge manifested by her self-inflicted death. In the underworld her innocence of mind will bring Sextus before the tribunal, while in this world the example of her suicide will motivate men to take revenge on tyrants and strengthen Roman women to preserve their chastity.

As far as contents are concerned, Salutati's adaptation inevitably follows Livy's basic treatment of the Lucretia-story. There are also some echoes of Ovid.<sup>22</sup> But, as has already been said, it is chiefly with Augustine that he enters into dialogue. The latter's 'Duo fuerunt et adulterium unus admisit' is echoed in Salutati's 'Solus ille, cum duo tantum essetis, violentiam intulit et in corpus tuum adulterium patravit atque perfecit.' The concluding idea of the first 'declamatio' ('Numquam putabitur innocens qui se nocentum supplicio afficit' / 'One who afflicts himself with punishment fit for criminals will not be thought to be innocent') also stems from Augustine.<sup>23</sup>

The main divergence between Salutati and Augustine has to do with the problem of pleasure possibly experienced by women during rape, this being introduced in the *De civitate Dei* version. Whereas Augustine, with a view to reassuring Christian women who had been victims of rape, tried to resolve the issue of that disorientating experience by making a sharp distinction between the ambiguous feeling of *pudor* and the unequivocal intention of *fortitudo* by which *pudicitia* is achieved, Salutati rejects that high *virtus* and gives a more realistic analysis of Lucretia's problem. In her speech she compares herself to the hesitating Dido in Vergil's *Aeneid*, echoing the Carthaginian Queen as she declares: 'Agnoverim maritalis vestigia flammae'.<sup>24</sup> Although at the end the situation of Salutati's heroine is not unlike the Livian example, in the course of the argumentation he tries to explore the motivation of her famous words in Livy (1, 58, 10): 'Ego me etsi peccato absolvere, supplicio non libero'. From the juridical and the ethical point of view represented by the men Lucretia is not to be blamed and goes free. But in her concrete existence she is so deeply

<sup>22</sup> The reminiscences are noted by E. Menestò, *Coluccio Salutati. Editi e inediti latini dal ms. 53 della Biblioteca Comunale di Todi*, Res Tudertinae, 12 (Todi, 1971), pp. 16-18; Id., 'La "Declamatio Lucretiae" del Salutati: manoscritti e fonti', *Studi medievali*, III.20 (1979), 917-924 (920-922).

<sup>23</sup> See already Kleszczewski, 'Wandlungen', pp. 328-329.

<sup>24</sup> Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 23: 'Agnosco veteris vestigia flammae'.

damaged, that only a self-sacrificial making of amends can offer her a way out. By examining the existential aspect of Lucretia's experience, Salutati inevitably comes into conflict with Augustine's condemnation of her suicide.<sup>25</sup> As we have seen, the consequences of this clash are to be followed down to Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*.

### 3. The Louvain humanists Hadrianus Barlandus and Petrus Nannius

In Louvain humanism also we hear echoes of Salutati's adaptation. Hadrianus Barlandus inserts a *Declamatiuncula ad Lucretiam*, imitated from Salutati's first speech, in his commentary on Livy. So in this work only the men are given the opportunity to defend their viewpoint. It almost seems as if he could not follow Salutati in his sympathy for the brave decision of the heroine. The position of Lucretia herself gets a remarkably new elaboration in a very original work by another Louvain humanist, Petrus Nannius. With his *Dialogismi heroinarum* he introduced a new literary genre lying between rhetoric and drama. The first of these dramatic monologues delivered by women is the *Lucretiae Dialogismus*.

#### 3.1. Hadrianus Barlandus

Barlandus suggests that his *declamatiuncula* is an original creation, having arisen in the context of his commentary on Livy: 'quae nobis excidit haec commentantibus'. However, a collation of his text with Salutati's proves that he imitated the Italian humanist to a large degree<sup>26</sup>:

<sup>25</sup> By extolling chastity and measuring Lucretia by that ideal, Augustine reduces the rhetorical debate to the sharp-edged epideictic and forensic genres and excludes the woman's opportunity to deliberate with herself. Cf. J. J. Thompson, "'Accept the twofold consolation, you faint-hearted creatures': St Augustine and contemporary definitions of rape", *Simile: Studies in Media & Information Literacy Education*, 4 (August 2004) 3 (article: 50) = <http://www.utpjournals.com/simile/issue15/thompsonXfulltext.html>.

After so many centuries Salutati refuses Augustine's reductive approach and dares to reopen the repressed deliberative space in the experience of the heroine. In connection with Livy and Ovid, but also with Augustine, Salutati's Lucretia-version becomes a founding narrative for the third time in history. Cf. D. Trout, 'Re-Textualizing Lucretia: Cultural Subversion in the City of God', *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 2/1 (Spring 1994), 53-70; Jed, *Chaste Thinking*.

<sup>26</sup> Recent editions of the text are offered by Menestò, *Coluccio Salutati*, pp. 33-43; Jed, *Chaste Thinking*, pp. 133-152 and Follak, *Lucretia*, pp. 207-211. Since there were no independent editions available in his time, it seems reasonable to assume that Barlandus had access to the text of Salutati's *Declamatio Lucretie* thanks to its appearance in print

**Vindicta illate violentie, quam de se  
extorsit Lucretia Romana speculum  
pudicitie  
Epistola CCCCXXVII.**

Lucretia Spurii Lucretii filia, et Collatini Latini uxor a Sexto Tarquinio regis Tarquini filio per vim cognita, ipsa consentiente, solum infamie metu, ne Tarquinius, sicut minabatur, sibi occise iugulatum servum ei sociaret. Vocatis ad se patre et viro eis rem narrat, ultionem promitti facit, et demum se vult occidere. Vetant pater et coniunx eiusmodi verbis:

[*Exordium*]

Noli te afflictare (afilicare **L**), Lucretia: satis magnum argumentum dedisti te adultero non (non: *om.* **L**) consensisse tibi que vim illatam. Quam penam eius expectas, que ultro, quod celare (cele-rare **L**) poteras, accusas?

[*Argumentatio*]

(1) Hoc adiuvat vita precedens tua, que non solum in hominum oculis, sed etiam in secretis domus penetralibus et frugalitatem <et> pudicitiam coluisti. An recolis, mea Lucretia, cum paucis ante diebus una cum improbo illo adultero prima face (facie **LB**) huc advenimus, tu inter servas lanificio es reperta intenta (intenta: *corr. ex interea* **LB**), improvisa, incauta, nec virum nec hospitem tunc (tunc: **L**, nunc **B**) expectans?

**Declamatiuncula ad Lucretiam ne  
seipsam interimat, quae nobis exci-  
dit haec commentantibus.**

Ne te crucies, ne te afflictas, Lucretia, satis magnum est argumentum, quod adultero non consenseris, quod scele-ratus ille vim tibi intulerit, quum et penam illius expectes, et ultro quod nos, quod caeteros [*corr. e caeteri, ed*] homines celare poteras, excuses.

Te ab omni suspitione liberat hactenus

in summa frugalitate pudicitiaque trans-acta vita.

Huc nuper ad multam noctem venientes non sedentem inter pocula ut regias nurus, sed textentem telam studiose offendimus, mediocriter vestitam, sine auro tum ornatam, nulla re mala expolitam, quum neque virum, neque alium quenquam expectares hospitem.

amongst the letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, which were frequently published during the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth. For that reason we do not follow here a modern edition, but transcribe Piccolomini's *Epistole et varii tractatus* (Lyon, 1518) [=L], where the *Declamatio* appears as letter 427, adding some structural elements and eliminating the factual errors by comparing it with the edition of Piccolomini's *Opera Omnia* (Basel, 1551) [=B], pp. 959-960, ep. 411. A few corrections have also been introduced on the basis of the text provided by Follak, *Lucretia*, pp. 210-211.

Ea dies, illa deprehensio castitatis tibi victoriam dedit. Regis nurus et filias commensationibus (commensationis L) occupatas invenimus; tu illis prelata es, tibi incorruptibilis gloria pudicitie (pudicitia L) parata est.

(2) Nos iniuriam ulciscemur. Que mesta violentos compressus improbi iuvenis pertulisti, dum ille mala gaudia ex invita capiebat, videbis leta meritum regia de prole supplicium. Cur cum (cum: *om.* L) coacta prebuiisti sibi de libidine nephanda solacium, tua morte tuoque cruore vis ferocem animum eius saciare?

An tibi non satis nota crudelitas patris, immanitas filiorum? Iste corruptor tui corporis quot cedes explevit in Gabios, quot ibi (tibi L) circumvenit innocentes? Si ipsum odis, si sibi ex animo supplicium exoptas, fac vivas, fac ut te videat in suis penis exultare (exaltare B), fac quod, cum se viderit invisum et infamem (infamen L) periturum, te, cuius corpus attigit, videat integro famae lumine superesse. Noli, Lucretia, viduare coniugem, orbare parentem et filiis matrem auferre. Opta vitam, ut aspicias aliquando vindictam.

(3) Non habes unde mori velle debeas: pollutum est corpus, sed integer animus. Nulla sine consensu culpa contrahitur. Quis nescit te non potuisse resistere, nudam, dormientem, incautam et nihil tale verentem armato iuveni ad homicidium vel ad adulterium preparato? Potuit ille etate florida et auctoritate regia quamlibet aliam permulcere et secum in illecebras trahere; rigidum vero pectus tuum mollire non potuit. Solus ille, cum duo tantum essetis, violentiam tulit et in corpus tuum adulterium patravit atque perfecit. Tu, quod

Ea res dedit tum existimandi copiam, quotidianae vitae consuetudinem.

Itaque bono sis animo: nos tibi illatam ulciscemur iniuriam, nos persequemur adulterum.

Istis oculis laeta videbis admotum supplicio adulterum.

Cur teipsam vis interimere? Cur marito, cur patri, cur liberis, cur caeteris amicis omnibus tam indigna morte luctum ingentem vis adferre?

An ignota est tibi saevitia Tarquini? Ignota liberorum eius inhumana crudelitas? Adulter iste tot Gabiis innocentes occidit, cuius, si dignum factis exitium videre cupis,

fac in vita maneat, fac is te videat suis gaudentem malis, opta videre diem illum, quo invisus [*corr. e* invisus, *ed*] bonis omnibus, atque infamis corruptor iste Sex. Tarquinius male pereat.

Causam non habes cur de morte tibi consciscenda debeas cogitare. Polluit corpus istud scelestissimus adulter, at mansit integer animus. Nulli enim unquam citra consensum culpa contracta est. Quis non videt, quis ignorat nudam foeminam, in lecto iacentem, dormientem, armato iuveni resistere non potuisse? Quamvis aliam (non dubium est) si tentasset, ille et viridi aetate et blandimentis et auctoritate regia potuisset isthuc pertrahere.



muliebris fragilitatis est, iniuriam pertulisti; mentem intra concubitus violentiam pudicissimam conservasti. Si gloriam queris, nihil huic (*corr. ex hinc LB*) glorie potes adiacere, que iuveni amanti et avide libidinem suam explenti te non mulierem carneam sed statuam marmoream prebuiisti. Adde, chara Lucretia, quod tu non mortem illo (*corr. ex ullo LB*) violento consensu, sed infamiam effugere voluisti.

Tunc enim demum potestatem prebuiisti tyranno, cum se tibi iugulande servum nudum occisurum iuxta corpus tuum minatus est.

[*Peroratio*]

Te pater, te vir culpa absolvunt. Noli sola teipsam illa, qua vacas (quam vocas **LB**) culpa, damnare. Infamiam morte fugimus (fugemus **LB**); tu famam corrumpis? Tristiciam vite nobis morte illata finimus; tu vindictae gaudia mortem preparans non expectas? Denique scelus aliquod, dum manus nobis iniicimus, expiamus (experiamus **L**); tu innocentiam occupata morte corruptura es? Vir, pater, Brutus et alii coniuncti, qui te culpa absolvunt, ne (nec **L**) te occidas, vetant. Cur te occidendo iudicium ipsorum damnas? Si te occidis, culpam tibi, qua cares quamve fugis, incurris. Nunquam putabitur (imputabitur **L**) innocens, qui se nocentum (*corr. e nocentem LB*) supplicio afficit.

Tibi soli per vim adulterium obtulit. Corpus tibi violatum est concubitu, animo pudicitiam conservas.

Tum demum paruisti impurissimo Tarquinio, quum ille cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum minaretur, ut in sordido adulterio necata dicereris.

Te itaque pater Lucretius, te maritus culpa absolvunt, insontem iudicant.

Ne manus tibi inferas, ne te insontem occidas, prohibent ac vetant.

Quod si tibi manus intuleris, si te occideris, et hoc facto te damnabis, et culpam incurres. Innocentem enim qui se nocentum supplicio affecerit, nemo putat. Finis.

*Titi Livii Patavini eximii historici liber de regibus Romanorum, scholiis illustratus, auctore Hadriano Barlando...* (Antwerp, M. Hillen, ca. 1521), fol. M.i.v

A comparison between these two texts makes clear what the intention of Barlandus must have been. His version evidently weakens Salutati's further dramatization of Livy and above all his implicit engagement with Augustine. This can be observed in the three points of the argumentation and the conclusion. In the Italian humanist's first argument Barlandus does away with the emphasis placed on Lucretia's superiority over the women of the royal household and her care for her reputation in the eyes of others. In the argument concerning the taking of vengeance, the idea that she might add to the satisfying of Sextus Tarquinius's cruel purposes by killing herself is left out. Only the topics of the revenge promised on her behalf and of the probable harm that would be brought upon her family and friends by her suicide are retained. In the third argument every implied reference to the debate with Augustine concerning the experience of rape has been omitted. Finally Salutati's recapitulation of the three arguments has disappeared from Barlandus's *peroratio*.

So the Louvain humanist's purpose may have been to reduce Salutati's speech in such a way that it is enclosed within itself and needs no wider engagement. This approach fits perfectly into a commentary on the first book of Livy, but manifests some reticence as to the crucial point of Salutati's *Declamatio*. Perhaps for Barlandus confrontation with Augustine was impossible.

### 3.2. *Petrus Nannius*

Nannius's *Lucretiae Dialogismus*<sup>27</sup>, on the other hand, can be seen as a work supplying what was lacking in the work of his predecessor at the *Collegium Trilingue*. In order to study Nannius's version of Lucretia's monologue, we first quote the heroine's reply in Salutati's *Declamatio*, from the same 1518 Lyon edition:

#### **Responsio Lucretie antequam se ense perfodiat**

[*Exordium*]

Nolite me, pater sanctissime, tu, quoque, luce quondam mihi charior coniunx, morte prohibere. Nisi me occidero, nunquam fides erit me potius infamiam quam mortem vitare maluisse. Quis unquam credat, quod ille me

<sup>27</sup> *Dialogismi Heroinarum, autore Petro Nannio Alecmariano, Lovanii in Collegio Trilingui Latinas literas profitente. Libellus nunc primum et natus et editus, lectuque dignissimus* (Lovanii: Apud Bartholomaeum Gravium, <1541>), pp. 7-18.

servicidio terruerit meque magis consociandi servi ignominiam suspiciosam timuisse quam mortem, nisi moriendi fortitudine audaciaque probavero? Restabit me miseram turpissima labe infamie Lucretiam potius adulteram voluisse vivere quam pudicam mori. Nonne videtis quod me non vite vultis, sed infamie conservare? Consulitis quod promisistis iniurie. Sancite (sanctitate **LB**) matrimoniales thoros. Facite quod ultio (ultro **LB**) tanti flagitii securos reddat aliarum somnos. Si negligentius hoc egeritis, vagabitur effrenis libido, et nedum viris absentibus, sed etiam in maritorum complexibus Romane mulieres (mulieris **L**) protervorum iuvenum violentia comprimentur. Etenim que mulier erit tuta, violata Lucretia?

[*Argumentatio*]

(1) Tu autem, charissime coniunx, quomodo poteris ire in meos complexus, qui te non tenere uxorem tuam, sed scortum Tarquini recorderis? Et tu, pater sanctissime, quomodo me tuam filiam appellabis, que pudicitiam, quam sub optima tua disciplina ab infantia didici, tam infelicitate amisi tanque (tanquam **LB**) iniuriose corrumpti? Me miseram! Audebo (Videbo **LB**) ne natos intueri meos, quorum ventrem adulter oppressit? Quid si semen infelix, infaustum visceribus inhesit meis? An expectabo, donec ex adulterio mater fiam?

(2) Nolite mihi splendorem exacte vite ante oculos ponere, que si quicquam sincerum tot annis immaculatumque servavi, infelicissima una nocte (nocteque **L**), dum accipio non hospitem sed hostem, amisi. Non est ulterius (alterius **L**) mea vita iocunda. Sentio quod pudicitie studium opportunum (opportunum **L**) me fecit iniurie. Non formam sed castitatem meam expugnare voluit nephandus adulter. Si hunc fructum continentie tuli, quid (quod **L**) pollutam, stupratam (pollutum stuprum **LB**) et adulteram (adulterum **L**, adulterium **B**) manet, nisi quod non meretrix lupanaribus includar, sed passim ubique divolans feda prostituatur (prostituor **LB**)?

(3) Heu mihi, poteritne iste animus insons et sine culpa flagitii ulterius cum hoc corrupto corpore permanere? An (Non **L**, Num **B**) putatis nullam (ullam **LB**) esse corporis corrupti voluptatem? Fatebor occultum nephas. Parce, parens, parceque, marite, et vos, dii castarum mentium, indulgete. Non potui, fateor, tantam animo concipere tristitiam nec ab illo complexu mentem adeo (adeo *om.* **L**) revocare, quin subierint (suberit **L**) male obedientium membrorum illecebre, quin agnoverim vestigia maritalis flamme. Illa tristis et ingrata licet, qualiscumque tamen voluptas ferro ulciscenda est.

Vestrum autem erit, si quid in vobis Romani spiritus est (et **LB**), scelus istud ulcisci. Extinguatur quicquid (quicquam **L**) habuit aliquod voluptatis. Nimie sunt vires Veneris. Nolo quod unquam tanti facinoris ymago ante oculos vestre mentis agatur. Nihil muliere mobilius. Egritudinem animique motus nedum mollit sed nedum extinguit tempus. Si distulero, forsitan incipient flagitiosa placere. Dimittite (Dimittite **LB**); ferro transfigam hoc pectus, quod ille violentus amavit, in quo primum ad (ad *om.* **LB**) excitamentum

libidinis infixas mamillas (infixis mamillis **LB**) digitis contrectaverit suis. Nolite me ad mei misericordiam excitare. Si vite parco, iam adultere parcam. Si parcam adultere, iam parcam adulterio. Si parcam adulterio, iam placebit adulterium, iamque placebit adulter. Inceptum est in me flagitium. Sinite (Si vite **L**, si vitam **B**) morte prohibeam, ne aliquando iuvet (vivet **B**) inceptum explere. Nunquam scelus remanebit, ubi incepit. Credant (Credent **B**) omnes me (mei **LB**) infamiam timuisse, non mortem. Quod testibus probare non possum, sanguine meo ratum efficiam.

[*Peroratio*]

I (Is **B**), mi anime, incorrupte, immaculate testis innocentie mee apud Minos et Acherontis (Acharontis **B**) tribunal, ibique prolem regiam violate pudicitie (pudicite **L**) et polluti corporis accusabis. Tuque terrestre corpus, quia tibi causam adulterii peperisti, effunde animam, effunde cruorem hoc omine (omen **LB**), ut habere incipiat superbi regis et infauste prolis excidium. Tuque, vir quondam charissime, tuque pater sanctissime, quorum conspectum pudore et infelicitate libenter mea effugio, vosque, amici, valete. Nulli Romane mulieri detur in exemplum Lucretia, ut sibi persuadeant impudicis licitam fore vitam. Amen.

Nannius' *Dialogismi heroinarum* of 1541 are dedicated to the humanist-minded Doña Mencía de Mendoza, on the occasion of her marriage. According to the opening paragraph of the introductory letter, this work replaces a traditional epithalamium. The author had indeed learnt too late about her wedding and an epithalamium hence would not have been appropriate. Therefore Nannius opted to replace it by a limited and varied series of speeches attributed to famous women. The bride could recognize her own longings in the feelings of these heroines. Nannius introduces two pagan examples, the Roman Lucretia and the Gallo-Greek Camma.<sup>28</sup> Their stories frame those of the Old Testament Susanna and Judith and the Christian martyr Agnes. It is not by accident that Nannius begins the sequence with the stories of Lucretia and Susanna, which for him are intimately connected. This can also be inferred from his speech *De amore* introducing his course of lectures on the fourth book of Vergil's *Aeneid*. In this speech Nannius closes the section on ideal love, itself protected by sublime goddesses, by mentioning a number of exemplary women who were ready to die for the sake of that love: Alcestis, Arria, Lucretia, Susanna, Laodamia and Artemisia. Here also he points to a connection between Lucretia and

<sup>28</sup> D. Sacré, 'Plutarchs Camma bei Petrus Nannius', in *Plutarchea Lovaniensia. A Miscellany of Essays on Plutarch*, ed. L. Van der Stockt, Studia Hellenistica, 32 (Louvain, 1996), pp. 243-256.

Susanna: Susanna who chose to die before being dishonoured and Lucretia who did so after she was violated.<sup>29</sup>

In the introductory letter of the *Dialogismi* Nannius explains on the one hand Lucretia's choice by the motivation of *ambitio*, that is her concern with her posthumous reputations and revenge, whereas Susanna on the other hand trusted in God and therefore had not to take into consideration other people's opinion. Here also the entire discussion is inspired by Augustine's questioning of Lucretia's motives. However, in elaborating her soliloquy, Nannius tries to go along with her *coniectura animi* as far as possible. He does not criticize the case of Lucretia in itself. He only puts it in perspective afterwards, by comparing it to the more preferable case of Susanna.

In so doing, Nannius follows a tradition which had started with Dante and was continued by the humanists. Dante already refused to condemn Lucretia and placed her in the Limbo with the innocent pagans who were not redeemed but had committed no sin either (*Inferno*, 4, 127-128):

Vidi quel Bruto che cacciò Tarquinio,  
Lucrezia, Iulia, Marzia e Corniglia...

That this choice was not evident is proved by the fact that Boccaccio in his commentary on the *Divina Commedia* had already had to defend Dante's decision not to place the Roman woman who 'quantunque onestissima donna fosse, nondimeno se medesima uccise', in his hell.<sup>30</sup> Boccaccio also presents Lucretia in chapter 48 of his *De mulieribus claris*<sup>31</sup>, where Lucretia's suicide is extolled not only as a means to restore her dignity but also as the cause of the liberation of Rome:

cum ex eadem non solum re<d>integratum sit decus, quod feditate facinoris iuvenis labefactarat ineptus, sed consecuta sit romana libertas.

In these last words the author links up with Petrarch, in whose epic poem *Africa* Lucretia plays an important role as an advocate of Roman liberty (3, 643-802). Here for the first time we find a monologue spoken by the

<sup>29</sup> A. Polet, *Une gloire de l'humanisme belge, Petrus Nannius 1500-1557*, Humanistica Lovaniensia, 5 (Louvain, 1936), p. 203: Nannius, *Oratio de amore*, ll. 201-202: 'Susannam ante stuprum, Lucretiam post stuprum mortem eligentem'.

<sup>30</sup> G. Boccaccio, *Esposizioni sopra la Comedia di Dante*, ed. G. Padoan, Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio, 6 (Milan, 1965), p. 262, § 373.

<sup>31</sup> G. Boccaccio, *De mulieribus claris*, ed. V. Zaccaria, Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio, 10 (Milan, 1967), pp. 194-196. (p. 196); G. Boccaccio, *Famous Women*. Ed. and tr. by Virginia Brown, The I Tatti Renaissance Library, 1 (Cambridge/Mass. – London, 2001), pp. 194-198 (p. 198).

heroine in the space of time between Sextus's departure and her call for assistance (3, 691-698)<sup>32</sup>:

Illa dolens vitamque simul corpusque perosa  
et membris irata suis "Vas vile pudende,  
femina, luxurie vives" dicebat "et in te  
semper adulterii vestigia feda manebunt?  
Et poteris spectare thorum, quo rapta fuerunt  
omnia cara tibi: vir, virtus, fama pudorque?  
Quin obis? et tristem potius, precor, effuge lucem,  
o anima infelix, inimicaque claustra refringe". 695

It is quite possible that Nannius knew this example. But certainly he was acquainted with the genre of the *declamatio* in general and particularly with Salutati's *Declamatio Lucretie* and Barlandus's imitation of Salutati's speech.

Before studying the content of Nannius's text, it is appropriate to go into the question of the new genre introduced by his *Dialogismi*. The term stems from the rhetorical system and more specifically from the domain of the *sententiarum figurae*. In his *Institutio oratoria* Quintilian considers the *dialogismus* as a form of  *fictio personarum*, in which different situations of speech are represented: the ideas of the adversaries are introduced *velut secum loquentium*, as if they were speaking to themselves; the words of the protagonist to other people are cited; the dialogues of other people between themselves are rendered. In this way advice, invective, complaint, praise and lament can be expressed by convincing speakers.<sup>33</sup> The first one of these speech situations, Quintilian's *dialogismus* 'velut secum loquentium', already became a stylistic feature in its own right thanks to the *De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis* of Iulius Rufinianus. According to this author a *dialogismus* is created when someone debates with himself or considers what he will do or what he thinks that ought to be done. The examples he gives are short reflections

<sup>32</sup> F. Petrarca, *L'Africa*, ed. N. Festa (Florence, 1926), p. 79.

<sup>33</sup> Quint., *inst.*, 9, 2, 29-30: 'Illa adhuc audaciora et maiorum, ut Cicero existimat, laterum, fictiones personarum, quae προσωποποιίαι dicuntur: mire namque cum variant orationem tum excitant. His et adversariorum cogitationes velut secum loquentium protrahimus (qui tamen ita demum a fide non abhorreant, si ea locutos finxerimus, quae cogitasse eos non sit absurdum), et nostros cum aliis sermones et aliorum inter se credibiliter introducimus, et suadendo, obiurgando, querendo, laudando, miserando personas idoneas damus.' – cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik. Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*. 3. Auflage (Stuttgart, 1990), p. 410, §823, 3.

shaped as (deliberative) questions posed by the personages interrogating themselves.<sup>34</sup>

Lausberg underlines the connection between such fictitious soliloquies and Quintilian's statement about the *animi coniectura* as viewed in the context of the *status coniecturalis*.<sup>35</sup> Lausberg's suggestion helps to make clear how the *dialogismus* was able to develop itself as an independent dramatic form. Because it can work within the entire span of time, past, present and future, the protagonist can distance himself from the narrative context in which he is placed initially and occupy the whole scene with his monologue.<sup>36</sup> In the case of Lucretia there is also a specific reason for such an evolution. Already in Salutati's *Declamatio* the context was thoroughly dramatic in the technical sense of the word, since the discussion between the men and Lucretia concerns their own actual experience and not some subject external to what they are going through at that very moment. So they are actors on a stage rather than debaters involved in a dispute. This circumstance makes the Lucretia story singularly appropriate for a dramatic adaptation.

In Nannius's *Dialogismus* the scene is set in Lucretia's bedroom. She delivers her monologue immediately after Sextus's departure. Thus the reader occupies to some degree the position of the men in Salutati's *Declamatio*. At first sight Lucretia's story seems to be no more than a succession of associatively linked considerations. This series of pathetic reflections is framed, however, in a solid rhetorical *dispositio*, based on the three perspectives of time.

In a short prologue Lucretia formulates her *propositio*. She identifies herself with the virtues of *pudicitia* and *pudor*. The loss of these qualities makes her a *moecha*. Such a condition is not compatible with her status as an honourable matron. Only by killing herself can she save her identity, even if her husband and her father will declare her innocent and argue that she has been violated only physically and that her moral integrity has remained intact. So her argument will focus on

<sup>34</sup> Iulius Rufinianus, 20: 'διαλογισμός': Haec fit ita, cum quis secum disputat et volutat, quid agat vel quid agendum putet.' – Cf. Halm, *Rhetores*, pp. 43-44; Lausberg, *Handbuch*, p. 410 § 823, 3.

<sup>35</sup> Lausberg, *Handbuch*, p. 91, §154: 'Die animi coniectura betrifft die seelische Disposition... Sie kann auf die Gegenwart..., auf die Vergangenheit..., auf die Zukunft bezogen werden'; Quint., *inst.*, 7, 2, 6: 'Animi coniectura non dubie in omnia tempora cadit'.

<sup>36</sup> J. IJsewijn – D. Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies, II: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven, 1998), p. 146, quite rightly place the *dialogismus* in the category of Neo-Latin Theatre.

defending her intention to commit suicide. It is worked out in three movements.

In the first of these Lucretia argues that, if it had been possible in whatever way, she would have preferred to die before becoming the victim of that dishonouring. In that way she would have escaped every suspicion. But in the given circumstances she cannot regain her respectability. Only by sacrificing her life does she feel able to make due amends for what happened to her. She might indeed be suspected of having offered no resistance at all but of having hoped to become a Queen by yielding to Sextus. However, when she commits suicide, she can still attain the level of the brave men who became victims of King Tarquinius's terror. For he who took away her chastity also took away her life. In the conclusion of this first part of her speech Lucretia repeats that she is not able to live in a state of vice as some other women can. She had previously preferred to die, and now she renews that choice, because her life has lost all meaning and has become pointless and futile.

After this section which is chiefly concerned with the past, Lucretia returns to the question of her status as a matron. She is harmed not only as regards her respectability and marital fidelity but also as regards her motherhood. She is no longer able to give life to children possessing honour. The only thing she can do is to leave her sinful body, take the Tarquinius with her in her death and thus restore the connection with the pure shades of her ancestors. Nothing but lamentation can now bring her some satisfaction. She laments her own fatal beauty and her marriage into the family of the Tarquinius, that night when her innocence became the victim of that criminal act and finally the fact that, by praising her, her husband Collatinus had drawn the attention of one of the brutal Tarquinius to her. Yet she had no right to blame her husband too much. He had already paid enough for what had happened. Now, she can only wipe away the stain of her shame with her own blood, and thus she will have to kill herself, since her husband and her father will refuse to do it. Again, and now very emphatically, she contrasts her own situation with that of those women who do not care about vice. For one short moment she considers acceptance of her father's and husband's promise of vengeance as a means of finding a source of consolation. In conclusion she bids farewell to her home and the bed that she had always kept unstained, although her obstinate struggle for chastity had been rewarded so badly.

By referring to her concern for purity Lucretia has returned to the essence of her meditations and inevitably she is confronted with Sextus



Tarquinius again. In the third section of her speech she imagines the implications of the struggle she has lost. Sextus's complete victory has taken away everything she has built up and even makes her question the integrity of her mind ('animus'). Precisely the high praise bestowed on her 'pudicitia', reinforced by a comparison with the characteristics of the other women of the royal household, has become fatal to her.

Again Lucretia refers to her husband Collatinus, this time not to excuse him but to consider both him and herself in relation to Sextus. Acting from his position of power that shameless prince will triumph over them and mock them. Her husband and her father will know what has happened even before she can confess it to them herself. So she is thinking again of Sextus's assault on her in bed and concludes that he will blackmail her and hold Collatinus hostage. Her final conclusion is that every expectation of a meaningful future is closed off. She ends this last argument by recapitulating the reasons why she is bound to finish her life: because of herself, her husband, her father and finally because she has brought shame on Rome by her infamous example.

Lucretia concludes the entire monologue by deciding to present the grounds for her suicide to the men. The killing itself is suggested by her apostrophe to the dagger she had concealed under her robe during all that time. As she did at the end of the second argument, she takes leave of her house and home and its household gods. They will never see her alive again.

So far a summary of Nannius's *Dialogismus Lucretiae*. Let us add some considerations as to its relation to the history of the motif. Nannius's monologue of the heroine not only can be considered to be the starting point for a new genre; it also offers a quite original thematic approach to the topic of Lucretia.

First of all the author models a very lonely woman after the example of the Lucretia in the *Antiquitates Romanae* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. In the latter's account of the events (4, 64-67) Lucretia does not call the men to Collatia but rides to Rome herself with a dagger already hidden under her black dress; she tells her father and her next of kin what has happened and then commits suicide in the house of her father. Nannius presents her in a similar situation. Her monologue develops in the time between the departure of Sextus and her own leaving her house. By doing so, Nannius eases the limits of Livy's dramatization, which concentrated the whole event in Lucretia's bedroom, and replaces it by a new and more internal dramatic concept. Another aspect of this technique is seen in the

alternatives Sextus offered to his victim. She is now given the choice to resist to his desire and so, in consequence, die in absolute dishonour, or to be indulgent to his wishes and so escape infamy and become a queen. Livy omitted this complication and focused solely on the issue of challenge, domination and violence. Nannius is able to restore these alternative possibilities because he rearranges them within the inner motivation of Lucretia herself.

Nevertheless, Livy's version remains the principal source for every subsequent elaboration of the narrative, and hence also for that of Nannius. The two chief features of this classical model are, on the one hand, the sphere of provocation and emulation between the princes which result in extreme violence and, on the other, the discussion of Lucretia's physical rape and innocence of the mind between the men and herself. In Nannius's adaptation the latter is pushed somewhat into the background because there is no direct confrontation with the father and the husband. The first element is brought into prominence insofar as Lucretia presents herself as a victim of the sequential violence that makes its way through the different relationships. The consequences of this contagious and uncontrollable process have not only caused her rape but also compromised her own and her husband's future.<sup>37</sup>

The ultimate challenge for Nannius is Augustine. From the very beginning of her soliloquy the humanist presents Lucretia as repudiating the sharp distinction between *pudicitia* and *pudor* which forms the core of Augustine's argument in the first book of his *De civitate Dei*. Augustine had used Livy's opening of his discussion of rape and suicide to play it off against the outraged woman and against his pagan opponents. Nannius makes a fundamental return to Livy. Notwithstanding her moral innocence, suicide is Lucretia's only choice to restore her integrity.

Now, how does Nannius straighten these delicate matters out? As we have seen in the context of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti*, Augustine refrained from condemning suicide in an absolute way if it was chosen as a means to prevent rape (*civ.*, 1, 26). Nannius's Lucretia defends herself by her firm declaration that she would have died rather than be dishonoured but

<sup>37</sup> This theme also serves as an introduction to Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece*. It is developed in a triple circular movement in the first seven stanzas. The central fourth stanza evokes the fragility of honour and beauty (ll. 22-28): in ll. 1-7 and 43-49 Sextus is carried away by his dark lust; in ll. 8-14 and 36-42 Collatinus unwisely boasts of Lucretia's qualities; and, above all, in ll. 15-21 and 29-35 the fatal interconnection of these two dangerous attitudes is made clear. Cfr. already Vives, *De officio mariti*, §167 (see n. 9).

she did not find the opportunity. In the series of the *Dialogismi* the following case presented is that of Susanna, who was already linked up with Lucretia in Nannius's *De amore*. A similar link is to be found in the following epigram which concisely voices the same idea<sup>38</sup>:

Casta Suzanna placet: Lucretia, cede Suzannae.  
Tu post, illa mori maluit ante scelus.

In the *Dialogismus* Nannius suggests that for Lucretia there is no essential difference between the situations *post* and *ante*. The shedding of her blood is the only possibility to expiate the stain. And because she knows that the men will refuse to kill her, she will have to do this herself. If we want to understand Nannius's ultimate position with regard to Augustine, we have to see how the question of the 'stain' is dealt with. Augustine argued that by their will (*voluntas*) raped women can rise above the confusing experience of sensuality and conform to God's law. The pure intention of the victims of sexual violence guarantees their innocence.<sup>39</sup> In his attempt to comfort Christian victims he disconnected *pudicitia* and *pudor*. In response to this decision Salutati wrote his *Declamatio Lucretie* and especially Lucretia's answer, in which he approached the perplexity of the raped woman in an understanding and sympathetic manner. Nannius goes even further. He turns away from the sexual question and resolutely opens the way to a feminist approach and a relational interpretation.

This view proves to be extraordinarily modern. Today it is generally accepted that rape cannot be reduced to a sexual problem centered on the responsibility of women. First of all it is a question of domination and violence in human relations expressed by using force in matters sexual.

<sup>38</sup> R.M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 1-5* (Oxford, 1978), p. 220; the second line is echoed in the epigram of the Italian humanist Marcus Antonius Casanova (1477-1526):

Dice, quum melius cadere ante Lucretia posset,  
Cur potius voluit post scelus illa mori?  
Crimine se absolvit manus illa, habitura coacta  
Ultorem, et patriae depositura iugum.  
Quam bene contempto sacrat sua pectora ferro,  
Dum pariter famae consulit et patriae!

See Croce, 'Lucrezia nella poesia', p. 324. This last epigram is also published, with some minor variants, by A. Riese, *Anthologia Latina*, I.2 (Leipzig, 1906), p. 319, no. 873c.

<sup>39</sup> The use of different reminiscences taken from Virgil's Dido-story is quite characteristic for the divergent positions of Salutati and Nannius. As we have seen, Salutati's heroine quotes the words spoken by the confused Queen to her sister Anna (Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 23); the quotation of Nannius's Lucretia on the other hand: 'taedet coeli convexa tueri' (Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 451) expresses Dido's irrevocable decision to kill herself.

Without hesitation Nannius's interpretation of the Lucretia story goes in that direction. As a consequence of Sextus's violence Lucretia's identity and her relations to her husband, her family and the Roman community became totally disordered. Only suicide could put a stop to that fatal evolution. In Lucretia's speech Nannius explores all the aspects of her desperate attempt to regain herself.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae  
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21  
B-3000 Leuven  
Paul.Thoen@arts.kuleuven.be  
Gilbert.Tournoy@arts.kuleuven.be

### Appendix: *Lucretiae Dialogismus* (text)

We offer here a modern edition of the text of the *Lucretiae Dialogismus*, preceded by the introductory letter to Mencía de Mendoza, on the basis of the 1541 Leuven edition of P. Nannius's *Dialogismi heroinarum*.

We have silently expanded the standard palaeographical abbreviations; we have always written 'i' for 'j', and distinguished between the use of 'u' (for vowels) and 'v' (for consonants). We have furthermore systematically introduced modern punctuation and capitalization, as well as a division in paragraphs.

**Clarissimae heroinae Menziae Mendozae, Marchionissae Zenentensi, Petrus Nannius S.P.D.** (p. 3)

In recentibus nuptiis oportuna sunt epithalamica; ubi nuptiae inveteraverint, sero adhibetur istiusmodi officium. Nos quia longissimo oceano et ingenti terrarum spacio disiungimur, nihil mature cognoscimus; et ubi cognitum est, scriptis nostris tempestive occurrere non possumus. Pro epithalamico igitur carmine, a quo  
5 tempore exclusi sumus, hunc libellum dialogismorum ad te transmisimus, ubi tu heroinas tibi simillimas contemplari potes. Elegimus enim castissima ingenia, ut eos in aliis affectus cognosceres, quos intus in tuo pectore semper fovisti. Indimus libro titulum Dialogismorum, quia singulae personae secum loquuntur. Amavimus hic et varietatem et paucitatem, ut utroque modo lectoris taedio consuleremus. Nunc igitur audi quid in singulis personis secuti simus.  
10

(1) Lucretiam finximus Romana indole generosam, cui adiunximus summam pudicitiam, sed ambitiosam; eamque non minus avidam bonae famae, quam castitatis tuendae, interritam adversus mortem, ultionis cupidine mire ardentem. Multas huic addidimus sententias, animique solertiam in cogitandis suis fortunis per  
15 omnes circumstantias rerum discurrentis.

(2) Huic religione et genere diversam Susannam opposuimus, quam sanctiore pudicitia instruxi, ut quae maluerit impudica haberi et publico supplicio perire, quam ob famam conservandam ad flagitium descendere. Habet ex religione etiam inter extrema pericula spem aliquam in Deo. Verba huius Hebraeorum scripta  
20 redolent, ut Hebraeam eam esse intelligas.

(3) Tertio loco Iudith constituimus, et ipsam quoque eiusdem generis puellam, sed a Susannae moribus nonnihil discrepantem. Callidum enim illi pectus et insidiosum, animus ad audendum promptus, dextra nequaquam ignava; Susanna contra simplex, rerum imperita et ad sese explicandam ferme nullius consilii.

25 Haec in pericula castitatis fortuito incidit, Iudith se ultro praecipitavit. Praeter curas domesticas nihil videtur in pectus Susannae descendisse, Iudith contra totius gentis salutem sua sollicitudine circumplexa est: nec solummodo matronales, sed etiam politicos mores habet. Quamobrem illi attribuimus phrasim aliquanto caeteris altiore, et nonnihil tragice ampullantem.

30 (4) Quarto loco collocavimus D. Agnetem, cuius pudicitia maioribus periculis tentata fuit, quam ullae aliae superiorum. Huius puellarem indolem, et vixdum duodecimo anno instructam, nullo modo pro aetate illa depingere potuimus. Virguncula enim illa, non solum annos suos, sed sexum quoque transgressa, plusquam virile pectus, plusquam senilem mentem ostendit. Hanc igitur, relicta aetate  
35 et sexu, verbis suarum virtutum adornavi. Non optat vitam, ut Susanna, nec metu infamiae turpia admittit, ut Lucretia, nec pericula quaerit, ut Iudith, sed mori cupit et esse cum Christo. Fortem, invictum, imperterritum animum et in ipsa indignitate rerum et cruciatu poenarum exhibet. Ardent illius verba, ut eam sentias igne Spiritus sancti accensam. Multa illi mentio de suo erga sponsum Christum amore, ut aetatis illius pronitatem erga amores nonnihil indicaremus.

(5) Ultimum locum obsidet Camma, matrona Gallici generis et sacerdos Dianae. Huius historiam, quia obscurior erat, ex Plutarcho interpretati sumus. Hanc induximus dissimulatricem offensi animi, pertinacis simultatis, et longum iras suas recondentis, miri / amoris erga maritum, avidam vindictae, et in ipsa morte ob ultionem sumptam (p. 5)  
45 et exultantem et hosti insultantem, ferocem ingenio, callidam tamen, ut certo scias eam Gallograecam esse. Cuius mores in hoc consentiunt cum Iudith, quod ambae praeter maritales amores nullos norunt, ambae perpetuae viduitatis studium habent, ambae in ultionibus bene consilia sua explicant. In hoc rursus dissentiunt, quod Iudith extincto marito superesse voluit, Camma statim mori optavit, nec nisi in spem ultionis vitam ad aliquot annos admisit. Tecti utrobique animi, periculorum contemptores.

Quid sectati sumus, indicavi, quid adepti sumus, tu inter alios doctos cum marito tuo, Duce Calabriae, doctissimo viro, facile diiudicabis. Quorum si eruditioni satisfacere nequeam, ad humanitatem vestram appellabo, unde me facile spera-  
55 vero veniam consecuturum. Si enim vestris istis divinis mentibus et foecundissima eruditione digna cupitis, non ab hominibus ea, sed a Musis petenda sunt. Divina enim divinis competunt; nec a mortali animo postulandum, quod in heroës et heroínas congruat. Recte enim a Theocrito cantatum est<sup>40</sup>,

*Μῶσαι μὲν θεαὶ ἐντί, θεοὺς θεαὶ αἰδόντι.*

60 Vale decus nostri saeculi, virumque tuum tecum diu sospitem videas. Lovanii pridie Calendas Maias. Anno 41.

<sup>40</sup> *Idyll.*, 16, 3.

(p. 6 is blank)

(p. 6)

## LVCRETIAE / DIALOGISMVS.

(p. 7)

## [Exordium]

Pudicitia, quae sola Lucretiam faciebat, periit. Quid enim sine pudicitia Lucretia? Amisso igitur pudore, sola superest moecha, plena probri atque alieni mariti libidine. Pereat haec quoque, cum Lucretia perierit, cum perierit pudor.

## [Corpus]

- (1) Cur nunc amarem vitam, accepta hac indignitate, cum ante hoc scelus illam  
65 vilem habuerim? Cum enim adulter mortem minaretur, obtuli iugulum, obtuli  
pectus, nullam partem corporis vulneribus subtraxi, ut inferret mortem, quam-  
cunque liberet. Prius igitur tam prompta ad mortem, ne hoc dedecus paterer,  
nunc, cum id passa sim, cunctantior et haesitantior ad mortem ibo? Sola mors  
70 potest meos dolores finire, sola ab infamia sceleris purgare. Si vitam retineo,  
obluctatio illa et pertinax pugna cum adultero simulantis videbitur, non recusantis.  
Audio enim moecharum artem esse, tergiversando virorum libidinem incendere;  
putaborque eo magis me invitam finxisse, quo maiores pollicitationes / ab  
amante extunderem. Promisit ille ingentia munera: regnum Romanum — regnum  
Gabinum inter pollicitationes allegavit —, suosque se amores, ne infamiam mihi  
75 conciliarent, regalis matrimonii titulo cohonestaturum. Si vivo, haec promissa  
videbor expectare. Me miseram, mori quidem certum est. Sed utinam prius mori  
licuisset! Nunc in morte excusationem tantummodo invenire possum, pudicitiam  
amissam reperire non possum. Cur non, scelerati Tyranni, eodem modo in omnes  
saevitis? Ferrum habetis adversus viros. Cur non idem stringitis adversus foe-  
80 minas? Nunc caedes in viros, stupra in matronas infertis. Mea tamen fortuna hac  
in parte cum viris coaequabitur: iacebo mactata, si non ipsorum, saltem mea  
manu, imputabiturque illi caedes, non qui eam peregit, sed qui causam dedit.  
Qui enim pudicitiam eripuit, vitam eripuit. Vivant, cui flagitia dulcia sunt, reti-  
neant vitam, ut redeant ad stuprum. Ego si praescivissem hoc dedecus instare,  
85 ante damna pudicitiae vitam in posterum probrosam futuram mature abiecissem.  
Quae igitur peritura fui ante iacturam castitatis, amissa castitate flagitiosam vitam  
retinebo, in qua nihil dehinc ho-/nestum, nihil dulce sperare possum?

(p. 8)

(p. 9)

- (2) Omnia decora, omnia ornamenta matronalis dignitatis in sola pudicitia consti-  
tuta sunt, voluptas sola in conscientia servatae coniugalitatis fidei. Nunc si liberi  
90 mihi futuri sunt, aut adulterini erunt, aut certe ex adultera matre nascentur. Sci-  
licet in vita perseverabo, ut Tarquinio mater fiam, ut hostiles filios in meo sinu  
educem, ut in eodem partu et raptoris vim et amissam pudicitiam et perfidiam  
contaminati maritalis tori quasi in perpetuo et praesenti semper monumento et

- videam et agnoscam? Quin ob hoc ipsum morere, ut in tua nece Tarquinius occi-  
 95 das, ne liberos, quos matrimonio debuisti, adulterio reddas. Occidit Medea iniu-  
 riosi mariti liberos, tu non mariti sed adulteri occides. Gravida nec ne sum, nihil  
 dum scio; hoc scio: ut nullas voluptates concipiendi experta sum, ita nullos  
 dolores parturiendi expectabo. Nec, quae gravidarum preces sunt, Lucinam invo-  
 cabo, sed, quod morientium, inferna numina, Proserpinam, Libitinam, Plutonem  
 100 meis votis sollicitabo, ut innocentem animam liberam a corpore, quod solum pec-  
 cavit, sociam et comitem adiungant castissimis umbris, a quorum mori-/bus (p. 10)  
 necessitate tantum abfuit, non studio aut proposito. Me miseram, satiabo me que-  
 relis, circumferam meam expostulationem per omnia. Cur me, Natura, tam for-  
 mosam finxisti? Cur illecebrosam istam pulchritudinem et sollicitatricem adul-  
 105 terorum meis membris adiunxisti? Cur animum dedisti pudicum, speciem  
 corporis dedisti, quae pudicitiae obstaret? Munire debueras turpitudine corporis  
 castum animum, quem alioqui scieras pudicitiam sancte tueri non posse. Cur tu  
 quoque, Fortuna, me in eas nuptias coniecisti, quae affinitatem cum Tarquiniis  
 haberent? Si vili, si plebeio nupta fuissem, latuissem in sordibus et obsoleta pau-  
 110 pertate et miseriis inopiae formae dignitatem hebetassem. Cur tu quoque, scele-  
 rata nox, vel somnum meis ancillis, vel eam negligentiam iniecisti, ut cubiculi  
 fores non omnibus feris et repagulis occluserint? O meam quoque nimis secu-  
 ram simplicitatem, quae nihil tale suspicata sum, nec pestiferum quippiam timui,  
 quae pestem intus et in penetralibus habebam! Nec de te, Collatine, tacere pos-  
 115 sum. Cur laudasti coniugis pudicitiam? Cur thesauros tuos furi ostendisti? Quo  
 pulchrior flos, eo magis carpentis manum invitat. / In abdito habenda sunt omnia (p. 11)  
 magnifica, nisi praedatorem pati velis. Cur illum in aedes adduxisti? Hospitia  
 non carere periculo, ex Menelai iniuriis, et cognationis necessitatem nihil valere,  
 ex ipsis Tarquiniis, iam olim cognoscere potuisti. Scilicet, qui tot ex suis crude-  
 120 liter mactarunt, nefarium putarent, cognati uxorem flagitio commaculare! Nihil  
 illis fas est, qui ex parricidis, ex incestis nati sunt. Tarquinius uxorem si quaeras,  
 cuius fuit, fratris fuit, per fraternam necem ad suas nuptias viam fecerunt; nec  
 gravius parricidium, nec scelestior venus reperiri potest. Istorum animis ullum cri-  
 men horribile putas? Sed quid te incuso, dulcissime marite? Nimium magnas  
 125 poenas erroris dabis, si modo errasti. Amisisti uxorem, quam nec pudicam  
 amplius, nec vivam habebis. Quid enim sum aliud quam adultera? Certe adulte-  
 rata sum, probrosa sum, si non meo, tamen alieno flagitio. Non culpas excutio,  
 sed facta expendo. Aequae contaminata est, cui aliena manu aspersae sunt sordes,  
 ac illi, cui sua. Aequae mortua est, quam vis aliena extinxit, ac illa est, quae sibi  
 130 mortem conscivit. Ibo igitur ad maritum, ibo ad patrem. Apud illos eas poenas  
 de me dabo, quae adulterae / debentur. Illorum erat de adultera supplicium (p. 12)  
 sumere. Sed novi eorum animos. Coactum facinus pro culpa non imputabunt,  
 nec sustinebunt corpus mulctare, cui ex adulterio non voluptas, sed dolor quae-  
 situs est. Ergo, cum destituar mortis ministeriis, mea manu fortiter adversus inno-  
 135 centem me, sed tamen contaminatam utar. Hoc dissimilis sum a reliquis adulte-  
 ris. Illae obnixae reticent commissum piaculum; ego meam ipsius infamiam



prodam. Illae nullius aequae conscientiam ac parentis et mariti reformidant; ego in istorum sinus querelas de amissa pudicitia libentissime effundam. Illae cupiunt vitam, ut iterum peccent; ego cupio mortem, quia semel peccavi. Illae odere  
 140 maritum ut carnificem, amant adulterum ut tori consortem; ego adulterum non minus libenter trucidarem, quam meipsam trucidabo; pro marito autem, ut Alcestis illa, non semel cuperem mortem oppetere. Illae cum voluptate meditantur sua flagitia, experiuntur cum voluptate, recogitant cum voluptate; mihi scelerata ista  
 145 venus nec in sensibus, nec in cogitationibus dulcedinem ullam, sed intolerabilem luctum, funestissimos moerores, acerbissimam aegritudinem infudit. Illae pal- /lent deprehensae, quia in timore sunt, ne moriantur; mihi mortis pallor genas (p. 13) infecit, quia cupio quam primum ingratis-  
 150 simam lucem abrumpere, taedet coeli convexa tueri. Sed obsecrandus est maritus, obtestandus est pater, ut manes meos ultione prosequantur; cuius cum promissis suis mihi fidem fecerint, cum sensu quodam voluptatis ex futura vindicta conceptae ad mortem alacris properabo. Sed valedicam prius meis penetibus, valedicam toro, cui iam non licebit oscula  
 155 suprema infigere, quia horreo scelus inibi admissum. Dirum mihi videtur quicquid loci vicinitate cum tetro illo facinore coniungitur. O miser tore, quem antea tam casto amore fovi, ubi nulla mihi unquam cogitatio de alieno viro fuit! Eheu tam pertinax cura pudicitiae quid premii consequuta est?

(3) Iam de expugnata castitate immanissimus Tyrannus triumphabit; quicquid tot anni honestatis, dignitatis ex integritate famae mihi comparavere, id totum simul nox una amisit. Violatum coniugium, incestatum adulterio maritale cubiculum, corpus stupro oppletum; solus animus integer remansit, si modo integer est, qui ob  
 160 infamiam peccati peccatum admisit. Certe adul-/tera facta sum, ne adultera existimarer. Praedo ille plus habere non potuit, quam consequutus est; ego plus amittere non potui, quam amisi. Ille summae pudicitiae insidiatus est; ego summam pudicitiam amisit. Ille tantum adeptus est, quantum in votis fuit; ego tantum perdidit, quantum abominabar. Non est quo ulterius procedat vel illius cupido, vel meus  
 165 timor. Cur illa laus pudicitiae sub instantem iacturam nobis a Fortuna assignata est? Cur pudicissima in certamine virorum deprehensa sum, quae paulo post pudicitiam perditura eram? Commonstrabilem in me Fortuna utrunque casum fecit. Ostentationi fuit pudicitia et virorum nocturnis superventibus explorata, ut paulo post amissa  
 170 maiori ludibrio et dedecori esset. Sic aegrotus sub imminentem mortem rectius se valere existimat; sic defectura candela eo ipso momento, quo lumen eius peritum est, clarius emicat. Si non tam casta deprehensa fuisset, minus ad libidinem placuissem; virtus mea iritamentum alieni sceleris fuit. Viderat uxorem suam in vino, me in lanificio, illam inter aequales luxui indulgere, me inter ancillas operas urgere. Noluit plus esse boni in domo Collatini, quam / in domo Tarquinii; meque suae  
 175 uxori flagitiis, si non ultroneis, saltem coactis, persimilem esse voluit. Age iam, Collatine, iacta Lucretiae tuae pudicitiam, quam aliena libido suam praedam fecit, iacta corpus uxoris impollutum, quod Tarquinii iniuriis conspurcatum est. Imo, quanto ludibrio tuas de me gloriationes irridebit, aegre ac prorumpentibus cachinnis

- arcanum suae libidinis continebit! Etiam inter metus legum solent viri de stupris  
 180 matronarum gloriari. Isne igitur silebit, qui potestate regia legibus solutus est et  
 tyrannidis vi, quicquid sanctum est, proculcat? Qui de scelere gaudet et cuius gau-  
 dium a legibus securum est, suos triumphos tacitos habebit? Quod in aliis viris lusus  
 est inter pocula, id nefarium sibi in regni licentia existimabit? Veniat modo in colo-  
 loquium vel patris vel mariti; iam ipsa insultatione et insolentia suum scelus ultro  
 185 proferet. Citius Lucretius, citius Collatinus calamitates domus nostrae ex adulteri  
 risu cognoscent, quam ex meis lachrymis resciscere poterunt. Male celantur scelera  
 etiam inter supplicia legum; hic, qui non minus leges negligit, quam ab earum poena  
 securus est, tacitam continebit suam voluptatem? Oc-/cultare poterit id in ipsius (p. 16)  
 possessionem venisse, ad quod nemini unquam aditus dabatur? Vel solus risus ad  
 190 verba de mea pudicitia facta rem manifestam dabit. Si iactabit maritus me solam inter  
 regias nurus in studio et signis castitatis deprehensam, ille contra animo suo revol-  
 vet se me in lecto nudam oppressisse. Quo vultu ibi tum respiciet infelicissimum  
 maritum, quibus oculis me ad iterationem libidinis denotabit, quam facilitatem  
 sibi promittet in repetendo scelere? Non enim timebit in expugnatis novam  
 195 pugnam, non putabit se amplius ad Lucretiam, sed ad moecham accedere. Sed  
 esto taceat, silentio latebras suis criminibus quaerat; redibit saepius ad renovan-  
 dum stuprum. Si nolim, ostenduntur minae prodendi adulterii, et indicii metu ad  
 novum scelus iter parabit. Qui me miseram adulterii accusare volebat, ideo, quia  
 adultera nolebam fieri, illene a possessione depulsus, ab usu reiectus moecham  
 200 verebitur infamare? Sed quid ego haec disputo? Metuant indicia, quibus vita in  
 voto est; mihi nihil est timori, nisi me prius ab alio, quam a me meam iniuriam  
 cognoscat maritus. Sed finge me ex aliarum ingenio moratam esse, ut, quod semel  
 / per vim passa sim, postea metu indicii admittam: quid futurum est de marito? (p. 17)  
 205 Ille aut statim occidetur, quo nuptias moechus ex adulterio conficiat, aut leno  
 cogetur fieri suae uxoris, rapiendus ad necem quodocunque properanti libidini  
 se minus obsequentem praeberit. Ergo, Lucretia, si moriendi animum non  
 haberes, ex istis eum causis assumere deberes. Vives scilicet, ut, quodocunque  
 libuerit, ad stuprum rapiaris, ut maritum vel lenocinantem, vel occisum aspicias,  
 210 ut patrem quotidianis probis famosum reddas, ut Romam dedecore opleas, sae-  
 culum istud pessimis exemplis contamines? Quin armas dexteram, quin hauris vita-  
 lia et ad ipsum cor mucronem adigis? Magnae laudis erit te ultro ad confessionem  
 delicti cucurrisse, poenam, quam pater, maritus tibi remiserint, a te exegisse et,  
 cum adultero regnare poteras, in odium adulteri mori voluisse.

[Peroratio]

- 215 Hoc placet, hoc exequar, nunc simul ad patrem et maritum et ad mortem prope-  
 rabo. Tu, charissime pugio, quem nunc in vestibus occulto, ne te antea prodas,  
 quam caedem nostri perpetraveris. Valet, Penates charissimi, valet, Lares, vale,  
 familia, vale tu quo-/que, novissima lux. Lucretiam iam non amplius vivam, sed (p. 18)  
 suis vulneribus mactatam et cruentatam aspicietis.

Thomas GÄRTNER

UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR REZEPTION DES  
CAESAR- UND POMPEIUS-STOFFS IN DER LATEINISCHEN  
RENAISSANCETRAGÖDIE

**1. Marcus Antonius Muretus: *Iulius Caesar*<sup>1</sup>**

**1.1. *Konzeptioneller Schwerpunkt des Dramas***

Im Zentrum des kurzen Caesar-Dramas des Marcus Antonius Muretus steht das Thema von Caesars Apotheose. Das Stück beginnt mit einem Monolog, in welchem der Welteroberer seine bisherigen Leistungen bilanziert, die Unterwerfung der Erde als abgeschlossen betrachtet (14-15):

[...] ipsa victrix gentium  
Mihi Roma cessit [...]

und nunmehr den Himmel beansprucht (24-26):

Quid ergo restat, quidve dignum Caesare  
Subacta tellus exhibere ultra potest?  
Caelum petendum est: terra[m] iam vilet mihi.

Dieses Ziel der Vergöttlichung hat Caesar erreicht, als er sich am Ende des Stückes nach seiner (vermeintlichen) Ermordung als Gott vom Firmament an seine Frau Calpurnia wendet (532-534):

Quid caelitum me fletis adiunctum choro?  
Non luridi me stagna Cocyti tenent,  
Sed templa caeli [...]

Calpurnia antwortet, zunächst erschrocken (546):

Unde, quaeso, vox ad aures ista pervenit meas?

<sup>1</sup> Marcus Antonius Muretus, *Caesar. Juvenilia*, ed. Dietmar Schmitz, Bibliotheca Humanistica, 5 (Frankfurt a.M., 1995).

Dieser um das Stück gelegte Rahmen von göttlichem Anspruch und vollzogener Vergöttlichung verdeutlicht, daß Caesars übermenschliche Ambitionen im Kontext von Muretus' Drama durchaus berechtigt sind. Zugleich wird Caesar intertextuell mit einem Halbgott des griechisch-römischen Mythos in Verbindung gebracht, nämlich mit Hercules. In dem im Corpus der Seneca-Tragödien überlieferten *Hercules Oetaeus*<sup>2</sup> resümiert der Titelheld in einer Prologrede ebenfalls seine abgeschlossene Befriedung der Erde (14-15):

[...] omne concessit (E: cum cesset A) malum  
Quod terra genuit, pontus aer inferi

und beansprucht nunmehr für sich den Himmel (6-8):

[...] fregimus quidquid fuit  
Tibi fulminandum. sed mihi caelum, parens,  
Adhuc negatur? [...]

Am Schluß des Stückes fordert Hercules, als Gott erscheinend, seine Mutter Alcmene auf, nicht um ihn zu trauern (1940-1942):

Quid me tenentem regna (ω: templa Bentley) siderei poli  
Caeoque tandem redditum planctu iubes  
Sentire fatum? [...]

Non me gementis (E: rigentis A) stagna Cocyti tenent (1963).

Alcmene erwidert (1944):

Unde sonus trepidas aures ferit?

Damit dürfte deutlich geworden sein, daß der gesamte Rahmen (Anspruch auf göttliche Existenz im Prolog und Verwirklichung des Anspruchs in Form einer göttlichen Epiphanie am Schluß des Stückes) aus dem pseudo-senecanischen *Hercules Oetaeus* stammt. Folglich erscheint Caesar als ein zweiter Hercules, der die Vergöttlichung als verdienten Lohn für seine irdischen Leistungen entgegennimmt.

<sup>2</sup> Zur Bedeutung dieses Stückes als Vorbild des Muretus vgl. Jan Bloemendal, 'Tyrant or Stoic Hero? Marc-Antoine Muret's *Julius Caesar*', in *Recreating Ancient History. Episodes from the Greek and Roman Past in the Arts and Literature of the Early Modern Period*, edd. Karl Enenkel e.a., Intersections, 1 (Leiden, 2001), SS. 303-318 (SS. 314-317). Zum Caesar-Stoff in der Tragödie des Muretus und späterer verwandter Literatur vgl. J. Leeker, 'Die Ermordung Cäsars im französischen Theater des 16.-18. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der Politik', in *Staatstheoretische Diskurse im Spiegel der Nationalliteraturen von 1500 bis 1800*, edd. B. Bauer – W.G. Müller, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, 79 (Wiesbaden, 1998), SS. 243-271.

Bemerkenswert ist ferner die Version der Geschichte, mit welcher Caesar seinen Tod im herkömmlichen Sinne bestreitet (534-538):

[...] non malignae me furor  
 Tetigit cohortis; ipsa iam genetrix manu  
 Me collocarat inter astrorum globos.  
 Simulacra tantum nuda dilaniata sunt:  
 Nec ipse cecidi; umbra cecidit tantum mea.

Demnach hat man sich wohl an die Stelle des leidenschaftlichen Caesars an den Iden des März 44 ein Trugbild gesetzt zu denken, während der tatsächliche Caesar entrückt wurde, ähnlich wie in der stesichoreischen Version des Helena-Mythos. Wie kommt Muretus zu dieser scheinbar absonderlichen Version? In den *Metamorphosen* Ovids erwägt Venus einen ähnlichen Plan (*met.*, 15, 803-806):

Tum vero Cytherea manu percussit utraque  
 Pectus et Aeneaden molitur condere nube,  
 Qua prius infesto Paris est ereptus Atridae  
 Et Diomedeos Aeneas fugerat enses

Hier vereitelt jedoch Jupiter diesen Plan mit einem Verweis auf das *insuperabile fatum* (*met.*, 15, 807). Muretus hat sich die Freiheit genommen, eine 'Beinahe-Handlung' der ovidischen *Metamorphosen*<sup>3</sup> zur Faktizität in seiner Tragödie zu erheben.

Der abschließende Gesang auf das Weiterleben nach dem Tod (551-554):

Sunt manes aliquid: cumque diem ultimum  
 Adduxit fera mors, est aliquid tamen,  
 Quod vitat Libitinam [cf. Hor., *carm.*, 3, 30, 7]  
 Exstructosque fugit rogos

wendet sich dezidiert gegen die nihilistische Tendenz des berühmten zweiten Chorlieds der *Troerinnen*, vgl. besonders 397: 'Post mortem nihil' und zum *cum*-Satz 373-374: 'Cum [...] | Supremusque dies solibus obstitit'. Formal liegt eine deutliche Reminiszenz vor an Prop., 4, 7, 1-2: 'Sunt aliquid Manes: letum non omnia finit | luridaque evictos effugit umbra rogos' (freundlicher Hinweis von Prof. D. Sacré). Die Apotheose Caesars ist im Stück des Muretus ein schlechthin positives Exempel.

<sup>3</sup> Vgl. H.G. Nesselrath, *Ungeschehenes Geschehen. 'Beinahe-Episoden' im griechischen und römischen Epos von Homer bis zur Spätantike*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 27 (Stuttgart, 1992), SS. 89-90.

## 1.2. Einzelbeobachtungen

Alle nennenswerten Korruptelen in der Ausgabe von D. Schmitz sind durch falsche Übertragung aus älteren Ausgaben entstanden<sup>4</sup> und damit nur als Druckversehen zu betrachten. Es folgen einige Bemerkungen zu übersehenen Vorbildern.

- 18-19 (Caesar spricht):

[...] quemque noluerat (sc. Pompeius) parem,  
Tulit priorem [...]

Eine Wendung aus der Synkrisis im Pharsalia-Prooemium wird auf das Unterliegen des Pompeius umgebogen (Lucan., 1, 125-126):

Nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarve priorem  
Pompeiusve parem [...]

- 126:

Pro patria configere augurium optimum est

Aus Hom., *Il.*, 12, 243:

*εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.*

- 313:

Nare de crispa tremulum vibrissent.

Nach Pers., 3, 87:

Ingeminat tremulos naso crispante cachinnos.

- 358-363:

Quam (sc. vim) sensit olim, quique septeno videt  
Nilum per arva profluentem gurgite,

<sup>4</sup> Hier die Ergebnisse einer Kollation mit der Ausgabe von David Ruhnken, vol. I, (Leiden, 1789): 28 'perterrens': 'perterres'; 71 'nut': 'ut'; 79 'animus': 'animis'; 131 'Romae': 'Roma'; 135 'oblatos': 'oblatas'; 174 'constantis': 'constantia'; 176 'fortil': 'forti'; 188 'avibus': 'civibus'; 195 'neque': 'meque'; 220 'Iuppiter': 'Iupiter'; 262 'habito': 'habeto'; 278 'mihi': 'nihil'; 281 'saneta': 'sancta'; 292 'aut': 'ut'; 329 'Magno': 'Magna'; 343 'timeri': 'timere'; 348 'mirum': 'meum'; 350 'alitur': 'aliter'; 361 'sulceat': 'sulcat'; 428 'cohibeat': 'cohibet'; 429 'Iuppiter': 'Iupiter'; 468 'blandientes': 'blandientis'; 495 'totus': 'toties'; 504 'falsae': 'salsae'; 526 'Aolidas': 'Aolidae'; 561 'Saturnila': 'Saturnia'; 563 'caeliculum': 'caelicolum'.

Quique glaciali colla suppositus polo  
 Concreta pigro maria sulcat marmore,  
 Et quos rapaci Rhodanus unda verberat,  
 Galli feroces [...]

Die dreifache relativische Umschreibung gemäß Sen., *Tro.*, 8-14:

Ad cuius arma venit et qui frigidum  
 Septena Tanain ora pandentem bibit  
 Et qui renatum primus excipiens diem  
 Tepidum rubenti Tigrin inmiscet freto,  
 Et quae vagos vicina prospiciens Scythas  
 Ripam catervis Ponticam viduis ferit,  
 Excisa ferro est [...]

10

– 363-364

[...] o statum deterrimum,  
 Si Caesar orbem, Caesarem mulier regit!

Hir finden wir eine heterosexuelle Adaption des bekannten Spottverses (zitiert bei Suet., *Iul.*, 49, 4 = *Fragmenta Poetarum Romanorum*, populares versus 1, 1, Baehrens, p. 330):

Gallias Caesar subegit, Nicomedes Caesarem.

– 407:

Imo adhuc arces Priami manerent.

Die Versklausel gemäß Verg., *Aen.*, 2, 56:

Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres.

– 473-474:

Cadit, suoque ceteros casu monet,  
 Virtute dempta ne quid aeternum putent.

Schmitz übersetzt: '... stürzt er und warnt die übrigen durch sein Los [vielmehr: seinen Sturz] vor dem Glauben, etwas sei ewig, wenn die Tugend fortgenommen wurde'. 'Dempta' ist hier in dem Sinne von *excepta* gebraucht (vgl. *ThLL*, V/1, 496, 57 s.): 'nichts außer der Tugend sei ewig'.

– 474-475:

Sic, sic tyranni debitas poenas luant,  
 Nunquamque sicca finiant vitam nece.

Aus Iuv., 10, 112-113:

Ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci  
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

## 2. Petrus Mussonius: *Pompeius Magnus*<sup>5</sup>

### 2.1. Konzeptioneller Schwerpunkt des Dramas

Während Fabio Chigi, anknüpfend am lucanischen Pompeiusbild<sup>6</sup>, einen Pompeius vorführt, der zwar in Situationen öffentlicher Selbstbekundung an der Siegeszuversicht festhält, aber in persönlichen Äußerungen gegenüber Vertrauten seine Einsicht in die Unvermeidlichkeit des Untergangs unmißverständlich zum Ausdruck bringt, scheint Moussons Pompeius noch zwischen Hoffen und Bangen zu schwanken und zumindest von seinem eigenen Untergang noch keineswegs überzeugt zu sein. Dies zeigt sich besonders in der ausführlichen Prodigienszene im vierten Akt, wo Pompeius sich von diversen mantischen Bemühungen seiner Frau Cornelia, die allesamt ungünstig verlaufen, nicht von seinem Vorhaben, sich in die Hand des Ptolemaeus zu begeben, abbringen läßt: Zunächst findet ein Augurium statt, dann ein Haruspicium, darauf eine Nekromantie<sup>7</sup> und schließlich wird das aus der antiken Dichtung bekannte Arsenal mantischer Alternativen<sup>8</sup> in einer für die Renaissancedichtung typischen Weise überboten durch ein abschließendes Hühnerorakel. In der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Auguren bezweifelt Pompeius die mantische Aussagekraft von Vögeln (1615-1617):

Mentis supremæ velle, quod clausum est polo,  
Id avibus ipsis esse patefactum? nefas  
Futura nosse, quas aves, augur, canis.

<sup>5</sup> Petrus Mussonius. *Tragoediae. Die lateinischen Tragödien von Pierre Moussin S.J.*, ed. Rudolf Rieks, *Classica et Neolatina*, 2 (Frankfurt a.M., 2000).

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. Thomas Gärtner, 'Objektives Fatum und subjektive Fatumsgläubigkeit im Bürgerkriegsepos des Lucan', *Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae*, 45 (2005), 51-84.

<sup>7</sup> Die Vorbilder sind mannigfaltig: Etwa die sich drohend gegen die Unterweltsgötter richtende Tendenz der Beschwörung (1720-1721: 'vel vos coget invitos gravis | Prodire sermo durus odiosus ferox') ist der zweiten Beschwörungsrede Erichthos verpflichtet (Lucan., 6, 730-749), und die Befragung der Totenseele von Ptolemaeus' Vater, die recht unwirsch reagiert (1759: 'Quid me sub auras carmine invitum rapis?'), erinnert an die Beschwörung von Oedipus' Vater Laius in der *Thebais* des Statius (4, 626-644).

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. etwa Lucan., 6, 425-430.



Der grundsätzliche Zweifel an der mantischen Relevanz von Vogelzeichen erinnert an die Worte des lucanischen Cato vor dem Orakel des libyschen Jupiter Ammon, der ähnlich bezweifelt, daß die Götter ihre Absichten an einem solchen Ort kundzutun bereit seien (Lucan., 9, 576-579). Bei Moussons Pompeius ergibt sich aber im dramatischen Zusammenhang des vierten Akts nicht das Bild eines oberhalb jeglicher mantischer Bedürftigkeit stehenden Weisen, sondern im Gegenteil das eines verbohrten Menschen, der sein bevorstehendes Verhängnis trotz aller massierten und vielfältigen mantischen Unternehmungen seitens Cornelias nicht zu erkennen vermag.

Dieser durchaus kritischen Zeichnung des Pompeius bei Mousson entspricht eine vor dem Hintergrund der literarischen Tradition deutlich kontrastierende positive Darstellung Caesars, der in das Stück Moussons als Figur nicht weniger eingebunden ist als Pompeius. Dies wird am deutlichsten bei der dramatischen Schilderung der Reaktion Caesars auf den Tod des Pompeius. Bei Lucan wird Caesars Trauer bei der Überbringung des Haupts des Pompeius als bloße Heuchelei und auf Berechnung beruhend dargestellt (Lucan., 9, 1037-1043):

Utque fidem vidit sceleris tutumque putavit  
 Iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentis  
 Effudit gemitusque expressit pectore laeto,  
 Non aliter manifesta potens abscondere mentis                      1040  
 Gaudia quam lacrimis, meritumque immane tyranni  
 Destruit et generi mavult lugere reuulsum  
 Quam debere caput [...]

Dagegen hat Mousson Caesar eine andere Figur, nämlich Marc Anton, zur Seite gestellt, die den Tod des Pompeius und die Reaktion Caesars ausschließlich unter opportunistischem Gesichtspunkt betrachtet (2179-2184):

Quam vereor, ne, si Aegyptus, quod flebile carmen  
 Contextis turpesque cadunt in pectora fletus,                      2180  
 Audierit, tibi cum caput obtulit illa videndum,  
 Conversis studiis tecum indignata laborum  
 Non ire in partem velit aut socia arma sequutam  
 Maereat atque alio potius sua signa reportet.

Dieser Marc Anton entspricht in seinem kalten Zynismus ganz dem lucanischen Caesar. Caesar selbst wird bei Mousson dagegen als ehrlich erschüttert dargestellt, insofern er gerade Marc Anton, der die Angemessenheit solcher Trauer in Frage stellt, entgegenhält (2120-2121):

Non fictus animum, Marce, confecit dolor:  
 Egone genero laeter extortum caput?

Vor allem reflektiert dieser Caesar gewissermaßen auf seine eigene historische Reputation, er ahnt voraus, daß man ihm seine Reaktion als Heuchelei auslegen wird und widerlegt damit sozusagen aus eigenem Munde Lucan<sup>9</sup> (2156-2160):

Quas ipse lachrymas spargo, simulatas mihi  
 Infensa et istos, ora qui fletus cavant,  
 Dicet coactos Roma, mentitum feret  
 Vultum induisse, me meo tacitos feret  
 Pressisse risus corde [...]

Aus den Gesichtszügen von Pompeius' Haupt interpretiert Caesar eine zu Maß und Besonnenheit auffordernde Rede seines Antagonisten heraus (2196-2212); der Schlußteil dieser Rede ist die Prophezeiung von Caesars eigenem Untergang (2208-2212). Daß ein Sterbender bzw. Toter einem Lebenden prophezeit, ist an sich nichts Ungewöhnliches. Insofern diese Rede aber von Caesar selbst in die Gesichtszüge seines toten Gegenspielers hineingedeutet wird, bekundet sie zugleich die Lehre, die Caesar aus dem Geschehen um Pompeius gezogen hat, die ihn geradezu geläutert dastehen läßt (2217-2220):

Pompei, me tua mors monet, ut variabile sortis  
 Numen et humanae fastigia lubrica laudis  
 Horrescam pavitans: haec me documenta tumentem  
 Inflatumque docent non atra lacescere fata.

## 2.2. Einzelbeobachtungen

In der *Praefatio* erläutert Rieks seine editorischen Prinzipien (12-14), insbesondere sein weitgehendes Festhalten an einer 'in sich teilweise inkonsequenten, aber kaum jemals falschen Interpunktion' der Renaissance-Ausgaben (13). Die folgenden Bemerkungen tendieren dazu, einen problematischen Aspekt in diesem Verfahren hervorzuheben, nämlich das Unkenntlichwerden antiker Vorbilder, die auch in Rieks' Testimonienapparat kaum berücksichtigt werden.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Die Version, daß Caesar sich bei seinen Tränen um Pompeius' Tod verstellte, findet sich so nur bei Lucan und bei Cass. Dio, 42, 8, vgl. Mussonius. *Tragoediae*, ed. Rieks, S. 47 Anm. 74 und J. Radicke, *Lucans poetische Technik. Studien zum historischen Epos*, Mnemosyne Suppl., 249 (Leiden, 2004), SS. 484-485.

<sup>10</sup> Einiges in Kürze: 249-288: Anrufung Caesars an die Patria, vgl. Lucan., 1, 195-203; 741: 'Stet cuneo defixa acies', vgl. Stat., *Theb.*, 9, 677; 1147-1153: Selbstvergleich des Pompeius mit Marius, vgl. Lucan., 8, 269-271 (vgl. unten zu Ludovicus Aurelius);

## – 348-376 (Caesar zu einem Centurio):

Ecquid scelestas gutture infami erutas  
 Voces retexam? non protervorum minax  
 Audita vox haec? siccine abreptos domo, 350  
 Nos in remotas convehat gentes? fame  
 Conficiat atra Caesar, et perdat siti?  
 Frigoreque miseros mactet immodico senes?  
 Me non ferendo militem exhaustum gelu  
 Absumat? hoc hoc corpus enectum ensibus, 355  
 Et per tot annos pondus armorum gravet?  
 Oneret sinistram clypeus? horrentes caput  
 Galeae recurvum per tot autumnos terant?  
 Hoc te magistro Caesare (Caesar[e]?) intolerabili  
 Ut perferamus? nulla te intractabilem, 360  
 Durumque pietas molliat? fusus cruor  
 Saginet? ecce mille vulneribus datis  
 Acies retusa est ensium: quo te furor  
 Aestusque laudis, gloriae instigant faces?  
 Miserere nostri, post tot infestas nivis 365  
 Gelidae pruinas: petimus optatam dari  
 Fessis quietem. nonne vos usos patet  
 Sermone tali? nonne vos vultu fero  
 Quondam minati fata? quo corpus refers?  
 Aut ora vertis? dextra, quem nudum tibi 370  
 Protendit ensem, mente non timida cape.  
 Accede miles, corripe oblatum citus  
 Ferrum: reclude pectus hoc, iugulum effode,  
 Laterique nudum fige, quem gladium obtuli.  
 Arcere nulla Caesarem virtus potest 375  
 Opposita: sortis ipse praevertam dolos.

Der Absatz nach Vers 358 und das Fehlen jeglicher Anführungszeichen verschleiert das Vorhandensein einer *oratio recta* in den Versen 350-367, die eingeleitet wird mit ‘vox haec’ (350) und abgeschlossen mit ‘Sermone tali’ (368). Diese *oratio recta* der Soldaten im Munde Caesars reproduziert die Rede der Meuterer in Lucan., 5, 261-295, ebenso wie das Angebot Caesars, ihn mit dem dargebotenen Schwert zu erschlagen, auf seine Erwiderungsrede in Lucan., 5, 319-364 rekurriert, wobei aber das Darbieten des Schwerts mit der Rechten (370, das Komma hinter

1830-1843, vgl. Lucan., 1, 93-120; 1874-1878, vgl. Lucan., 1, 2-12; 1979-80, vgl. Soph., fr. 873 Radt (überliefert bei Plut., *Pomp.*, 78, 7); 2177-218: ‘ea cura fugaces | sollicitat’, vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 4, 379-380: ‘ea cura quietos | sollicitat’; 2201: ‘inhonorus amictu’, vgl. Stat., *Theb.*, 7, 151.

‘dextra’ zu streichen) offenbar über das lucanische Vorbild hinausgeht. Von alledem kann ein Leser nichts ahnen, der sich nur auf Rieks’ Testimonienapparat verläßt, der lediglich zu Vers 360 eine vergilische Parallelstelle (Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 339) zum Gebrauch von *intractabilis* bietet.

Wichtig für die Gesamtinterpretation des Dramas wäre vor allem, daß sich die Soldaten bei Mousson in ihrer (von Caesar wiedergegebenen) Rede auf die klimatischen und militärischen Unbilden der Feldzüge beschränken, aber den von den lucanischen Soldaten ins Licht gesetzten Aspekt, daß sie wider ihren Willen als Teilnehmer an Caesars verbrecherischen Taten herangezogen werden, beiseitelassen. Damit entfällt — entsprechend Moussons günstigem Caesar-Bild — ein in Lucans Meutereischilderung wesentlicher Gesichtspunkt, die Zeichnung der zur Vernunft kommenden Soldaten als Kontrasthintergrund für einen nach wie vor frevelhaften Caesar (dem es schließlich gelingt, die meuternden Soldaten wieder auf seinen Kurs zu bringen). Dieser Gesichtspunkt wird übrigens in der Imitation der Lucanszene in der *Johannis* Coripps geradezu in sein Gegenteil verkehrt<sup>11</sup> (Johannes als vernünftiger Züchtiger der sich irrational widersetzenden Soldaten).

– 391-392 (Caesar):

Ego non habenas iure laxarim, ferum  
Quae concitarent (concitaret **M**) pectus iracundiae?

Hier hat die ‘kaum jemals falsche Interpunktion’ eine sicher falsche Konjektur provoziert. ‘Iracundiae’ ist als Genitiv oder Dativ mit ‘habenas [...] laxarim’ zu verbinden, und auf dieses singularische ‘iracundiae’ bezieht sich der Relativsatz ‘ferum | Quae concitaret pectus’. Die äußerst sparsam verwendeten Konjekturen gehen zuweilen dennoch in die Irre, wie etwa auch in 564-565, wo ein durch Tmesis getrenntes *antequam* verkannt und der zweite Bestandteil in ‘qua[m]’ verändert wird. Andererseits unterbleiben notwendige Verbesserungen, wie in 796-799 (Gebet der Cornelia):

Quare futurum spero, te, numen Deum  
Soletur, et nos gravia perpassas mala;  
Tandem reportet, orbis in charae locum.  
Italosque fines reddat optato Deus.

<sup>11</sup> Vgl. Thomas Gärtner, *Untersuchungen zum historischen Hintergrund und zur sprachlichen Gestaltung der ‘Johannis’ Coripps* (Köln: Habilitationsschrift, 2002), SS. 51-52 und 932-937.

Hier wird man einen um *ut* verkürzten konjunktivischen Subjektsatz zu ‘futurum (sc. esse) spero’ annehmen (vgl. Kuehner – Stegmann, II, 228; denkbare *futurum* <*ut*> würde wohl eine zu absonderliche Wortstellung einführen), dann das Semikolon und sämtliche Kommata mit Ausnahme desjenigen hinter ‘spero’ streichen und schließlich ‘orbis’ in ‘urbis’ verbessern müssen.

– 887-889 (Worte des Pompeius):

Fortuna favit Caesari: virtus mihi  
Quae protegit me, quae relanguentem excitat,  
Animumque firmat, removet imbelles metus.

Die fehlende Interpunktion (Komma nach Vers 887) verstellt wieder den Bild auf das lucanische Vorbild: ‘Fortuna favit Caesari, virtus mihi’ transformiert das berühmte ‘Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni’ (Lucan., 1, 128).

– 1238-1239 (Theodorus):

Bene cognitata vertat altitonans Deum  
Hominumque rector [...]

Das Unwort ‘cognitata’ läßt sich leicht in ‘cog[n]itata’ verbessern, vgl. Sen., *Thy.*, 489-490: ‘respiciet (E: respiciat A) deus | Bene cogitata’. Im Gegensatz zu seinem senecanischen Vorbild gebraucht Mousson ‘Bene’ ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (sowohl zu ‘cog[n]itata’ als auch zu ‘vertat’).

### 3. Ludovicus Aurelius: *Pompeius*<sup>12</sup>

#### 3.1. *Konzeptioneller Schwerpunkt des Dramas*

Schwerpunkt der Tragödie des Ludovicus Aurelius ist weder die Entscheidungssituation des Pompeius (wie bei Chigi) noch eine moralische Läuterung des erst am Schluß auftretenden Caesar (wie bei Mousson). Die Entscheidung des Pompeius, sich der Gastfreundschaft des ägyptischen Königs anzuvertrauen, wird als etwas Wesensfremdes und Aufgedrängtes dargestellt.

<sup>12</sup> Giuseppe Flammini, ‘Il *Pompeius* di Ludovico Aureli: Una tragedia latina inedita del xvii secolo’, in *Pompei exitus. Variazioni sul tema dall’ Antichità alla Controriforma*, edd. G. Brugnoli et F. Stok, Testi e studi di cultura classica, 15 (Pisa, 1996), SS. 181-244.

Dies verdeutlichen (in der führenden Ausgabe weithin ignorierte) Lucan-Zitate im Entscheidungsdialog zwischen Lentulus und Pompeius. So ermuntert Lentulus Pompeius mit folgendem Argument (512-517):

Fortuna pressos erigit, celsos premit;  
 Nam quae tumentem saeva dejecit gradu,  
 Haec illa Marium reddidit fastis quoque.  
 Thessalia vires verius sparsit tuas 515  
 Quam vertit, et se fama tutatur satis  
 Nomenque Magni, caeca vel renuat dea.

Diese Worte nehmen auf das Deutlichste Bezug auf Formulierungen, mit denen der lucanische Pompeius nach der Niederlage in Pharsalus vor seinen Gefährten (u.a. vor Lentulus, der später gegen Pompeius' Plan, sich zu den Parthern zu begeben, argumentiert) den Gedanken einer totalen Niederlage von sich weist (Lucan., 8, 269-276):

[...] an Libycae Marium potuere ruinae  
 Erigere in fasces et plenis reddere fastis: 270  
 Me pulsum levioe manu Fortuna tenebit?  
 Mille meae Graio volvuntur in aequore puppes,  
 Mille duces; sparsit potius Pharsalia nostras,  
 Quam subvertit, opes. sed me vel sola tueri (v.l. iuvare)  
 Fama potest rerum, toto quas gessimus orbe, 275  
 Et nomen, quod mundus amat, [...]

Dem Pompeius des Ludovicus Aurelius muß also erst die Größe vor Augen geführt werden, deren sich sein lucanisches Pendant von vorneherein bewußt ist. Der gleichen Aussagetendenz gilt die Anspielung auf die bei Lucan unmittelbar vorausgegangenen Worte. Bei Aurelius argumentiert Lentulus (564-565):

Non sic premuntur fata, ni fallor, tua,  
 Excutere clades ut ne Thessalicas queas,

bei Lucan dagegen Pompeius selbst (Lucan., 8, 266-269):

[...] non omnis in arvis  
 Emathiis cecidi<sup>13</sup>, nec sic mea fata premuntur,  
 Ut nequeam relevare caput cladesque receptas  
 Excutere [...]

<sup>13</sup> Als Ausspruch des Pompeius selbst imitiert bei Fabio Chigi, *Pomp. trag.*, 109: 'Non totus ego Pharsalia cecidi...'.  
 13

Die intertextuelle Bezugnahme dient also hier ersichtlichermaßen dem Zweck, zu verdeutlichen, daß dem Pompeius des Aurelius jegliches Bewußtsein von auch nach der Niederlage übriggebliebener Größe abhandengekommen ist, und daß dieser Pompeius zu einem aktiven Handeln von Lentulus gedrängt werden muß. Dementsprechend sagt er, als er sich zu den Aegyptern begibt, (574): 'Placet ire; iussus retro sed cedit gradus'. Hieraus erhellt, daß dieser Pompeius letztlich fremdbestimmt ist. Sogar das vom senecanischen *Thyest* (487: 'Serum est cavendi tempus in mediis malis') adaptierte Motiv, welches bei Fabio Chigi (s.u.) in verdichteter Weise die Notsituation des zur Entscheidung gedrängten Pompeius verdeutlicht, wird bei Aurelius zu einem von Lentulus dem Pompeius aufgedrängten Druckmittel (581-582):

Serum est cavendi tempus; hic quicquid latet  
Frustra timetur: utere, ut fas est, duce,

dem Pompeius nur noch die zustimmenden Worte: 'Recte admones: ferendo superanda omnia' (583) hinzufügen kann. Folglich wird die Tragik von Pompeius' Entscheidung kaum im Mittelpunkt der Tragödie stehen.

Das zukünftige Geschick Caesars, welches bei Mousson so bedeutungsvoll antizipiert wird, scheint in den warnenden Schlußworten des Photinus (1493):

Tuque esto sortis, Caesar, humanae memor

auf, hat aber ebenfalls keine tiefere Bedeutung für die vorliegende Tragödie. Die Warnung des kurz vor der Hinrichtung stehenden Übeltäters an den Rächer ist ungefähr vergleichbar der Prophezeiung, welche der abgestrafte Polymestor an die Rächerin Hekabe über deren eigenes künftiges Geschick am Ende der euripideischen Hekabe richtet. Sie bildet einen Vorverweis auf ein bevorstehendes Ereignis, welches aber im Rahmen des vorliegenden Stückes keine besondere Bedeutung hat.

Entscheidend ist im *Pompeius* des Ludovicus Aurelius dagegen die Strafhandlung, die Caesar gegen den für die Ermordung des Pompeius verantwortlichen Ptolemaeus in Gang setzt, und besonders das Problem der Verantwortung des jungen Königs für das unter seiner Herrschaft vollzogene Verbrechen. Photinus nimmt im Gespräch mit Achilles für sich in Anspruch, die Handlungsweise des Königs kontrollieren zu können (273-241):

Rei penes me summa sit. puerum, ut libet,  
Flectemus et quocumque [...].

Ptolemaeus bekundet in der folgenden Szene gleich bei seinem Auftritt seinen Unwillen, das Amt eines Königs im wörtlichen Sinne auszuüben (292-293: 'Quid me tueri regna jussistis Phari? | Quid collocastis arce, dii superi, edita?'), und bevorzugt einen vergeistigten, philosophischen Königsbegriff (299-301: 'Rex est, timore corda cui trepido vacant, | Et qui, solutus foenore, extra se nihil | Optat videtque tutus infra se omnia'). Solche philosophischen Theoreme werden wenig später von Photinus als 'aniles fabulae' (337) und mit der faktischen Ausübung von Königsherrschaft unvereinbar (338) abgetan.

In der Auseinandersetzung mit dem skrupellosen Photinus vermag sich die moralische Grunddisposition des jungen Königs schließlich nicht durchzusetzen. Am Ende übergibt Ptolemaeus dem Photinus geradezu formal die Herrschaftsgewalt (388-389):

Proinde nostrae flecte tu clavum ratis,  
Tu regiam, tu regna moderare, ut libet.

Damit hat Photinus sein Ziel in vollem Maße, wie die Wiederaufnahme der Versklausel 'ut libet' aus Vers 273 verdeutlicht, erreicht. Der König bezweckt freilich mit dieser 'Machtübergabe' vor allem, von persönlicher Schuld frei zu bleiben (390-391):

Mihi stat cruore dexteram utcumque a tuo  
Praestare puram, Magne [...].

Auch als Ptolemaeus in der folgenden Szene mit einem Boten Caesars konfrontiert wird, der eine Abweisung oder eine Gefangennahme des Pompeius verlangt, zeigt sich die Unfähigkeit des jungen Monarchen zu eigenständiger Entscheidung (421-422).

Nachdem ein Bote den Vollzug der Ermordung des Pompeius berichtet hat, verbreitet sich der Chor sogleich über das zentrale Problem der Schuld von Herrschern, die ihrerseits unter dem Einfluß dubioser Günstlinge stehen (926-929):

[...] mores urbium ad nutum regit  
Libido regum; regitur haud raro quoque  
Rex ipse nutu regiae, et nocentior  
Quo quisque procerum, viribus pollet magis.

Daß die Absicht des jungen Königs, seine Hände 'in Unschuld zu waschen', fehlgeht, wird durch eine weitere Chorreflexion verdeutlicht (948-949, vgl. 390-391):

[...] quid juvat atro  
Crimine puras servasse manus?



Viel weiter ausgeführt als der Triumph des Achilles, der in einem kurzen Monolog (955-975) mit signifikanten Anklängen an die triumphierende Rede des Atreus im senecanischen *Thyest* gestaltet ist, wird das Schuldbewußtsein des Ptolemaeus, der sich in weitläufigen Reden des Vollmaßes und der Unausweichlichkeit seiner eigenen Schuld bewußt wird und alle Trugversuche vonseiten Photinus' und Achilles' von sich weist. Schließlich schickt Ptolemaeus alle Gefolgsleute fort, um alleine wehklagen zu können (1036-1038). Am Ende dieser Wehklage erwacht in Ptolemaeus allmählich das Bewußtsein, daß eine Sühnung des Mords unumgänglich ist.

Mit dieser inneren, auf das Schuldbewußtsein des Ptolemaeus konzentrierten Handlung verstricken sich äußere Ereignisse, nämlich die Ankunft Caesars, der dramaturgisch die Funktion des Rächers übernehmen wird. Dramatisch praepariert wird die Rachehandlung auch durch einen Auftritt des Totenschattens des Pompeius (1219-1264). Dieser Auftritt ist insofern ungewöhnlich, als Totenschatten in der echten senecanischen Tragödie nur im Prolog (im *Thyest* und im *Agamemnon*) oder allenfalls in Botenberichten auftreten. Im Falle der Tragödie des Aurelius initiiert dieser Totenschatten aber nicht wie in den Prologen der genannten Stücke aus bloßer Lust am Verbrechen eine neue verbrecherische Handlung, sondern es handelt sich um das Opfer der im ersten Teil des Dramas geschilderten Handlung (der Ermordung des Pompeius), das Rache fordert und damit die weitere dramatische Handlung (die Auseinandersetzung der Ägypter mit Caesar, bei welcher Pompeius' Mörder umkommen) in Gang setzt. Daher bildet der Auftritt von Pompeius' Totenschatten, dramaturgisch betrachtet, eine Art Brücke zwischen Vorausgegangenem und Folgendem, insofern das Folgende (die Tötung der Mörder des Pompeius) als eine Rache für das Vorausgehende (die Ermordung des Pompeius) interpretiert wird. Auch hieraus wird die zentrale Bedeutung des Problems 'Schuld und Vergeltung' für die Tragödie des Aurelius deutlich.

### 3.2. Chorgestaltung

Das erste Chorlied (197-240) eignet sich tendenziell die apotropäisch-pathetische Rhetorik der *Pharsalia* hinsichtlich der entscheidenden Schlacht zu Pharsalus an und erschöpft sich somit fast vollständig in der Imitation lucanischer Wendungen aus Lucan., 6 und dem ersten Teil von Lucan., 7. Erst im zweiten Lied (456-485) entwickelt der Chor eine persönliche Identität als politische Gemeinschaft von Ägypten. Der dritte

Gesang (805-845) bittet dann um Ruhe und Frieden und mündet am Schluß in typisch senecanische Analytik (vgl. besonders 840-841: 'Ardua surgunt quaecumque nimis, | Eadem casu graviore ruunt'). Das vierte Lied (1132-1163) konzentriert sich auf die Frage der Theodizee und wendet sich am Schluß (1156-1163) zu einem persönlichen Bekenntnis zu niedriger, nicht-exponierter Existenz in der charakteristischen Form der Schiffahrtsmetaphorik. Bemerkenswert ist am Agieren des Chors im letzten Akt noch seine in der fünften Szene im Dialog mit den Soldaten entwickelte Fehleinschätzung, es sei zu einem Friedensschluß gekommen. Diese mit dem tatsächlichen Fortgang der dramatischen Handlung kontrastierende Fehleinschätzung erinnert an den Chorgesang im senecanischen Thyest über die Bruderliebe (546-622).

### 3.3. Einzelbeobachtungen

Zum Nachteil der Ausgabe von Flammini wirkt u.a. die bereits oben ange-deutete permanente Ignorierung von Aurelius' Lucan-Imitation.<sup>14</sup>

#### – 701-702:

Hanc e<r>go nobis auferat palmam levis  
Parthus vel usti Maurus habitator soli?

#### – 1206-1210 (Reaktion Caesars auf die Überreichung von Pompeius' Haupt)

Hospitia nobis ista regnator Phari  
Quidni parabat? obstitit fatum, mea  
Ne sic gerant colla: nimirum aleam  
Belli subisti, Caesar, ancipitem magis  
Quam reris! [...]

#### Der Vergleich mit dem lucanischen Vorbild Lucan., 9,1082-1085:

[...] nobis quoque tale paratum  
Litoris hospitium; ne sic mea colla gerantur,

<sup>14</sup> Einiges in Kürze: 53: 'Romanus incubuit sibi', vgl. Sen., *Tro.*, 14: 'Pergamum incubuit sibi'; 58-59, vgl. Lucan., 10, 6; 116, vgl. *ibid.*, 7, 88; 197-203, vgl. *ibid.*, 6, 347-351; 203-9, vgl. *ibid.*, 6, 395-9; 214-8, vgl. *ibid.*, 6, 413; 229-33, vgl. *ibid.*, 7, 51-7; 311, vgl. Sen., *Herc. f.*, 1148, *Herc. O.*, 745; 341, vgl. Lucan., 8, 534; 347-8, vgl. *ibid.*, 8, 499-500; 377-8, vgl. *ibid.*, 8, 504-5; 391-4, vgl. *ibid.*, 8, 520-2; 656-8, vgl. *ibid.*, 7, 682-4; 664-5, vgl. *ibid.*, 1, 81; 870: 'agnosco genus', vgl. Sen., *Ag.*, 923; 959-60, vgl. Sen., *Thy.*, 885-88; 1140-43, vgl. Ov., *met.*, 12, 610-11; 1162-63, vgl. Sen., *Ag.*, 88; 1189-93, vgl. Lucan., 9, 1016-20.

Thessaliae fortuna facit. maiore profecto  
Quam metui poterat discrimine gessimus arma

ermöglicht eine einfache Sanierung des metrisch defektiven Trimeters 1208 durch 'gerant<ur>'.

– 1373-1374 (Hexameter):

Vos etiam (enim *ed.* Flammini) regum in laudes, Pellaea iuventus,  
Ite citi [...]

#### 4. Fabio Chigi: *Pompeius Tragoedia*<sup>15</sup>

##### 4.1. *Konzeptioneller Schwerpunkt des Dramas*

Schwerpunkt der dramaturgischen Gestaltung des Fabio Chigi ist die Herausarbeitung der Situation des Pompeius, der vorgeführt wird als ein Mensch, der trotz besseren Wissens sich dazu gedrängt sieht, eine schicksalshafte Entscheidung zu treffen: Pompeius entschließt sich dazu, sich dem ägyptischen Potentaten Ptolemaeus anzuvertrauen, obwohl er weiß, daß dieser, rein rational betrachtet, kein Motiv hat, Pompeius gegenüber Caesar zu bevorzugen, sondern aller Voraussicht nach auf die Beseitigung des Pompeius hinarbeiten wird. Diese (uneingeschränkt zutreffende) Erkenntnis wird von Pompeius in seinen beiden Dialogen mit seinem Vertrauten Theophanes ausführlich dargelegt, dem es jedoch seinerseits gelingt, Pompeius dennoch zu seiner eigentlich als vernunftwidrig anzusehenden Handlungsweise zu überreden. Diese dramatische Konstellation konstituiert die Parallelitäten mit dem senecanischen Thyest, der geradezu als Leitvorbild von Chigis *Pompeius* gelten muß<sup>16</sup>: Auch dort hat sich Thyest rational der Wertlosigkeit der Königsherrschaft völlig versichert und dürfte sich demnach seinem Bruder Atreus eigentlich niemals anvertrauen. Auch dort begründet Thyest seine Ansichten völlig überzeugend im breit wiedergegebenen Gespräch mit einem Vertrauten (seinem Sohn Tantalus), läßt sich von diesem aber schließlich trotzdem überreden, seinen Bruder aufzusuchen. Die Tragik liegt in beiden Fällen in dem

<sup>15</sup> *Fabio Chigis Tragödie Pompeius*, ed. Claudia Barthold, Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, NF 22 (Paderborn, 2003) (= Diss. Bonn, 2002).

<sup>16</sup> Zur Thyest-Imitation Chigis vgl. *Fabio Chigis Tragödie Pompeius*, ed. Barthold, SS. 240-241; 242-243; 247-248; 287-289; 291-293.

Widerspruch zwischen dem völlig zutreffenden rationalen Wissen der Hauptperson und den mangelnden Konsequenzen, die dieses Wissen auf die schließliche Handlungsweise der Hauptperson ausübt.

Die Niederschläge dieses Leitvorbilds *Thyest* in der Detailgestaltung von Chigis Pompeius sind mannigfach. Das resignierende 'eatur', mit welchem sich Thyest dem Wunsch seines Sohnes anbequemt (Sen., *Thy.*, 488), wird vom Chigischen Pompeius dreifach aufgegriffen, zunächst am Ende seines langen Monologs unmittelbar vor dem ersten Chorlied (147-148: 'Interea eatur, qua posuit hospes dapes | Ditesque mensas'), wo er noch wider seine eigene Überzeugung seinen Gefolgsleuten Zuversicht zu vermitteln sucht (vgl. das folgende 'fata fortunet deus'), dann am Ende des vierten Akts im vertrauten Gespräch mit Theophanes (840-841: 'eatur. effugium mihi | Si forte manet, huc nititur patriae salus') und schließlich vor dem fatalen Besteigen des ägyptischen Boots (1042-1043: 'Hoc foedus aut dissolvat aut firmet caput. | Eatur'). Die Verdreifachung dieser höchst signifikanten Selbstadhortatio aus dem Thyest stuft bei Chigi gewissermaßen den sukzessiven Gang des Pompeius in seinen eigenen Untergang.

Die Instanz, welche den senecanischen Thyest mehr als um seine eigene Person fürchten läßt, sind seine Kinder (485-486: 'Pro me nihil iam metuo: vos facitis mihi | Atrea timendum'); die gleiche Rolle übernimmt beim Chigischen Pompeius sein Vaterland (842: 'Haec [sc. patria] me timentem reddit, haec retinet gradum'). Über dieses die patriotische Ethopoiie seiner Hauptperson besonders ins Licht setzende Detail hinaus hat Chigi das letztliche Nachgeben seines Pompeius gegenüber dem senecanischen Thyest sogar noch um eine Spur überzeugender gestaltet. Denn im Falle des Thyest versteht man bei rationaler Betrachtung nicht recht, warum der von wahrer Erkenntnis durchdrungene Vater seinem kleinen Sohn so einfach nachgibt, zumal ihn doch nichts hindern könnte, einfach kehrt zu machen und Argos wieder zu verlassen. Diese Möglichkeit der Rückkehr hat Chigi hingegen seinem Pompeius abgeschnitten, und zwar durch den über sein Vorbild hinaus hinzugesetzten Hinweis auf das Herandrängen von Pompeius' Widersacher Caesar: 837-838: 'Serum est cavendi tempus: a tergo ferus | Instabit hostis; medius hinc illinc times' ~ Sen., *Thy.*, 487: 'Serum est cavendi tempus in mediis malis'. Die 'Mittelposition' des Chigischen Pompeius zwischen Caesar und Ptolemaeus ist um einiges wörtlicher zu nehmen als das vage 'in mediis malis' des senecanischen Thyest, der immer noch leicht umkehren könnte. Besonders deutlich wird die drängende Realität des 'Mitten-zwischen-den-verschiedenen-Übel-Stehens' im Botenbericht über Pompeius' Ende durch die Ankunft

eines Schiffes, welches das Herandrängen Caesars meldet und somit Pompeius zu unverzüglichem Handeln, d.h. zur fatalen Annäherung an Ptolemaeus, zwingt.

Gemeinsam ist beiden Stücken auch, daß der intrigante Gegenspieler des Titelhelden die rationale Überlegenheit seines Widersachers (die jedoch durch persönliche Rücksichtnahmen bzw. eine dilemmatische Zwangslage unwirksam wird) erkennt und glaubt, ihn durch die Hoffnung auf die Königswürde bzw. ein Bündnis mit Aegypten geködert zu haben: Atreus hält die Hoffnung auf die Königsherrschaft für das eigentliche Agens Thyestes (288-289: 'non poterat capi, | Nisi capere vellet. regna nunc sperat mea'), ähnliche Motive unterstellt bei Chigi Achilles dem Pompeius (720-724: 'Vicinus: amicae frontis illectus dolis | Hospitia tuta credit; et rursus fera | Indicit hosti bella, rursus concipit | Iras: libido caeca sic regni vocat. | Iam fraude captus est [...]'). In beiden Fällen verkennen also die Gegenspieler das tragische Erkennen-und-doch-Scheitern der Titelhelden und halten sich in undifferenziert-dreister Weise einfach ein Gelingen ihrer Intrige zugrunde, die in Wirklichkeit nicht gelingt, weil sie den Gegenspieler rational übertölpelt, sondern weil dieser — trotz überlegenen Durchschauens der Intrige — drängenden Handlungszwängen unterliegt.

#### 4.2. Chorgestaltung<sup>17</sup>

Die *Pompeius*-Tragoedie Chigis verfügt wie der senecanische *Agamemnon* über zwei Chöre. Der 'Hauptchor' besteht aus Pelusiern, der 'Nebenchor' aus trauernden römischen Frauen, die am Leid von Pompeius' Gattin Cornelia teilnehmen.

Der Hauptchor nimmt eine 'analytische' Haltung ein, welche mit echt-senecanischen Chören genau übereinstimmt<sup>18</sup>: Im ersten Chorlied wird der Grund des Unglücks nicht in der persönlichen Schuld beteiligter Personen gefunden, sondern in einem zyklischen Ablauf der Weltgeschichte, der gerade das Hohe auf seinem Kulminationspunkt zu Fall bringt, ein Leitsatz, der am Schluß des Lieds durch den Sturz der römischen Republik exemplifiziert wird (189-200).

<sup>17</sup> Vgl. *Fabio Chigis Tragödie Pompeius*, ed. Barthold, SS. 131-134 und 295-296.

<sup>18</sup> Zu den beiden kardinalen Ausprägungen der Chorrolle in den Seneca-Tragödien vgl. Thomas Gärtner, "„Besser, dem gemeinen Volk anzugehören“ – Zur Rolle des Chors in der senecanischen Tragödie", *Studia Humaniora Tartuensia*, 4.A.4 (2003) [= <http://www.ut.ee/klassik/sht/2003/gaertner1.pdf>], bes. S. 47.

Insbesondere widerspricht der Chor explizit einer moralistischen Auffassung des Geschehens — eine solche explizite Ablehnung persönlicher Schuld findet sich nicht in den Chorliedern der echten senecanischen Tragödie, und so hat man in der modernen Seneca-Forschung immer wieder versucht, hinter den Chorreflexionen über die Unvermeidlichkeit des Sturzes allen Hohens eine moralistische Sichtweise zu finden, die eben doch den Blick auf die persönliche Verschuldung der Figuren freigibt.<sup>19</sup> Indem der Pelusierchor eine solche Auffassung explizit ablehnt, bekundet Chigi ein tiefes dichterisches Nachempfinden der senecanischen Chorpartien, welches gewissermaßen die Klarheit einer philologischen Interpretation erreicht. An der entscheidenden Stelle heißt es (170-175):

[...]       “hic ambitu,  
 Hi luxu pereunt, ille superbior,  
 Hic belli cupidus”. desipientia  
 Totum id nostra sibi fingit et abditas  
 Causas quaerit iners. omnia temporis  
 Caelique arbitrium perdit et elevat.

So wird gerade die moralisierende Auffassung, welche den Grund allen Unglücks in persönlicher Verschuldung sucht, in den Bereich menschlicher *desipientia* und damit einer bloßen Fehlinterpretation des Geschehens verwiesen.

Das zweite Chorlied (428-491) preist die *Gratia* im Zusammenhang der vermeintlich loyalen Aufnahme des Pompeius bei Ptolemaeus. Es liegt eine ähnliche Verkennung der tatsächlichen Lage (wie sie sich besonders durch den Auftrittsmonolog des Achilles eigentlich deutlich genug bekundet hat) vor wie im berühmten Chorgesang auf die Bruderliebe im senecanischen Thyest, der von dem dort zuvor dramatisch dargestellten Mordkomplott des Atreus in sonderbarer Weise unberührt bleibt. Hier wie dort sind die wirklichkeitsfremden und dem im Stück selbst zuvor Dargestellten widersprechenden optimistischen Äußerungen des Chors nicht verständlich, wenn man diesen im aristotelischen Sinne als Teilnehmer an der dramatischen Handlung auffaßt, sondern nur, wenn man im Chorgesang eine kontrastive Untermalung des faktischen, normwidrigen Verlaufs der dramatischen Handlung sieht.

Der dritte Gesang des Hauptchors (650-717) enthält eine aitiologische Ableitung der Identität der Choreuten aus dem griechischen Mythos und verwendet damit auf die persönliche Profilierung des Chors eine Sorgfalt,

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. *ibid.*, S. 47.

die den echten senecanischen Tragödien in der Regel fern liegt und eher an die attische Tragödie erinnert. Das vierte Lied (843-911) zeigt wiederum die typische analytische Haltung, die alles Unglück aus dem unvermeidlichen Sturz der Hochgestellten ableitet und infolgedessen konsequenterweise das einfache Leben einer hochgestellten Existenz vorzieht. Diese typische Ausprägung des senecanischen Chorlieds verbindet Chigi mit ägyptischem Lokalkolorit (vgl. die Prosaeinleitung des Chorlieds: 'prae regum sollicitudinibus et periculis humilem vitam laudat ac sacrificiorum Aegyptiorum cultum').

In der Gestaltung des an Cornelias Trauer sympathisch teilnehmenden Nebenchors lassen sich deutliche Parallelen zum Verhältnis zwischen der trojanischen Königin Hecuba und dem Chor der gefangenen Frauen in den senecanischen Troerinnen nachweisen. Dies zeigt sich am deutlichsten an den Worten, die Cornelia an den Chor richtet (935-937):

Dardania fatis Roma turbatur meis:  
Meus iste casus; gravibus aerumnis mea  
Vos damna vexant [...]

Genauso nimmt die senecanische Hecuba gegenüber dem Chor alle Verantwortung für das brennende Troja auf sich (Sen., *Tro.*, 40):

Meus ignis iste est, facibus ardetis meis.

#### 4.3. Einzelbeobachtungen<sup>20</sup>

– 52-54 (Pompeius über seine Flucht in Pharsalus):

Eia agite, cives, Romuli clarum genus;  
Prudens et astus mente generosa latens,  
Non timor in acie debilem suasit fugam.

Barthold übersetzt: 'Auf denn, Bürger, berühmtes Geschlecht des Romulus; kluge Berechnung nämlich, in edlem Geist verborgen, nicht Furcht in der Schlacht, riet zur schwächlichen Flucht' (*Fabio Chigis Tragödie Pompeius*, ed. Barthold, S. 57). Die kausale Auffassung von *et* empfiehlt sich wenig. Eher wird man den Ausfall eines oder mehrerer Trimeter vor Vers 53 annehmen, in denen Pompeius in substantivischer Form weitere

<sup>20</sup> Nachträge zu Bartholds Testimonien: 595-96 vgl. Lucan., 3, 27; 985-986: 'omne concipiens malum | Animo praeivi', vgl. Verg., *Aen.*, 6, 105: 'Omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi'.

Motive zu seiner Flucht ausführte, etwa die Hoffnung auf eine spätere günstigere Gelegenheit zum Kampf, die Zuversicht, am Ende erfolgreich sein, und/ oder Rücksichtnahme auf die momentan ungünstige militärische Situation. Diese (teils in der Lücke verschwundene) Kumulation nominaler Ausdrücke überwiegt dann in stilistisch-syntaktisch eindrucksvoller Weise das alleinstehende verneinte Motiv *timor*. Das formale Vorbild einer derartigen Kumulation von Motiven zur Flucht bietet Lucan., 7, 669-679 (mit dem Ansatz zu einer ähnlichen nominalen Aufzählung in 675-677):

[...] nec derat robur in enses  
 Ire duci iuguloque pati vel pectore letum; 670  
 Sed (1) timuit, strato miles ne corpore Magni  
 Non fugeret supraque ducem procumberet orbis,  
 (2) Caesaris aut oculis voluit subducere mortem,  
 Nequiquam, infelix: socero spectare volenti  
 Praestandum est ubicumque caput. sed (3) tu quoque, coniunx, 675  
 Causa fugae vultusque tui fatisque negatum  
 †Te praesente† mori. tum Magnum concitus aufert  
 A bello sonipes non tergo tela paventem  
 Ingentisque animos extrema in fata ferentem.

Natürlich kann der Pompeius Chigis im Zusammenhang einer an seine Gefährten gerichteten Ermunterungsrede<sup>21</sup> im Gegensatz zum lucanischen Erzähler nur patriotische und keine persönlichen Motive anführen.

– 511-513 (Theophanes über den Kummer des Pompeius):

[...] decuit haec semper ducem  
 Sors aegra Magnum, fronte dum ficta, palam  
 Verax, lateret mentis attonitae pavor.

Barthold übersetzt: 'Dieses traurige Los gereichte dem Feldherrn Magnus immer zur Zierde, solange die Angst des erschütterten Gemütes, nach außen sich wahrhaftig gebend, hinter verstellter Stirn sich verbarg' (*Fabio Chigis Tragödie Pompeius*, ed. Barthold, S. 87). Das aus Verg., *Aen.*, 1, 209 ('Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem') stammende Motiv der Anführertugend (wörtlich zitiert in der Prosauüberschrift 'ostendit spem vultu tantum simulare Pompeium, at altum premere interim corde dolorem') kommt erst richtig zur Geltung, wenn man richtig interpungiert: Der 'frons ficta palam' tritt als Gegenbegriff der 'Verax [...]

<sup>21</sup> Zur erzwungenen Verstellung des Pompeius im ersten Akt vgl. Barthold, SS. 165-167.



mentis attonitae pavor' gegenüber. Damit verschwindet auch die sonderbare Vorstellung 'palam | Verax' ('nach außen sich wahrhaftig gebend').

– 921-925 (der Chor über das Bürgerkriegsleid):

Vix flore primo deserit patriam puer  
Et castra sequitur; omnis assidue malus  
Mavors perennat. Hoste perdomito plagis  
Longe remotis peior exoritur domi  
Hostis rebellans civis et geminat mala.

Die Junktur 'omnis assidue malus | Mavors perennat' (*Fabio Chigis Tragödie Pompeius*, ed. Barthold, S. 115: 'alle überdauert beständig der üble Mars') vereinigt eine singuläre transitive Verwendung von *perennare* und einen metrischen Fehler (Länge in der vierten Trimetersenkung). In Wirklichkeit gehört 'omnis' zu 'puer' im vorigen Satz, und 'perennat' bedeutet einfach 'währt ewig'.

Der gleiche metrische Fehler wird auch in Vers 925 angenommen, wo Barthold übersetzt 'entsteht zu Hause ein noch schlimmerer Feind, der die Bürger bekämpft'. Tatsächlich gehört 'rebellans civis' (nom. sg.) zusammen und ist Apposition zu 'peior [...] | Hostis'.

– 937-941 (Cornelia über ihr Unglück):

[...] una ego Metelli domus  
Feram ruinas; vigeat illa, atavis diu  
Quondam decora. quicquid adversi Deus  
Pepercit illis, omne Fors cumulat mihi.  
Exilia thalamis mereor [...]

Die sich an die oben besprochene Äußerung Cornelias gegenüber dem Chor anschließenden Worte bringen deutlich den Wunsch der Sprecherin zum Ausdruck, alles Unglück auf sich selbst nehmen zu können. Diese Selbstverwünschung gipfelt in einem Bekenntnis zu einer verdienten Strafe ('Exilia thalamis mereor'). Um die Tendenz der Selbstverwünschung konsequent durchzuführen, muß man 'cumulat' abändern in 'cumulet'.

Institut für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln  
50923 Köln  
Albertus-Magnus-Platz  
Th-Gaertner@gmx.de

Heinz HOFMANN

THE SHIELD OF AENEAS IN THE HANDS OF COLUMBUS.  
THE RECEPTION OF VERGIL'S DESCRIPTION OF AENEAS'  
SHIELD IN SOME NEO-LATIN POEMS ON COLUMBUS  
AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE NEW WORLD

Homer's description of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad* (18, 478-608)<sup>1</sup> has served many later poets as a model for similar descriptions of shields of other heroes in Greek and Roman epic poetry<sup>2</sup>, for instance the author of the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* for the shield of Hercules (141-320)<sup>3</sup>, Quintus of Smyrna in his *Posthomerica* for the shield of Achilles<sup>4</sup> (5, 6-101)

<sup>1</sup> For reasons of brevity a more concise system of bibliographic references has been adopted. An extensive bibliographic list with full references can be found at the end of this article. Still fundamental: Schadewaldt 1938 (1965, repr. in Latacz 1991, pp. 173-199), Reinhardt 1956 (1961), and Marg 1957 (21971), pp. 20-37 (repr. in Latacz 1991, pp. 200-236). See further the commentary on *Iliad*, 18 by Edwards 1991, pp. 200-233 (with thorough discussion of the relevant literature) and the more recent studies by Taplin 1980 (repr. in Latacz 1991, pp. 227-253); Dubois 1982, pp. 13-21; Vilatte 1988; Becker 1990; Stanley 1993; Heffernan 1993, pp. 10-22; Becker 1995, pp. 87-150; Wirbelauer 1996; Aubriot 1999; Létoublon 1999; Moog-Grünwald 2001; Scully 2003 (all of them with extensive bibliographies; a recent bibliography up to 1990 can also be found in Latacz 1991, pp. 560-564). On the archaeological aspects see Fittschen 1973, N pp. 1-17 and Simon 1995, pp. 127-136. On *ekphrasis* in Homer in general, see Galand-Hallyn 1994, pp. 27-71; Becker 1995, pp. 9-22, 51-77.

<sup>2</sup> There are descriptions of shields and other weapons, of course, not only in epic poetry but also in other genres, for instance the short descriptions of the shields of the Seven against Thebes in Aeschylus, *Septem* 387-390, 432-434, 465-469, 491-496, 539-544, 642-649, and Euripides, *Phoenissae* 1104-1109, or of Hephaestus' first weapons for Achilles in Euripides, *Electra* 452-475; cf. Friedländer 1912, pp. 23-26; Downey 1959, 923-926; Palm 1965/6, 128-130; Galand-Hallyn 1994, pp. 100-106 with special emphasis on the aspect of intertextuality in the various *ekphraseis* of shields and other objects of visual art.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Russo 21965, pp. 7-14; Palm 1965/6, 122-126; Fittschen 1973, N pp. 18-23 (with bibliography on N pp. 27-28); Janko 1986, 38-48 (with good bibliography); Becker 1992; Becker 1995, pp. 23-40; in comparison with the shield of Achilles: Schadewaldt 41965, pp. 361-363; Defrayne 1991/2; Simon 1995, pp. 133-135; Faber 2000.

<sup>4</sup> The shield of Achilles, together with the other parts of his armour, is here being offered by Thetis as the prize for the winner in the contest during the funeral games in honour of Achilles.

with scenes partly different from those in the *Iliad*,<sup>5</sup> and for the shield of Eurypylos with scenes of eighteen labours of Heracles<sup>6</sup> (6, 198-293), or Nonnus for the shield of Dionysus in *Dionysiaca* 25, 387-567.<sup>7</sup> In Roman epic it was Vergil who adapted the Homeric structure as a model for the shield of Aeneas; he had it decorated, however, with a completely different set of scenes showing the descendants of Ascanius and the decisive stages of Rome's history from the she-wolf suckling the twins to Augustus' victory at Actium and his triumphs and *ex voto* dedications.<sup>8</sup>

Although such *ekphraseis* formed an essential feature of epic poetry in general<sup>9</sup>, the poets seemed to avoid a direct confrontation with Vergil's description of the shield of Aeneas, shifting their *aemulatio* instead to other objects of art like plates, vases, mugs, armbands and necklaces, embroidered garments, tapestries, sculptures, paintings, or doors of houses

<sup>5</sup> A brief comparison between the two shields of Achilles in the *Iliad* and the *Posthomerica* can be found in Vian 1966, pp. 4-7. For a detailed interpretation and literary analysis see James-Lee 2000, pp. 33-64.

<sup>6</sup> The tableau is opened by Hercules in the cradle, killing the two serpents, and followed by the twelve canonical labours and five other labours of the so-called *parerga* (liberation of Prometheus, battle against the centaurs on Mount Pholoe, killing of Nessus, killing of Antaeus, liberation of Hesione) in roughly the same order as in Hyginus (*fab.*, 30 and 31); cf. Vian 1966, pp. 56-63.

<sup>7</sup> In programmatic emulation of the shield in the *Iliad*, the shield of Dionysus, a work of Hephaestus as well, depicts in the centre the earth, the ocean and the cosmos with its stars and constellations, and, arranged around this centrepiece, four mythological scenes: Amphion and Zethus building the walls of Thebes, the rape of Ganymede by Zeus disguised as an eagle, the killing of Tylos by a poisonous snake and his resuscitation by his sister Moria with the help of the flower of Zeus (on this legend see especially Chuvin 1991, pp. 106-111, and Vian 1990, pp. 36-42), and Rhea handing over to Cronus the stone wrapped in nappies, and Cronus disgorging his children; cf. Vian 1990, pp. 33-42 and 261-269 (notes on vv. 387-562); Hopkinson 1994, pp. 22-24 with a comparison of the descriptions in Homer and Nonnus.

<sup>8</sup> The literature on the shield of Aeneas is vast and often rather specialised in details: apart from the commentaries on Book VIII see in particular Heinze <sup>3</sup>1915, pp. 398-403; Becker 1964; Eichholz 1966/7; Wlosok 1967, pp. 128-138; Griffith 1967/8; Binder 1971, pp. 150-282; West 1990 (1975/6); Williams 1981; Dubois 1982, pp. 41-51; Romeuf 1984; Hardie 1986, pp. 97-110, 120-125, 336-375; Ravenna 1988 (with good bibliography); Vilatte 1991; Eigler 1994; Harrison 1997; McKay 1998; Eigler 1998; Putnam 1998, pp. 119-188. For the parallels with Homer see Knauer 1964, pp. 259-262, 345-347, for those with the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis*, Defreyne 1991/2, Faber 2000. Cf. also the bibliography in Suerbaum 1980, pp. 249-251.

<sup>9</sup> On *ekphrasis* in epic poetry see especially Kurman 1974; Heffernan 1993; on *ekphrasis* in ancient literature in general see Friedländer 1912, pp. 1-103; Palm 1965/6; Downey 1959; Ravenna 1985; Graf 1995; on the (ancient and modern) theory (and history) of *ekphrasis*: Palm 1965/6, 108-117; Perutelli 1978; Dubois 1982; Fowler 1991; Halsall 1992; Halsall 1994; Aygon 1994; Galand-Hallyn 1994, pp. 7-23; Becker 1995, pp. 1-8, 23-50; Graf 1995, pp. 143-149; Krieger 1995 (1998); Robillard-Jongeneel 1998; Webb 1999.

and temples; there are, of course, *ekphraseis* of weapons too, for instance the arming of Flaminius in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (5, 130-148)<sup>10</sup> and of Capaneus in Statius' *Thebaid* (4, 165-177)<sup>11</sup>, and even brief *ekphraseis* of shields, such as the seven lines describing the shield of Crenaeus in the *Thebaid* (9, 332-338)<sup>12</sup>, the four lines describing that of Roma in Claudian's Panegyric on the consulate of Probinus and Olybrius (96-99)<sup>13</sup>, or the 15 lines describing the shield of Pallas in Sidonius Apollinaris' Epithalamium for Polemius and Araneola (*carm.*, 15, 17-31).<sup>14</sup> Nothing comparable can be found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in Valerius Flaccus, in Statius or in the epic poets of late antiquity — not even in a heroic poem with as many military actions as the *Iohannis* of Flavius Cresconius Corippus. The only Roman poet who dared to compete with Vergil and insert a large-scale *ekphrasis* of a shield into his epic poem was Silius Italicus: in the second book of his *Punica* (2, 395-456) he described in some 62 lines (against the 103 lines of Vergil's *ekphrasis*) the shield which, together with the other parts of the armour (helmet, sword, spear, cuirass), 'the peoples who dwell by the Atlantic' (*Oceani gentes* 2, 396) had brought as a gift for Hannibal. It was decorated with episodes from the mythic history of Carthage (Dido and Aeneas) and the First Punic War, and idyllic scenes from the peaceful life of North African shepherds

<sup>10</sup> The helmet is decorated on its top with the figure of a Scylla with a broken oar in her hand, which may be a reminiscence of the type of Scylla represented in the Sperlonga group (cf. Andreae–Conticello 1987; Andreae 1994, pp. 85-105), the shield shows the relief of the she-wolf in a grotto, suckling Romulus; cf. Spaltenstein 1986, pp. 347-348 *ad locum*.

<sup>11</sup> The decoration on the shield represents the Lernaean Hydra who had been slain by Heracles; cf. Vessey 1973, pp. 200-204.

<sup>12</sup> The shield contains scenes from the history of the origins of the Aonian race (9, 333: 'Aoniae ... origine gentis'), but the narrator describes only one out of the many, sc. the bull carrying Europa over the sea; cf. Dewar 1991, pp. 123-124 *ad locum*. The decoration on the shield of Amphiarus in *Theb.*, 4, 222 is mentioned in just a half-line: 'clipeco victum Pythona coruscat (sc. Amphiarus)'.

<sup>13</sup> The shield is decorated with Mars and the she-wolf suckling Romulus and Remus next to the river Tiber; cf. Taegert 1988, pp. 141-146 *ad locum* who observes that, in comparison with the shield of Aeneas, 'Vergils dynamischen Versen (*procubuisse, ludere, pendens, lambere, mulcere, fingere*) stehen nüchtern katalogisierende gegenüber (*notantur, inest, formantur, fingunt, coruscat*): Claudians Bild ist ohne Eigenleben, es bleibt im Technischen und Dinglich-Konkreten' (p. 142).

<sup>14</sup> The shield, again, is a work of Hephaestus (v. 30-31) and exhibits scenes of the battle of the Giants against the Olympian gods (v. 17: 'laevam parma tegit Phlegraei plena tumultus'). The Gigantomachy was depicted on the interior side of the shield of the famous statue of Athena Parthenos made by Phidias for the Parthenon in Athens; cf. Hardie 1986, pp. 99-100 with n. 37, who refers to Sidonius' *ekphrasis* as 'a late literary treatment'.

and hunters ('Punic pastoral'<sup>15</sup>); in the centre there was the siege of Saguntum, while the outer rim was occupied by the river Ebro and Hannibal's attempt at crossing it.<sup>16</sup>

In contrast with this restraint in Vergil's epic successors and the scarce evidence for longer *ekphraseis* of shields in Latin epic poetry of antiquity and late antiquity, the Neo-Latin epic poets showed a certain obsession with descriptions of shields and other weapons: there is almost no Neo-Latin epic poet of any status who did not want to compete with Vergil and, to a lesser degree, also with Homer and Silius Italicus.<sup>17</sup> They could hardly refrain from challenging their readers directly, asking them for their judgement as to who should receive the laurel of the best poet with the best *ekphrasis*.

In the following paper I shall briefly sketch three *ekphraseis* of this kind and try to show how far they take over from Vergil their overall structure and single features and where they depart from their ancient models and try to develop a style and view of their own. All three examples which I am going to discuss are taken from epic poems on Columbus and the discovery of the New World, which narrate the first voyage of Columbus in 1492/3 in the manner and style of ancient epic, taking Vergil's *Aeneid* with its blending of history and fiction as their main model for both imitation and emulation.

The earliest of these Columbus epics<sup>18</sup> — the *Columbeidos libri priores duo* — was written by the Roman nobleman Julius Caesar Stella

<sup>15</sup> Vessey 1975, 403.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. von Albrecht 1964, pp. 173-175; Vessey 1975; Kißel 1979, pp. 185-192, 202-208; Küppers 1986, pp. 154-164, and the commentary of Spaltenstein 1986, pp. 143-151. Campus 2003 compares Hannibal's shield with those of Achilles, Hercules (Ps.-Hesiod *Aspis*) and Aeneas. The shield of Achilles is mentioned briefly by Silius in a comparison in 7, 120-122.

<sup>17</sup> But not only Neo-Latin poets: we find similar descriptions of shields also in epic poems in the vernaculars whose authors borrowed heavily from Homer and Vergil, for instance Torquato Tasso in his *Gerusalemme Liberata*, 17, 66-82; cf. Grebe 2001.

<sup>18</sup> The first narrative in Latin hexameters of Columbus' four expeditions was written by Lorenzo Gambara of Brescia (1494/1506-1586/1596) and printed in Rome in 1581; later editions, partly revised and enlarged, were published in Rome in 1583, 1585 and 1586. But Gambara's *De navigatione Christophori Columbi libri IV* is not a fictional epic but a first-person narrative by Columbus himself about his four voyages and over long sections merely a versification of the prose narrative of Peter Martyr of Anghiera, *Decades de orbe novo* (1530), so that it can be labelled as the didactic poem among the Neo-Latin poems on Columbus; cf. Hofmann 1992; Hofmann 1994, pp. 430-454. A modern edition of the second edition 1583 with introduction, Italian translation and commentary was published by C. Gagliardi, *Lorenzo Gambara: De navigatione Christophori Columbi* (Roma, 1993).

(1564-1624). The first edition was printed in London in 1585, obviously without Stella's knowledge and approval<sup>19</sup>; a revised and considerably enlarged edition with a foreword by his former teacher at the Collegio Romano, Francesco Benci, S.J., was published in Rome in 1589.<sup>20</sup> We know only the first two books; books III and IV have never been published, perhaps never even written or completed.

In Book II, the Spaniards encounter the inhabitants of the island Quiqueia (modern Haiti), with whom they form a friendship. Nevertheless, they are quick to display their superiority by way of a pigeon-shooting competition and a demonstration of their firearms. Before they are to leave the island again, the two 'kings' (*reges* 2, 146), i.e., Columbus and the native *cacique* Narilus, exchange presents: while the Spaniards receive food and wine as provision for the ships, Columbus offers Narilus a helmet ('*galeam mira arte politam*': 2, 179) as '*monumentum animi et grave pignus amici*' (2, 181). Engraved on the helmet are various scenes from the last phase of the *reconquista* of Spain from the Moors between 1485 and 1492: King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel, Cardinal Mendoza, battles and troops, sieges and conquests of cities and castles, the foundation of Santa Fé and the surrender of the last Moorish ruler of Granada, as well as the divine interventions by Saint James of Compostela and the Lord Himself. In addition, one sees the river Darro and numerous winged putti in the sky, and opposite, in the depths of the underworld, the *monstra Erebi* and, on the narrow rim of the helmet, Furor sitting on a pile of arms, his hands bound behind his back, biting his chains in vain.

The second epic is the *Atlantis relecta* in one book (1245 hexameters) by the Hamburg-born Vincentius Placcius, published in Hamburg in 1659<sup>21</sup> and, slightly revised, in Amsterdam in 1668 as Book I of his *Carmina*

<sup>19</sup> *Iulii Caesaris Stellae Nobilis Romani Columbeidos libri priores duo* (Londini: apud Iohannem Wolfium, 1585). Modern edition with introduction and Dutch translation: Julius Caesar Stella, *Columbeis Boek I en II. Epos over Columbus' ontdekking van Amerika*, uitgegeven en vertaald door J. Baerveldt, e.a., red. H. Hofmann (Groningen, 1993). Cf. Hofmann 1988; Hofmann 1994, pp. 454-473. In the following paper the quotations will be from that first edition whose description of the helmet is taken over virtually unchanged in the second edition of 1589.

<sup>20</sup> *Iulii Caesaris Stellae Nobilis Romani Columbeidos Libri Priores Duo. Ad Philippum Austrium Philippi II. Regis Catholici Filium Hispaniarum et Indiarum Principem. Superiorum Permissu* (Romae: apud Sanctium & Soc., 1589); cf. Hofmann 1990; Hofmann 1994, pp. 468-471. A new edition of the *Columbeidos libri priores duo* with introduction and commentary will shortly be published by N. Llewellyn (Charlottesville/VA).

<sup>21</sup> Vincentius Placcius, *Atlantis relecta sive De navigatione prima Christophori Colombi in Americam* (Hamburgi: Ex officina Rebenliniana, 1659); cf. Hofmann 1994, pp. 473-494.

*puerilia et juvenilia*.<sup>22</sup> The poem narrates the preparations for Columbus' first voyage and its first stage until the landfall on the first island in the New World on October 12, 1492. In the night before the landfall Columbus has a dream vision of Atlantis, the personification of the fourth continent, who announces to him the imminent landfall on the next morning. In a long speech she tells Columbus the story of her early discovery and settlement by the ancient Athenians and Carthaginians and encourages him to finish his divine task and to give her back to the civilized world. Then she unveils her shield and shows him the scenes and figures on it, the work of Vulcan, executed according to the prophecies of the Fates. The engravings on the shield depict the American double continent and its geographical features, but also its future history after the discovery and colonisation by Columbus, the Spaniards and other European nations. While Columbus is still listening to Atlantis' explanations and tries to remove the last part of the veil that still covers a corner of the shield, the narrative breaks off with the names of Pizarro, Drake, Cortéz and Amerigo Vespucci: Columbus awakes, and the dream-vision of Atlantis and the shield recedes from his view.

The third epic poem is the *Columbus*, a kind of Anti-*Aeneid* in twelve books by the Italian Jesuit Ubertino Carrara (1642-1716), published in Rome in 1715.<sup>23</sup> Here we have two long *ekphraseis* of parts of Columbus' armour: his shield in 3, 507-618, and his *balteus* in 4, 137-252, both considerably longer than the corresponding pieces in the *Aeneid*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Vincentius Placcius, *Atlantis resecta sive De navigatione prima Christophori Colombi in Americam*, in *Carminum puerilium et juvenilium libri IV* (Amstelodami: apud P. Le Grand, 1668), pp. 1-82. A modern edition of the edition of Amsterdam 1668 with German translation and *Nachwort* was published by H. Wiegand, *Atlantis resecta. Die wiederentdeckte Atlantis. Das erste neulateinisch-deutsche Kolumbusepos von Vincentius Placcius (1659)*, hg. und übersetzt von H. Wiegand (Heidelberg, 1992).

<sup>23</sup> *Columbus. Carmen epicum. Eminentissimo et Reverendissimo Principi Benedicto Pamphilio Dicatum Authore Ubertino Carrara Societatis Jesu* (Romae: Typis Rocchii Bernabò, 1715). Superiorum Permissu. A second edition was published in Augsburg (Augustae) in 1730. There are three modern editions with translation and notes: 1) Ubertino Carrara, *Columbus*. Traduzione poetica e note di Mario Martini. Testo a fronte. Prefazione di Miquel Batllori (Sora, 1992); 2) Ubertino Carrara, *Columbus*. Edición, introducción, traducción y notas por Francisca Martínez Torres, Bibliotheca Latina (Madrid, 2000); 3) Ubertino Carrara SJ, *Columbus. Carmen epicum (1715)*. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert von Florian Schaffenrath, Bibliothek seltener Texte in Studienausgaben, 6 (Berlin, 2006). Cf. Hofmann 1994, pp. 494-576.

<sup>24</sup> The description of Aeneas' shield covers 103 lines (*Aen.*, 8, 626-728), that of Pallas' *balteus* only three (*Aen.*, 10, 497-499). The other two descriptions of shields in the *Aeneid* are very brief as well: 7, 657-658 (shield of Aventinus, son of Hercules) and 7, 789-792 (shield of Turnus).

Columbus' armour is a product of the Virtues and is fabricated in their palace<sup>25</sup> on the island of Teneriffa together with the other weapons (cuirass, sword, helmet) and handed over to Columbus by Aretia, the personification of Virtue herself. The engravings on the shield show in several sections the kings of Spain from Ferdinand of Aragon (1479-1516) to Charles V (1516-1559) and his successors down to Philip V (1701-1746), the Spanish Empire and its main cities both on the Iberian Peninsula and in Italy, i.e., the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily which came to the House of Aragon in 1282 (Sicilian Vesper) and remained under Spanish rule until 1713 (Peace of Utrecht), the Indian subcontinent and those parts of Asia which had already been discovered by Vasco da Gama, and finally, on the reverse of the shield, the antipodes and the New World still to be discovered by Columbus: he even sees his own portrait in full armour while looking at the shield.

In the following I shall give a comparative analysis of the four objects — the three shields in Vergil's *Aeneid*, Placcius' *Atlantis resecta* and Carrara's *Columbus* and the helmet in Stella's *Columbeis* — and try to define the ways and modes of the reception of the Vergilian model by the Neo-Latin poets.

1. All four objects are fictional works of art, i.e., they do not refer to any actually existing shield or helmet; their descriptions are 'erdichtete Ekphrasen' ('imagined' or 'fictional ecphrases').<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> The architecture of this *Regia Virtutum* and its precinct is an anticipation of St Peter's Basilica and St Peter's Square in Rome (*Col.*, 3, 280-302).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Kakridis 1963 (English version: Kakridis 1971). Laird 1993, pp. 18-19 distinguishes, on the one hand, between 'factual' and 'fictional' *ekphrasis*, and, on the other, between 'obedient' and 'disobedient' *ekphrasis*, defining it as follows: '*Obedient* ecphrasis limits itself to the description of what can be consistently visualized', as, for instance, geometrical objects (the triangle in Plato's *Meno* and similar clearly defined objects). '*Disobedient* ecphrasis [...] breaks free from the discipline of the imagined object and offers less opportunity for it to be consistently visualized or translated adequately into an actual work of visual art' which is the case especially with fictional *ekphrasis* in literature. — On the contradictions of Homer's *ekphrasis* with what is known about shields of that archaic period cf. Marg 1957, p. 26; Schadewaldt 1965, p. 357 ('Der Schild des Achilleus ist nicht in einer wirklichen Werkstatt, sondern in der Gedankenwelt Homers entstanden'); Fittschen 1973, N, pp. 5-17; Edwards 1991, pp. 201-205; Simon 1995, pp. 129-130. Nevertheless there has been no lack of attempts at reconstructing Achilles' shield since Jean Boivin's *Apologie d'Homère et bouclier d'Achille* (Paris, 1715), the best known example being perhaps the one by Sir John Flaxman, executed in silver by Philip Rundell in 1821, now preserved in the Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California; cf. Heffernan 1993, p. 15 ill. 1; on the possible distribution of the scenes on the shield see



2. The place where the shields and the other parts of the armour have been manufactured is explicitly named only in two poems: in the *Aeneid* it is the smithy of Vulcan on the Island Volcano (*Volcania tellus*: 8, 422), one of the Lipari islands, which is described in detail in *Aen.*, 8, 416-453, in Carrara's *Columbus* it is the Palace of Virtues on Teneriffa where each of the Virtues carries out a specific task (3, 420-489). In Stella's *Columbeis* no place is mentioned, but since Columbus has brought the helmet from Spain to the New World, it must be the product of an artist of the Iberian Peninsula. In the *Atlantis relecta* we are only told that Atlantis' shield is a work of Vulcan (1077-1078) so that it is not clear whether one should suppose that he has made it on one of the Lipari islands, as in the *Aeneid*, or on Mt. Olympus as in the *Iliad* (18, 468-473; 614-617).

3. The person who has fabricated the shield is not named in Stella's *Columbeis*: the narrator speaks only of a *docta manus* (2, 185), which is certainly not that of a god but of a mortal — obviously Stella wants his readers to think of a Spanish artist.<sup>27</sup> In the other three epics it is a divine being: in the *Aeneid* and the *Atlantis relecta*, it is Vulcan<sup>28</sup> — 'haut vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi', as he is called in Vergil (*Aen.*, 8, 627), whereas Atlantis says that Vulcan, in decorating her shield, has followed the prophecies of the Fates ('Parcarum dicta secutus': 1077)<sup>29</sup> —, and in

Fittschen 1973, N pp. 10-17; Vilatte 1988; Edwards 1991, pp. 206-208; Stanley 1993, pp. 9-13 (with diagram on p. 10 illustrating his concept of ring-composition); Simon 1995, pp. 130-132. On similar shields from the Homeric age see Schadewaldt '1965, pp. 358-360 with pl. 27-28; Fittschen 1973, N pp. 7-11; Edwards 1991, pp. 203-206; Simon 1995, pp. 127-130. Laird 1993, pp. 19-20 sees the shield of Achilles 'at some point in between the two poles of obedience and disobedience' but finds that 'in the end <it> inclines towards obedience' whereas 'Catullus' ecphrasis of Ariadne [...] is as good an example as one could get of *disobedient* ecphrasis'. — On the shield of Aeneas see the literature in n.8; that this shield could never have existed in this form and therefore is an example of both a fictional and a *disobedient* *ekphrasis* is beyond question. Laird 1993, p. 27, however, finds Vergil's *ekphrasis* even 'more obedient than that of Catullus', basing his judgement on the reconstruction of West 1990 (1975/6).

<sup>27</sup> Stella shares this feature with or rather took it over from Silius Italicus, in whose *Punica* (2, 396) the shield of Hannibal — for the first time in the history of epic *ekphrasis* of shields, as far as we can see — is also a product created by human hand, namely by the *Oceani gentes*, i.e., the people 'who dwelt at the extreme edge of the inhabited world in the directions where the sun sets' (Vessey 1975, p. 391); cf. Küppers 1986, pp. 156-157.

<sup>28</sup> Hephaestus/Vulcan is also the manufacturer of the shields in Homer, Ps.-Hesiod *Aspis*, Quintus of Smyrna, and Nonnus.

<sup>29</sup> This may be an allusion to Ps.-Hesiod, *Aspis*, 318-319 where the narrator says that the shield was a wonder to look at even for the loud-thundering Zeus, according to whose advice (οὗ διὰ βουλάς) Hephaestus had made the shield. The Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* was printed for the first time, together with the *Theogony* and the *Erga*, by Aldus in Venice in

Carrara's *Columbus* it is Constantia (3, 476-499), one of the Virtues in the *Regia virtutum* on Teneriffa.

4. The shields in the *Aeneid* and in Carrara's *Columbus* are handed over together with the other parts of the armour (cuirass, helmet and sword in both epics, in the *Aeneid* in addition spear and greaves)<sup>30</sup> in order to enhance the superiority of the hero over his enemies and, especially for Columbus, his invulnerability (3, 477: 'invia vulneribus fabricat Constantia tela'), which will be ensured through Aretia's continuous assistance (3, 495-496: 'quocumque in vulnere nostram | agnosces pugnare manum'). The helmet in Stella's *Columbeis* is a single piece and not intended to be worn by Narilus as part of his armour — it was well-known from Columbus' letter to the Spanish sovereigns of 15 February 1493<sup>31</sup> and other reports that the Tainos who lived on Guanahaní (Hispaniola, modern Haiti) were a peaceful people and did not know the use of weapons — but rather a gift for his hospitality and a proof of the mutual friendship between the two leaders. The shield in the *Atlantis relecta* is completely different: it is neither conceived as a weapon for Columbus nor handed over to him but is rather a work of art. It remains in the hands of Atlantis and serves only as a demonstration of the new continent Columbus is on the point of discovering and of its future history: it is the *enarrabile textum* of Atlantis' prophecy.<sup>32</sup>

1495. The first Latin translation together with the Greek text was printed in Basel in 1542, and since then there have been quite a few bilingual editions so that Carrara certainly was acquainted with that poem.

<sup>30</sup> It has rightly been observed that in the *Iliad* the new armour consists only of defensive weapons (shield, corslet, helmet, and greaves), but that Achilles receives neither a new sword nor a new spear, though Patroclus had also taken his sword (*Il.*, 16, 135-136) and two spears but not the huge lance of Pelion ash wood which only Achilles could wield (*Il.*, 16, 139-144; cf. 19, 387-391). When Achilles dons his armour, the lines *Il.*, 16, 135-136 (= *Il.*, 3, 334-335 of Alexandros putting on his armour) are repeated unchanged in *Il.*, 19, 372-373; cf. Edwards 1991, pp. 232-233, 276-280.

<sup>31</sup> Of this famous letter in Columbus' original Spanish version, printed in Barcelona in April 1493, there exists today just one copy in the New York Public Library. The first Latin translation was published in Rome in May 1493 and often reprinted; translations into the other European languages followed quickly; cf. Hofmann 1994, pp. 422-423. The passage on the absence of weapons on Hispaniola reads in the Latin version as follows (ch. 8): 'Carent hi omnes, ut supra dixi, quocunque genere ferri. Carent et armis, utpote sibi ignotis, nec ad ea sunt apti, non propter corporis deformitatem [...], sed quia sunt timidi ac pleni formitudine' (quoted from Wallisch 2000, pp. 18-20).

<sup>32</sup> On the expression (*non*) *enarrabile textum* and the underlying concept, which has been a topic of discussion since the commentary of Servius, see Eigler 1994; Eigler 1998, 292-294, 303-305; Laird 1996, pp. 78-80; Putnam 1998, pp. 187-188. It may be that the Vergilian coinage *non enarrabile* is inspired by οὐ τι φηταιός in the descriptions of the

5. The person who hands over the shield to the hero is, in the *Iliad* and the *Aeneid*, his mother, Thetis (*Il.*, 19, 1-13) or Venus (*Aen.*, 8, 608-616) respectively; in Carrara's epic, it is Aretia, Columbus' divine protectress (3, 490-497), whereas in Stella's *Columbeis*, Columbus himself gives the helmet to Narilus (2, 180-181). In the *Atlantis resecta* there is no such scene because the shield remains in the possession of Atlantis and serves only as medium of instruction for Columbus in the geography and history of the New World.

6. The occasion on which the weapons are handed over is, in the *Aeneid* and in the *Columbus*, an encounter with a goddess who gives them to the hero, whose protectress she is. Venus appears to Aeneas when he finds the weapons under a tree 'in valle reducta | [...] procul egelido secretum flumine' (*Aen.*, 8, 609-610). Aretia, the personification of Virtue, hands them over in the Vatican-like Palace of Virtues on Teneriffa, where she instructs Columbus in his future task in the New World. In both cases the weapons serve the hero for the imminent wars he has to fight, whereas in Stella's *Columbeis* the helmet is given to Narilus by Columbus as a mere token of friendship but with some clear intention and an implicit message for the receiver. In the *Atlantis resecta* the shield has been in the possession of Atlantis obviously for centuries, without Atlantis or the narrator telling us when she had received it from Vulcan.

7. It has often been observed that the fabrication of a new shield for Achilles was necessary because he had lost his armour having given it to Patroclus who, while fighting in it, was killed by Hector (*Il.*, 16, 818-863); afterwards Hector had taken it from Patroclus (*Il.*, 17, 125; 18, 21 and 82-85).<sup>33</sup> Aeneas does not need a new shield, let alone a complete new set of armour

decorations on the shield in Ps.-Hesiod, *Aspis*, 144 (φόβος) and 161 (δφίων [...] δεινῶν [...] οὐ τι φατειῶν, similarly 230 Γοργόνες [...] οὐ φαταί), though here it simply means 'unutterable, unspeakable' (sc. of horrid objects) or 'ἄσπετος, nefandus' (Russo 1965, p. 135 on v. 230), cf. *ThLL*, V, 2, 543, 68 'non enarrabile (i. ἄσπετον)'; cf. Eichholz 1966/7, p. 47; Becker 1992, 19, 21; Faber 2000, 48-49.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Becker 1964, 115; Griffith 1967/8, 54; Hardie 1986, p. 337; West 1990 (1975/6), p. 295; Eigler 1998, 292. Marg 1957, p. 22 remarks that, strictly speaking, Achilles would not have needed new armour at all because he could have used that of Patroclus who, when he put on Achilles' armour, left his own behind, which should have fitted Achilles, since his armour had fitted Patroclus. But such reasoning is, as Marg hastens to add, against the poetic concept of Homer: Achilles needs for his greatest deed — the killing of Hector — divine armour, and therefore it must be made clear that this armour is worthy of a god.

because since his fights in Troy, his departure from his homeland and during his wanderings he has continued to use the same set of weapons, and he could still have used them during the coming wars in Latium; but surely the importance of these imminent wars for the future history of Rome and the danger of his opponent Turnus require a new and divine set of arms which will help him better to fulfill his divine mission. One should, however, not forget that there were two more and decisive reasons why Aeneas had to receive a new shield: first, on the level of literary imitation and emulation, because Achilles received one in the *Iliad*; and second, on the political level, because the shield of Aeneas and the wars, which with its help he is winning for the future Imperium Romanum of the Augustan period, stand as a symbol for the wars the young Caesar had fought and won on behalf of Rome and for which he too, in 27 B.C., was rewarded by the Senate with a shield, the *Clipeus Virtutis*, bearing the inscription CLVPEVS VIRTVTIS CLEMENTIAE IVSTITIAE PIETATIS ERGA DEOS PATRIAMQVE.<sup>34</sup>

The same is true for the Neo-Latin poets: neither would Carrara's Columbus need new armour because there were no battles he had to fight between his departure from Spain and his landing on Teneriffa. But he, too, needs a shield because Aeneas had one in his model text, the *Aeneid*, and because he will be able to win the wars in the New World and to conquer it for the Spanish Kings only with the new weapons Constantia has made for him on account of the superhuman help they offer (3, 478-479: 'utque ducem Ligurem muniret ad Indica bella | plus quam ope ter-rigena'). In the *Columbeis* and the *Atlantis relecta* the situation is completely different: the helmet for Narilus is neither a necessary weapon nor does it replace a lost or destroyed one, but rather a completely new and unknown piece of armour which he receives from Columbus as a gift; similarly the shield of Atlantis did not have a predecessor nor does it serve for warlike purposes, but it is, as it were, an object of art and a symbol of Atlantis, the personification of the New World, on which that New World is depicted. In both cases the problem of whether the helmet or the shield is necessary for the hero does not arise at all: it is necessary only from the standpoint of literary imitation of the *Aeneid*.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Binder 1971, pp. 278-281; West 1990 (1975/6), pp. 295-296, 303; Hardie 1986, p. 366. Augustus mentions the golden shield in his *Res Gestae*, 34; the inscription is transmitted on a marble copy from Arles from the year 26 B.C. (*CIL*, IX, 5811 = Dessau, *ILS*, 82), one year after the shield had been awarded to him (see Zanker <sup>2</sup>1990, p. 100 fig. 79). Also important is the numismatic evidence: see Binder 1971, p. 270 n.599.

8. The basic difference between the descriptions of the shields in Homer and in Vergil, which was already observed by Servius Auctus (*in Aen.*, 8, 625 [p. 285, 15-20 Th.-H.]) and formed the main criterion for Lessing's praise of Homer over Vergil in ch. 18 of his *Laocoon* (1766),<sup>35</sup> is the fact that the shield of Achilles is described not *after* it has been completed but *while* it is being manufactured, whereas the shield of Aeneas is described *after* its completion, i.e., it is an already existing object of art. None of our Neo-Latin poets followed Homer in this respect, but all three of them imitate Vergil in describing the completed shield or helmet. Only Vergil, trying to integrate into his poem the aspects of the fabrication of the shield from the *Iliad*, split up the Homeric scene into two separate scenes and narrated briefly the manufacturing of the shield in the passage with Vulcan and the Cyclops in the smithy (*Aen.*, 8, 439-453).<sup>36</sup>

9. Consequently, in the *Iliad* the *ekphrasis* of the shield does not form a pause in the story as it does in the *Aeneid*, as Lessing saw already<sup>37</sup>, but is integrated into the story with the result that there is a continuity on both the level of the *récit* and that of the *histoire*. On the other hand, a discrete narrative pause occurs both in the *Aeneid* and in Stella's *Columbeis*. In the *Atlantis relecta* and in Carrara's *Columbus*, however, the *ekphrasis* is interrupted by the questions and remarks of Columbus and the answers of the respective divinities Atlantis and Aretia. In this way the story does continue, if only in the intervals between the larger passages of the narrator's *ekphrasis* which we have in the *Atlantis relecta* and in Carrara's *Columbus* as well.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Lessing 1976, pp. 115-123.

<sup>36</sup> Homer first describes Thetis' visit to Charis and Hephaestus on Mt. Olympus (*Il.*, 18, 369-427), then her request for a new shield for her son (447-461) and finally Hephaestus' fulfilling of this request (*ibid.*, 462-615). The description of the shield is thus integrated into the narrative of its fabrication. Cf. Létoublon 1999, p. 217 on the different handling of the *ekphrasis* by Homer and Vergil with respect to the actual context: 'Homère dramatise la fabrication du bouclier par la nuit et la solitude d'Héphaïstos, et évoque seulement la stupeur admirative du destinataire devant la panoplie merveilleuse, Virgile dédramatise l'attente par la scène de séduction, la fabrication — dont le récit n'est pas fait en détail — se fait dans un joyeux vacarme collectif [...] En somme, Homère dramatise la fabrication de l'objet pour sa valeur symbolique, Virgile dédramatise la fabrication au profit de la psychologie du héros.'

<sup>37</sup> *Laocoon*, 18, in Lessing 1974, p. 122: '[...] so bleibt die Handlung offenbar während demselben stehen.' Cf. Létoublon 1999, p. 216: '... l'épisode de fabrication du bouclier d'Achille, loin de constituer dans l'*Iliade* une pause descriptive gratuite, est au contraire un sommet dans la dramatisation du récit...'

<sup>38</sup> Fowler 1991 states that a 'set-piece description is regularly seen by narratologists as the paradigm example of narrative pause', i.e., 'of a passage at the level of narration to

10. The temporal relation of the scenes on the shield (or helmet) to the viewer in the text varies in the five poems: in Homer, the scenes are contemporary with the characters and the action of the *Iliad*, i.e., the two cities, their population and their activities as well as the rural scenes, are presented by the poet as belonging to the everyday life of the heroes, the warriors and the non-warriors of the *histoire* of the *Iliad*.<sup>39</sup> In the *Aeneid*, the scenes show the future from the descendants of Ascanius (8, 628-629: 'genus omne futurae | stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella') down to Caesar Augustus (8, 678: 'hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar').<sup>40</sup>

Placcius and Carrara closely follow Vergil: on the shield in Carrara's *Columbus*, however, scenes of the present state of the world and of events to come are intertwined: to the future belong the first and last two scenes, showing the kings of Spain from Ferdinand of Aragon (1479-1516) onwards, all the different bearers of the names Charles and Philip (3, 507-516), with Charles V (1516-1556) pointed out by Aretia to him as the most prominent among them (3, 520-533), and further the Indian sub-continent with the discoveries Vasco da Gama was to make between 1497 and 1499 (3, 564-583), and the New World and its conquest by Columbus and the Spaniards (3, 587-612). Columbus even sees his own likeness in full armour while looking at the shield (3, 613-618). To the present time belong the scenes in between depicting the Spanish empire on the Iberian Peninsula and in Italy with their individual kingdoms and the most prominent cities, landscapes, and islands (3, 534-563).

The shield of Atlantis is covered with the American double continent and the adjacent oceans, its flora and fauna, rivers and mountains, the dwellings and settlements of the inhabitants and their life and customs (1079-1102). But suddenly, almost through a miracle (1103: 'ecce oritur

which nothing corresponds at the level of story' (25-26). But he also admits that description is often integrated into and linked with narrative, quoting Lessing's defence of the Homeric shield description, so that 'description is rarely 'pure', because the way that narrative impurity is introduced is often through the figure of an observer' (27).

<sup>39</sup> In this respect it does not matter whether the scenes on the shield reflect the everyday life of the Mycenaean Age in which the Trojan War took place, or, as archaeological studies have shown, that of Homer's own age which the poet had (partially) projected back into the heroic age (Camps 1980, p. 4 speaks of 'the world of an accumulative tradition'). Cf. Fittschen 1973, N p. 17: 'Aber gleichwohl zeigt sich, daß die Umwelt, aus der der Dichter den Stoff für seine Beschreibung gewählt hat, seine eigene gewesen ist. Typisch mykenische Elemente finden sich nicht darunter.'

<sup>40</sup> At that time, in September 31 B.C., the Princeps had not yet received the cognomen 'Augustus': this was not conferred upon him until the meeting of the senate on 16 January 27 B.C.; see also below n. 82.

subitum et visu mirabile monstrum'), the decoration changes from the present pre-Columbian state to the future post-Columbian state of the New World, showing the results of Columbus' discoveries and the Spanish conquest (1103-1156), and also the discoveries of later voyagers such as Francisco Pizarro, Francis Drake, Hernando Cortés and Amerigo Vespucci (1157-1160).

The only exception to this is the helmet in Stella's *Columbeis*, decorated with events lying in the past of both Columbus and Narilus, namely scenes from the *reconquista* of Spain from the Moors under Ferdinand and Isabel between 1485 and 1492 (2, 182-269).

For the reader outside the text, i.e., the 'implied reader'<sup>41</sup>, all these events depicted on the shields and the helmet in the *Aeneid* and the three Neo-Latin epics lie in the past, and the same is true for every single reader, contemporary or later.

11. If we ask how the scenes on the four artworks are arranged and how this arrangement is rendered by the narrator or the person describing it, we find that in all four instances the localisation remains rather vague: in no case is a detailed 'reconstruction' of the decorations on the shields or the helmet possible.<sup>42</sup> Vergil's stereotype formulas *nec procul hinc* (635), *haud procul inde* (642), *hic* (662, 724), *hinc procul* (666), *haec inter* (671), *circum* (673), *in medio* (675), *hinc* (678, 685), *parte alia* (682), *contra* (711)<sup>43</sup> are more or less faithfully taken over by the Neo-Latin

<sup>41</sup> Also 'lecteur abstrait' or 'narrataire': cf. for the varying terminology Genette 1972, pp. 265-267; Genette 1983, pp. 93-100; Lintvelt 1981, pp. 17-18, 27, 30-31.

<sup>42</sup> For Homer and Vergil this was already stated and defended against Boivin and Pope by Lessing 1974, pp. 123-129, and later by Heinze <sup>3</sup>1915, p. 401 n. 1. For attempts to reconstruct the arrangement of the scenes on the shield of Homer see above n. 26; for the shield of Aeneas, already Servius (*in Aen.*, 8, 625 [p. 285, 10-13 Th.-H.]) states: 'bene "non enarrabile": cum enim in clipeo omnem Romanam historiam velit esse descriptam [...], carptim tamen pauca commemorat'. For discussion of the criteria for the selection of the scenes on the shield of Aeneas and their arrangement cf. Eichholz 1966/7; Griffith 1967/8; West 1990 (1975/6), pp. 297-301; Romeuf 1984; Vilatte 1991, 311-322; Thomas 1991, 304-308; Eigler 1994, 148-153; Harrison 1997; Eigler 1998, 296-303; McKay 1998, p. 214; Grebe 2001, pp. 137-141; Miller-Lynn 2003 (an attempt to explain the decorations and to reconstruct their arrangement in terms of Dumézil's Indo-European 'three functions'). A reconstruction of the engravings on the shield of Hannibal in Silius Italicus (*Sil.*, 2, 395-456) was proposed by Küppers 1986, pp. 157-158, 161.

<sup>43</sup> They were already criticised by Lessing 1974, p. 122: '[...] das Gemälde des Schildes [...], welches durch das ewige: Hier ist, und Da ist, Nahe dabei stehet, und Nicht weit davon siehet man — so kalt und langweilig wird, daß alle der poetische Schmuck, den ihm ein Virgil geben konnte, nötig war, um es uns nicht unerträglich finden zu lassen.' Nevertheless Eichholz 1966/7 tried to take these indications more literally and based thereon his theory of chronological movement at various speeds, for which he was duly criticised by Griffith 1967/8, West 1990 (1975/6) and others.

poets.<sup>44</sup> Aeneas' shield has no framing motif on the rim, and among his Neo-Latin followers Placcius and Carrara dispense with one as well; only Stella frames the helmet with the Spanish river Daurus (2, 261-262: 'Addiderat victo labentem flumine Daurum | mollius'), more probably an imitation of the Spanish Ebro on Hannibal's shield in Silius Italicus' *Punica* (2, 449-450: 'Extrema clipei stagnabat Hiberus in ora, | curvatis claudens ingentem flexibus orbem'), than of Okeanos on Achilles' shield (*Il.*, 18, 697-698).

12. The next question is: *Who* is describing the shield or helmet or narrating the scenes depicted on it? In Vergil and his close imitator Stella, it is the main narrator himself who not only *describes* what can be seen but at the same time *explains* what the single scenes mean because neither Aeneas nor Narilus can understand what they see (*Aen.*, 8, 729-730):

Taliam per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,  
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet.

Thus the narrator comments Aeneas' attitude towards the decorations on the shield after he himself has described them at length. This is taken up by Stella's concluding comment (2, 270-273):

His Narilus gaudens donis (quamquam artis et usus  
nescius) intentos oculos per singula volvit<sup>45</sup>  
bellaque fortunasque virum atque ingentia facta  
miratur tacitus.

With these remarks the narrator states laconically that the viewer in the text, for whom the decorations were actually made, did not understand a single item of what he saw. This implies that the description and explanation of the engravings are intended for the reader, with whom the narrator communicates directly over his hero's head.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Stella, *Columbeis*, 2: *illic* (182, 200), *ibi* (186), *parte alia* (198), *dehinc* (208), *nec procul* (213), *hinc* (224), *hic* (227), *prope* (238), *pone* (250), *at circum* (256), *procul inde* (263), *in ora* (267). Placcius, *Atlantis relecta*: *heic* (1079, 1117), *in medio* (1082), *hinc atque hinc* (1083), *undique* (1084), *hinc* (1116, 1136, 1153), *hanc juxta* (1120), *inde* (1140, 1155), *haud procul hinc* (1142), *juxta* (1143). Carrara, *Columbus*, 3: *illic* (507, 541), *infra* (534), *hic* (536, 559), *non longius* (541), *inde* (553), *parte alia* (558), *haec inter* (564).

<sup>45</sup> This phrase occurs in the *Aeneid* before the description of the shield when Aeneas has just received the weapons and lets his eyes wander over the gifts of Vulcan and his mother (*Aen.*, 8, 617-619): 'Ille, deae donis et tanto laetus honore, | expleri nequit atque oculos per singula volvit | miraturque etc'.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Heffernan 1993, p. 31: 'The reading of the shield, then, is the task of the narrator, who mediates between the twelfth century B.C. world of Aeneas and the Augustan age'.



Placcius and Carrara opted for a different approach: In the *Atlantis relecta* the narrator first describes the American double continent and the adjacent oceans depicted on the shield (1079-1085a); he then focusses on Columbus scrutinizing the individual items: flora and fauna, rivers and mountains, the dwellings and settlements of the inhabitants and their life and customs (1085b-1096). With intentional borrowings from Vergil, he says of Columbus: 'mirans haec cuncta | aspicit obtutuque haeret defixus in uno' (1085-1086), 'intentius omnia lustrat' (1087), 'miratur' (1088), 'singula mox ergo inspectat' (1089), 'sedulus [...] lustrat' (1089/1093), 'stupet' (1095).<sup>47</sup> While he is still absorbed in his observations ('Dumque adeo aspectans oculos per singula versat | Christophorus': 1097-1098), the narrator shifts the focus to Atlantis: Columbus listens to her ('Divamque attentis auribus audit': 1098) as she starts to explain the representations on her shield, i.e., she, too, makes it an *enarrabile textum*.<sup>48</sup> The description which follows is, however, given again by the narrator: but he now refers to the speech acts of Atlantis with the verbs *pandentem* (1099) and *monstrantem* (1101) and continues partly by describing on his own the transition from the pre-Columbian to the post-Columbian state of the New World, partly by focussing again on Columbus and describing what *he* sees on the shield. The whole *ekphrasis* ends with a repeated reference to the fact that Columbus (and with him the reader) has until now been listening to Atlantis' explanations: 'Diva audierat memorante Columbus' (1160).

<sup>47</sup> The whole passage *Atlantis relecta* 1085-1101 reads:

Mirans haec cuncta Columbus  
aspicit obtutuque haeret defixus in uno:  
Quoque videt magis atque intentius omnia lustrat  
hoc magis insolitae miratur imaginis umbras.  
Singula mox ergo inspectat: nunc sedulus herbas  
et flores nostrisque ignota animantia terris  
fluminaque herbosos inter labentia colles  
undantesque auro ripas, nunc regia tecta  
et raras urbes atque antra latentia lustrat  
arboreasque domos. Nunc magna mole gigantes  
horrendos stupet et penitus sine veste vagantes  
et foedos mores simul et sacra turpia damnat.  
Dumque adeo aspectans oculos per singula versat  
Christophorus, Divamque attentis auribus audit  
pandentem fines terrarum et nomina prorsus  
horrida, barbaricas populi testantia mentes,  
et Guanahanae monstrantem littora [...].

<sup>48</sup> On this expression see above n. 32.

Carrara is still more sophisticated: he acts in part as an omniscient narrator, describing the shield in the Vergilian way (3, 510-516. 534-566. 587-618), and in part he fashions the *ekphrasis* as dialogue between Columbus and Aretia (3, 516-533. 567-586), who explains the scenes in direct speech to Columbus, answering, as it were, his questions. In the sections where the narrator describes the engravings, he generally focusses on Columbus, through whose eyes he imparts the scenes to the reader.

13. Next we have to ask *how* the *ekphrasis* is being carried out and in which linguistic modes it is presented to the reader. In general four different modes are possible:

a) The subject of the *ekphrasis* is the artist, the manufacturer of the shield or helmet: in this case we have verbs usually in a past tense ('narrating tense'<sup>49</sup>) expressing the process of producing and shaping. Vergil's *ekphrasis* is arranged in this way with *Ignipotens* (Aen., 8, 628. 710) as subject of the verbs *fecerat* (630, 710), *addiderat* (637), *extuderat* (665), *addit*<sup>50</sup> (666), and *finxerat* (726).<sup>51</sup> This procedure is closely followed by Stella who refers to the artist by the synecdoche *docta manus* (2, 185) and uses almost the same verbs as Vergil.<sup>52</sup> Placcius confines this mode of description to the opening phrase 'Hanc (sc. aegida) Deus ignipotens [...] totam fatidicis variaverat usque figuris' (1077-1078), but continues in a different mode (see below). Carrara, in turn, introduces the *ekphrasis* with a similar statement (*Col.*, 3, 504-506): the goddess (sc. Constantia) had selected (*legerat*) the most precious gems, cooked them (*coxerat*) — sc. in order to harden them — in the embers of the stars and engraved them with a long sequence of stories (*longo caelaverat argumento*). In the following section he uses this mode again in several passages: in 3, 549-554<sup>53</sup> he

<sup>49</sup> The difference between narrating tenses ('*erzählende Tempora*') and describing tenses ('*besprechende Tempora*') was argued by Weinrich <sup>2</sup>1971, pp. 28-50; cf. Petersen 1993, pp. 21-30; Pinkster 1983; Pinkster 1998.

<sup>50</sup> To be understood as a historic present (cf. Pinkster 1983, pp. 310-314).

<sup>51</sup> Of the same syntactic quality is the participle *caelatus ferro* (701) with reference to *Mavors* (700), the logical subject of which is *Ignipotens*.

<sup>52</sup> *Fecerat* (184, 229), *finxerat* (257), *addiderat* (261), *caelatus* (sc. *Furor*, 267); only Vergil's *extuderat* (8, 665) has been replaced by *illuserat* (sc. *auro*, 184).

<sup>53</sup> The whole passage reads:

[...] Baetim Sapphirus oliva  
vestibat dederatque Tago diffundere mento  
ars auri pluviam minioque rubescere Mundam  
caedis adhuc memorem Pompeianique cruoris.  
Inde Pyreneos apices viridemque smaragdo  
fecerat Atlantem [...]

says, also by a synecdoche, that the sapphire clothed the Guadalquivir with the olive; that art (sc. Constantia's artful skills) had made gold rain from the chin of the river Tajo and reddened Munda still with the blood of the followers of Pompey<sup>54</sup> and that art had also made the peaks of the Pyrenees and imparted an emerald green hue to Mt. Atlas.

b) The subject of the *ekphrasis* is the viewer in the text, the hero for whom the weapons were made:<sup>55</sup> in this case we have verbs either in a past tense ('narrating tense') or in a present tense ('describing tense') both expressing the process of looking.<sup>56</sup> Vergil uses this mode not in the *ekphrasis* itself but only in the introductory scene when Aeneas receives the weapons from Venus and runs his eyes admiringly over each item. Again he is closely imitated by Stella, who transposes this scene after the *ekphrasis*, where he says that Narilus 'intentos oculos per singula volvit | bellaque fortunasque virum atque ingentia facta | miratur tacitus'

<sup>54</sup> The battle of Munda (north of Gibraltar) on 17 March 45 B.C., in which C. Iulius Caesar defeated the 13 legions of the followers of Cn. Pompeius, marked the end of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

<sup>55</sup> Schmale 2004, pp. 109-110, 113 rightly observes that in Homer's description of the manufacturing of the shield there is no fictional viewer in the text yet present but that this is the case for the first time in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (318) where Zeus is admiring the shield. In the *Aeneid* and the three Neo-Latin epics there is always a viewer in the text, namely Aeneas, Narilus in Stella and Columbus in Placcius and Carrara.

<sup>56</sup> According to Leumann-Hofmann-Szantyr<sup>2</sup> 1972, pp. 300-303, the category 'tempus' had already acquired a very strong position in the Latin language in prehistoric times, so that the temporal qualities of the tenses dominated over those of aspect; this conception, however, has been modified by the studies of Serbat 1975 and Pinkster 1983. Serbat 1975 tried to demonstrate that the present indicative has no temporal quality, but his theories were met with some reservation by Pinkster 1998. See further Pinkster 1999, 708-709 where he comments on the present and perfect forms in the description of the picture on the chlamys in *Aen.* 5, 249-257 and explicitly states: 'In this kind of description the normal tenses are the present [...] and the imperfect (as in A. 1.484 *corpus vendebat Achilles* [sc. in the *ekphrasis* of the temple frieze in Carthage, H.H.], cf. also A. 8.626-731, and Szantyr 1970).' In the *ekphrasis* of Achilles' shield Vergil uses only the present and imperfect tense but never a historical perfect ('aorist'). The pluperfects (*fecerat*, *addiderat*, *extuderat* etc.) designate Vulcan's activities, except *distulerant* in 8, 642 which, in the scene of Mettius, expresses the fact that the *quadrigae* had already torn apart his body the bloody remains of which (as depicted on the shield) Tullus was now dragging through a forest ('raptabatque [...] viscera': 8, 644). Exactly the same usage and distribution of the three tenses (present, imperfect, pluperfect) can be found in Stella's *ekphrasis* of the helmet and in Carrara's *ekphrasis* of the shield (in 3, 588-589: 'longo tum tempore fabula visi | Antipodes patuere', the perfect *patuere* stands for the result, indicating the aspect and not the tense: now that Aretia has turned the shield round, on its reverse have come to light and are therefore visible the (engravings of the) Antipodes, a race which had for a long time been considered a myth. In his description Placcius uses only the present tense (no imperfect or pluperfect). — On the tenses and aspects in the Homeric *ekphrasis* see below p. 164 with n. 63.

(*Col.*, 2, 271-273).<sup>57</sup> In the *ekphrasis* itself, only once do both poets use the expression *cernere erat* (*Aen.*, 8, 676; *Col.*, 2, 188) and the indefinite second person singular of the potential subjunctive of the verbs *aspiceres* (*Aen.*, 8, 650; *Col.*, 2, 202) and *videres* (*Aen.*, 8, 676; *Col.*, 2, 234).<sup>58</sup>

Both modes of expression are absent in Placcius, who has only *cernitur* (1079) as the first word of the *ekphrasis*, and in Carrara. These two poets instead chose to communicate part of the scenes on the shield to the reader through the eyes of Columbus, focalizing him, as it were, and following his gaze. Especially Placcius prefers this technique, using expressions such as 'Mirans haec cuncta Columbus | aspicit' (1085), 'aspicit' (1114, 1134), 'miratur' (1088, 1111), 'singula mox ergo inspectat' (1089), 'lustrat' (1093, 1111), 'stupet' (1095, 1135), 'aspectans oculos per singula versat' (1097), 'vaga lumina motu | deflectit' (1125-1126), 'linquit' (1130, sc. *oculis*), 'transit' (1141, 1147, sc. *oculis*), 'certus percurrere' (1147, sc. *oculis*), and various forms of *videre* ('videt' [1113], 'vidit' [1125], 'viderat' [1157], 'pervidit' [1146]), also in the passive of the objects seen by Columbus ('videntur' [1109], 'videtur' [1115, 1142]), and his lustratis (1161). His Columbus even utters a moral verdict ('damnat' [1096]) when seeing the *foedos mores et sacra turpia* of the inhabitants of the New World.

Carrara follows to a much lesser degree the gaze of Columbus in his *ekphrasis*; he likewise uses verbs and expressions like 'declinat lumen' (3, 534), 'videt' (3, 535. 589), also in the passive ('videbatur' 3, 537. 607), 'cognovit' (3, 613, sc. *se in clipeo*), and 'miratur' (3, 619). In the other sections, where Aretia explains the details of the shield to Columbus, she is not so much describing the scenes as rather explaining the historical

<sup>57</sup> The relevant texts are quoted above on p. 159.

<sup>58</sup> Since *videres* in the *Aeneid* is at the end of the verse which begins with *cernere erat*, one may conclude that these subjunctives are mere stylistic variations on *cernere erat* without any deeper narratological implications. Moreover, the second persons here and in *credas* in *Aen.* 8, 691 can also be understood as an apostrophe to the reader on the same level of authorial comment by the narrator as the parentheses in *Aen.*, 8, 643, 683, 688; cf. Heffernan 1993, p. 31. But *credas* serves also to emphasize the optical illusion and to make the reader aware of the difference between the image and the action represented therein: one could believe that the persons were alive and the action a real one, but it is only an image on an object of art. Similar signals of optical illusion occur in the description of the shield in the *Iliad* (18, 518; 539; 548) and in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (189, 194, 216-218, 244); cf. Kurman 1974, 3 ('imminent quickening of the figures' as a novelty in contrast to Homer); Galand-Hallyn 1994, p. 96. On *credas* cf. also Laird 1993, p. 29; Laird 1996, pp. 80-81, on *aspiceres* and *videres* Eden 1975, p. 171; Williams 1983, p. 153. On the difference between image and action in the Homeric description of the shield see Primavesi 2003, p. 203, in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis*, Schmale 2004, p. 113.

role and function of two figures on the shield: King Charles I of Spain<sup>59</sup> (3, 520-533), and Vasco da Gama (3, 571-586).<sup>60</sup>

c) A third possibility is that the persons and things on the shield or helmet are neither described by another person nor seen through the eyes of one of the characters, but are rather acting on their own as if they were persons in real life and not images on a work of art: in this case they are the (grammatical) subjects of the predicates; the *ekphrasis* changes into narrated and dramatized action. The verbs are either in a 'narrating tense' (usually historical perfect or pluperfect) or in a 'describing tense' (usually *ekphrastic* present or imperfect). The most famous example of this hellenistic type of fictional 'disobedient'<sup>61</sup> *ekphrasis* is, of course, the bedspread in Catullus, 64 where the main person depicted on it, Ariadne, even utters a long lament in direct speech.<sup>62</sup> This tendency towards a dynamization of *ekphrasis* is already foreshadowed in the *Iliad*, where on the shield of Achilles the single scenes tend to take on a life of their own and the persons come alive and are represented by the narrator almost as characters in a dramatic action<sup>63</sup>: the narrator is even able to give an impression of

<sup>59</sup> As German King (since 1519, as successor to his grandfather Maximilian I) and Roman Emperor (since 1530 when he was crowned in Bologna) he was counted Charles V; he abdicated in 1556 and died in 1558.

<sup>60</sup> Both passages show structural and literal coincidences with scenes from the 'Heldenschau' in *Aeneid* VI.

<sup>61</sup> Laird 1993, pp. 19-20; see above n. 26.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. the recent study of Schmale 2004, pp. 139-220, esp. pp. 170-188.

<sup>63</sup> Concerning the Homeric description of the shield of Achilles, Primavesi 2003 reproaches Lessing (1974, p. 125) for maintaining that Homer did not actually *describe* the images on the shield but rather was *telling a story* about each of those images. He holds on the contrary (pp. 195-196) that the narrator does not tell a story but explains a situation depicted on the shield so that the *ekphrasis* does not have a narrative but a situational character. Primavesi refers for his opinion to the Greek verbal system, in which the three aspects (durative, perfect, and aorist) dominate the tenses, and observes, on the one hand, a striking avoidance of the aorist in the *ekphrasis*, and on the other, a strong predominance of durative and perfective verbal forms (pp. 196-198); this leads to the result that in *Il.*, 18, 483-608 there is a clear separation of the language of *ekphrasis* (durative and perfect) and of the language of narration (aorist): the images contain only situations or still ongoing actions but no narrative sequence of events, and therefore one cannot speak of a 'transformation of an image into narrative' as Lessing did. The timelessness of the actions, which on the shield of Achilles is not yet explicitly indicated by the poet, was made explicit for the first time by the author of the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* in describing the chariot race (310-311): 'the contenders for the prize are forever caught, "engaged in an unending toil, and the end with victory never came to them, and the contest was ever unwon"' (Kurman 1974, 3); cf. also Schmale 2004, p. 113 ('eine eingefrorene Szene [...], bei der es kein Vorher und kein Nachher gibt'). — On the tenses and aspects in the *ekphrasis* of Aeneas' shield see above p. 162 with n. 56.

their singing (the wedding-song in 18, 493: πολὺς δ' ὑμέναιος ὀρώρει, or the song of the boy to the accompaniment of the phorminx and the dancing and singing of the people during the grape harvest in 18, 569-572) or shouting (18, 497-498: νεῖκος ἰωρώρει, δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον, 502: λαοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπυνον), of the sound of instruments (18, 495: αὐλοὶ φόρμιγγές τε βοὴν ἔχον), and to render their words in indirect speech as, for instance, in the court-scene in the city in peace (18, 498-501. 506)<sup>64</sup>, or the singing of the two dancers during the final chorus scene (18, 605-606).<sup>65</sup>

This procedure which we find also in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis*<sup>66</sup> is used by Vergil and his Neo-Latin followers as the most convenient form of *ekphrasis*.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Schmale 2004, p. 109. De Jong 1987, p. 118, also refers to the indication of sounds in 18, 569-572; 580 and 586 and the rendering by the narrator of thoughts and emotions of the persons in 18, 510-512; cf. also Schmale 2004, p. 109 on 'innere Vorgänge der Figuren [...], die nicht aus einem äußeren Gestus abgeleitet werden', which allow one to postulate an omniscient narrator. On the problem of speech in *ekphrasis* see also Laird 1993, 21-24.

<sup>65</sup> The lines *Il.*, 18, 604b-605a (= *Od.*, 4, 18b-19a), which mention a rhapsode singing and playing the *phorminx*, do not occur in the mss. but were, according to Athenaeus 5, 180c-181d, removed from the text of the *Iliad* by Aristarchus (who, for that purpose, changed ἐξάρχοντος into ἐξάρχοντες) and inserted into that of the *Odyssey*. F.A. Wolf (*Prolegomena ad Homerum* I [Halle, 1795], pp. 263-264) restored them to the text, Reinhardt 1961, p. 402, Marg 1957, p. 30, Schadewaldt 1965, p. 367 ('ist es nicht Homer selbst?'), p. 480, Forderer 1965, Ritoók 1971, 201-207, Taplin 1980, 9 ('We might feel that the shield would not be complete without him [sc. the αἰοιδός]', 20 n. 27), Simon 1995, p. 125, Aubriot 1999, 39, 44-45 (among many others) consider them authentic, the modern editors (Leaf, Monroe-Allen, West) leave them out; cf. Edwards 1991, pp. 230-231; Primavera 2003, p. 197.

<sup>66</sup> Acoustic illusions (the term used by Palm 1965/6, 121-124; Laird 1993 speaks of 'sonic effects') occur also in the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Aspis* (164: τῶν ὀδόντων καναχή, 242-243 αἱ δὲ γυναικες [...] ὀξὺ βόων, 278-280 of singing and dancing to the accompaniment of instruments and the echo they make, 308-309 of the rattling noise of the chariots and the roaring of the naves, 316: κύκνοι [...] μεγάλ' ἤπυνον); Simon 1995, p. 126 (with reference to Schiering 1992) underlines that 'die Andeutung von Akustischem [...] <gehört> bereits zu minoischen Bildwerken, und archaische Löwenbilder zeigen die Tiere meistens brüllend'. In Latin poetry such acoustic elements occur for the first time in the *ekphrasis* in Cat., 64 with the long lament of Ariadne in direct speech ('Direct speech is not to be found in the narration of any other ancient ecphrasis': Laird 1993, 20) and the arrival of the Bacchantes shouting *euhoie* (255) and making noises with their instruments: drums, cymbals, horns and pipes (261-264); but these sonic effects are in the following two lines (265-266) immediately neutralized and integrated into the descriptive discourse of the cloth: 'Talibus amplifice vestis decorata figuris | pulvinar complexa suo velabat amictu'. This *ekphrasis* in Cat., 64 is qualified by Friedländer 1912, pp. 16-17 as 'Formauflösung'; cf. also Laird 1993; Schmale 2004, pp. 171-172, 187-188, 199-202.

Vergil switches over from the first mode, where the artist is the subject of the *ekphrasis* (8, 637 *addiderat* [sc. *Ignipotens*]) to this mode with the treaty between Romans and Sabines in 8, 639-641:

Post idem inter se posito certamine **reges**  
**armati Iovis ante aram** paterasque tenentes  
**stabant et caesa iungebant** foedera porca,

and continues with the dramatization of other historical tableaux until the end (8, 728): the execution of Mettius Fufetius (642-645):

Haut procul inde citae Mettum in diversa **quadrigae**  
**distulerant** (at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!)  
**raptabatque** viri mendacis viscera **Tullus**  
 per silvam, et sparsi **rorabant** sanguine **vepres**,

the siege of Rome by Porsenna (646-651):

Nec non Tarquinium eiectum **Porsenna iubebat**  
 accipere<sup>67</sup> ingentique urbem obsidione **premebat**:  
**Aeneadae** in ferrum pro libertate **ruebant**.  
 Illum indignanti similem similemque minanti  
 aspiceres, pontem **auderet quia** vellere **Cocles**  
 et fluvium vinclis **innaret Cloelia** ruptis<sup>68</sup>,

and the occupation of Rome by the Gauls (652-662):

In summo **custos Tarpeiae Manlius** arcis  
**stabat** pro templo et Capitolia celsa **tenebat**,  
 Romuleoque **recens horrebat regia** culmo.  
 Atque hic auratis **volitans argenteus anser**  
 porticibus **Gallos in limine adesse canebat**.<sup>69</sup>  
**Galli** per dumos **aderant arcemque tenebant**,  
 defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae:  
 aurea caesaries ollis atque aurea vestis,  
 virgatis **lucent** sagulis, tum lactea colla  
 auro **innectuntur**, duo quisque Alpina **coruscant**  
 gaesa manu, scutis protecti corpore longis.

<sup>67</sup> When in the course of the *ekphrasis* an order given by Porsenna is rendered in indirect speech (accusative + infinitive) we have a similar acoustic illusion in an *ekphrasis* as in the passages in Homer, Pseudo-Hesiod and Catullus discussed; see also below n. 69.

<sup>68</sup> The subjunctives of the imperfects *auderet* and *innaret* can best be explained as subjunctives in a causal clause of a kind of *oratio obliqua*, rendering the thoughts of Porsenna who wondered at the audacity of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia: cf. Eden 1975, p. 171.

<sup>69</sup> Another instance of an acoustic illusion: the geese by their cackling give warning that the Gauls are on the point of scaling the Capitol. This dramatization, however, is at the same time put into perspective because the *anser* is qualified as *argenteus* and through this adjective it is made clear that it is not a real living goose but one engraved on a piece of metal.

In the following tableaux the *ekphrasis* changes between the first and third modes with a strong predominance of the third one, but sometimes with verbs of both modes in the same verse as, for instance, in 663-667:

Hic exsultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos  
lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo  
**extuderat**, castae **ducebant** sacra per urbem  
pilentis matres in mollibus. Hinc procul **addit**  
Tartareas etiam sedes etc.,

or towards the end in 725-726:

hic Lelegas Carasque sagittiferosque Gelonos  
**finxerat**; Euphrates **ibat** iam mollior undis etc.

Stella renders the first seven lines of the *ekphrasis* in the first mode and then switches over to the third mode in the first tableau, the siege of Zahara (2, 189-197):

Nox **favet** insidiasque umbris **defendit** amicis.  
Centum olli scalis adversa in moenia furtim  
expositis somno domitam nec bella caventem  
**irrupunt** armis Zaharam. Simul ilicet **adsunt**  
pallentes Erebi pestes, quas Orcus aperto  
expuerat gremio captaeque immiserat urbi  
exitium; flammas illae ferrumque **ministrant**  
**inspirantque** viris caedes: **fluit** undique sanguis,  
undique mors, nigra Luctusque in veste **vagatur**.

He continues in that mode until the end, but never combines both modes in the same line as Vergil does.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>70</sup> There are, however, two instances where the preceding sentence is in the third mode and the following one in the first mode: cf. 2, 250-257:

Pone **subit** procerum in medio Mendozaus heros  
albo **invectus** equo, cui sacri insigne senatus  
tempora purpureo **fulgent** umbrata galero.  
Illum candenti tenuissima **velat** amictu  
carbasus et certo crispatos ordine flexus  
centum **agit** errabunda sacroque **inserit** ostro.  
At circum extremas nivei subteminis oras  
**finxerat** argento levique **insperserat** auro.

The second one is, as in the *Aeneid*, towards the end of the *ekphrasis* (2, 265-269):

Illuc monstra Erebi regnis expulsa subactis  
antiquas **repetunt** sedes superosque **relinquunt**.  
At Furor angusta galeae **caelatus** in ora  
post tergum aeratis compressus brachia nodis  
arma super **sedet** et victricia vincula **mordet**.



Because of the different technique employed by Placcius and Carrara in their *ekphraseis*, the third mode occurs infrequently. In Placcius, it is usually limited to geographic objects like mountains, rivers, landscapes, and islands<sup>71</sup>; only in two places it is used of people: in 1132-1133 the cannibals of Brasil are depicted as:

[...] saevos homines, non ulla **timentes**  
numina et humanis **complementes** carnibus ora,

and again towards the end of the *ekphrasis* the future colonists of North America are mentioned (1155-1156):

Inde novi BELGAE **degunt** aliique BRITANNI  
et SCOTI FRANCIQUE simul CANADAMQUE **colentes**.

Carrara introduces his *ekphrasis* in this way with King Ferdinand and his successors (3, 512-516):

**Spectat** sua pignora laetus  
inque tot ac tantis modo se cognoscere patrem  
**et** modo **gaudet** avum. Cunctis **partitur** amorem,  
non tamen in cunctos **potis est**, ut dividat ulnas.  
Dextera **stringebat** Carolos et laeva Philippos.

<sup>71</sup> The *ekphrasis* begins with the American double continent (*tellus Atlantica*, 1079) which is described as follows (1080-1084):

[...] **divergit** in austrum  
altera, frigentes ast altera **verberat** Arctos.  
Utramque in medio porrectam **colligat** Isthmus  
rupibus excelsis hinc atque hinc vasta **coërcens**  
aequora, quae sparsae **distinguunt** undique terrae.

The miraculous change of the shield from the pre-Columbian to the post-Columbian state is introduced in the same mode (1104-1108):

Omnia **commutant** faciem, nova singula **surgunt**  
et meliora quidem. Non frondea tecta videntur  
amplius aut duris horrentia sentibus antra:  
Maenia **prosiliunt** et celsis turribus urbes  
et quondam vacuis **emergunt** oppida campis.

Occasionally the islands are even slightly personified as, for instance, in 1116-1117:

Hinc brevibus spaciis MINOR est HISPANIA, **certans**  
MAJORI, [...]

or in 1121-1122:

CUBAque, quae quondam FERDINANDINA vocari  
**maluit** et fulvis aurum **permiscet** arenis.

Furthermore, he uses it for geographic objects, as Placcius does,<sup>72</sup> and also when he describes how Columbus' manner of perception changed after Atlantis began to explain the engravings on the shield to him (3, 607-612):

Namque **videbatur, velut India** limine in ipso  
**obvia tota foret**, regnorum frena suorum  
**traderet** Hispanis cuperetque Hispania dici,  
 quin tamquam obscuras nova lis committeret urbes:  
 De titulis certamen erat, cum **posceret illa**  
 Hispalis, **haec autem mallet** Granata vocari.<sup>73</sup>

The idea of a competition between cities and islands of the New World to be named after those in Europe had certainly been suggested to Carrara by Placcius; but he added the voluntary surrender of the New World (*India*) to Columbus and the Spanish hegemony, for which this personal mode of *ekphrasis* with the countries and cities as personal agents was extremely appropriate.

d) The fourth possibility need not be discussed further because it is a combination of two or three of the foregoing possibilities, and we have just seen the extent to which they are used by Vergil and his Neo-Latin successors. It is, however, important that, by using the first mode (the artist as subject) at the beginning and the end of the *ekphrasis* and in certain passages in between, the narrator always reminds the reader that he is describing a work of art and not telling an independent story. Vergil followed this procedure by incidentally referring to the material quality of the single items on the shield:<sup>74</sup> he uses such phrases as '**auratis** [...]

<sup>72</sup> Cf. 3, 545-546:

Cetera regnorum series argentea longos  
**tenditur** in tractus, [...]

or 3, 558-559:

Parte alia scopulis muralibus Appenninus  
**erigit** Italiam [...]

or 3, 561-563:

[...] Tribus **exit** in aethera linguis  
 Trinacris, Hesperiae quae regum in bella fragosam  
**submittit** Liparen et fabrum fulminis antrum.

<sup>73</sup> The wish of 'India' and two cities in the New World to lay aside their old names and to be called by European names of the Spanish Kingdom can be imagined as utterances in a vivid competition; in this sense, they would form the only case of acoustic illusion (see above n. 66 and 69) in the Neo-Latin poems. The scene reminds one slightly of the two cities on the shield of Achilles and of the *νεῖκος* there.

<sup>74</sup> Vergil here follows Homer, in whose *ekphrasis* some of the objects are also characterized by the quality of the material used by Hephaestus for the fabrication of the shield: the *golden* figures and garments of Ares and Pallas Athene (18, 517), the *golden* vineyards

porticibus' (8, 655-656), 'argenteus anser' (8, 655), 'aurea caesaries, [...] aurea vestis' (8, 659), 'lactea colla | auro innectuntur' (8, 660-661), 'tumidi [...] maris [...] imago | aurea' (8, 671-672), 'argento clari delphines' (8, 673), 'auroque effulgere fluctus' (8, 677), 'saevit medio in certamine Mavors | caelatus ferro' (8, 700-701).<sup>75</sup> Stella alone, it seems, used this form of expression and only once: 'anteit | armatas acies [...] Iacobus | candidus aurato [...] ferro' (*Col.*, 2, 204-206).

14. The next question concerns the relation of the scenes on the shield or helmet to the action of the surrounding context and the poem in general.

In the *Aeneid* and in Stella's *Columbeis* the scenes have no *direct* bearing on the events that precede the description or follow it, nor on the action of the epic as a whole: rather they show events that lie either in a distant future or in a past unknown to the receiver of the gift and therefore beyond the horizon of both Aeneas and Narilus: neither of them can understand the contents and meaning of the engravings, as the narrator emphasizes.<sup>76</sup> In

(18, 561-562), the *silver* poles for the vine tendrils (18, 563), the cattle *made of gold and tin* (18, 573-574), the *golden* herders (18, 577), or the *golden* daggers of the youths (18, 598).

<sup>75</sup> *Aen.* 8, 700-701 is ambiguous because instead of *Mavors ferreus* the narrator says *caelatus ferro*, referring with *caelatus* to the artistic activity of the manufacturer of the shield; through the enjambement, however, the fact that raging Mars is not a real person but part of the decoration on the shield comes somewhat by surprise. Similar is Stella's 'Furor [...] caelatus [...] arma super sedet' (2, 267-269), but *caelatus* is here further qualified by the position of Furor on the narrow rim of the helmet ('angusta galeae in ora': 2, 267); cf. West 1990 (1975/6), pp. 299-300; Heffernan 1993, pp. 32-33.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. *Aen.*, 8, 730: 'rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet', and Stella, *Col.*, 2, 270-271: 'His Narilus gaudens donis (quamquam artis et usus | nescius)'; cf. Binder 1971, pp. 270-274; Dubois 1982, pp. 47-48; Eigler 1994, 151-155; Putnam 1998, pp. 153-155. — It has always been a matter of controversy why Aeneas does not recognize any of the scenes on the shield although he should have been prepared for them by the various prophecies he has received in the course of his journey from Troy to the Tiber. Especially in the second part of Anchises' speech, the so-called 'Heldenschau', Aeneas has become acquainted with quite a few facts and persons of the later history of Rome who reappear on the shield, among them the descendants of Ascanius-Iulus (the early kings of Alba Longa and Rome), and above all Augustus Caesar (6, 792; 8, 678), but he seems not to remember them any more: on this feature of Aeneas' character see Herzog 1993, who underlines the fact that 'Schildbeschreibung und Heldenschau so kunstvoll variiert sind, daß keine Figur und keine Kleinszene eine präzise Dublette haben' (p. 114 n. 168). Nevertheless the general implications of both should have given Aeneas at least a clue to the meaning of the decorations and the identification of some of the scenes on the shield: 'Die Waffen des Vulcan [...] tragen auf dem Schildbuckel die geschichtliche Zukunft Roms *noch einmal* dargestellt. Aeneas aber *erkennt sie nicht mehr*' (Herzog 1993, pp. 114-115, with his italics). On the relations of the decorations on Aeneas' shield to the action of the *Aeneid* and Vergil's own time, the Augustan age, the bibliography is vast: see Heinze <sup>3</sup>1915, pp. 400-403; Becker 1964, 116-118, 121-126; Binder 1971, pp. 150-282 *passim*; Romeuf 1984, 148-149; Eigler 1994, 153-154; Putnam 1998, pp. 158-180. Galand-Hallyn 1994, p. 91 sees in the

Placcius and Carrara the scenes contain prophecies for Columbus and his enterprise, revealing to him the nature of the New World, his own successful discoveries and the future history of the new continent under Spanish rule.<sup>77</sup> They are therefore necessary elements of his mental preparation for his own discoveries, just as the shield which he receives from Aretia is necessary for his military preparation.

15. Finally we may ask for whom the scenes on the shield or helmet are meant, who their addressee is: he who receives the shield, the viewer in the text, or the viewer outside the text, i.e., the reader?<sup>78</sup>

a) In Vergil and Carrara it is explicitly stated that the artists — respectively Vulcan and Constantia — have made the shield respectively for Aeneas and Columbus. In Placcius, it is stated only that Vulcan has made the shield, that it belongs to Atlantis, the personification of the fourth continent, and that the scenes on it depict the land and the peoples of the fourth continent; it is not however stated that the shield was made for Atlantis in order that she might unveil it to Columbus and encourage him during the last and most difficult stage of his voyage in search of new lands. In Stella's *Columbeis*, nothing indicates by whom or for whom the helmet was made: it appears suddenly in the hands of Columbus as a gift for Narilus, but we do not know whether Columbus had commissioned it at home in Spain for such a purpose or whether it was part of his own armour and the admiral gave it to Narilus out of a sudden impulse of gratitude for help and accommodation and as a token of friendship, as the narrator says (2, 181), in order to ensure friendly relations for the future settlements and commerce between Spain and these islands.

b) As indicated above, in Vergil and Stella the persons who receive the shield or the helmet respectively do not understand the meaning of the decorations, but rather enjoy their beauty: they are only conscious of their esthetic quality, not their message.<sup>79</sup> It is the narrator who finally says of

scenes 'une mise en abîme prospective: la suite pure et simple de l'épopée virgilienne'. Becker 1995, pp. 4-5, sees *ekphrasis* in general in terms of a 'mise en abîme'. As a poetic *tropos* the 'mise en abîme' was described for the first time by Dällenbach 1977.

<sup>77</sup> It is a curiosity of the *Atlantis relecta* and of Carrara's *Columbus* that Columbus is informed by his divine protectresses Atlantis and Aretia that he will discover a new continent, i.e. North and South America, whereas the historical Columbus never ceased to believe that he had reached the islands east of Asia and the eastern shore of Asia and never realized that he had discovered a new continent. The same applies to the final prophecy by Urania to her son Columbus in the closing myth of Giannettasio's didactic poem *Nautica* (8, 633-1060): cf. Hofmann 1993 and Hofmann 1994, pp. 634-644.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Fowler 1991, 31.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Herzog 1993, p. 115 and above n. 76.

Aeneas 'attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum' (*Aen.*, 8, 731). Therefore Aeneas and Narilus cannot be the addressees of the description because the narrator does not speak to them but over their heads directly to the reader. In Placcius and Carrara, however, the person who gazes at the shield (and, in Carrara, receives it) is also the addressee of the description: at first the two Columbi may not understand the scenes on the shield but these scenes are nevertheless subsequently explained to them — in Carrara in response to the hero's explicit inquiries — by the goddess (Atlantis and Aretia respectively). Therefore Carrara's Columbus, when taking up the shield, can, because of his recently acquired knowledge, exclaim: 'Armamur mundo, cui bella movemus' (3, 626).

c) This leads to the conclusion that, in both the *Aeneid* and the *Columbeis*, the scenes contain a message directed to the contemporary reader of these epics.<sup>80</sup> In the *Aeneid* it is, simply speaking, the history of Rome from the descendants of Ascanius, through the founders Romulus and Remus and a selection of some memorable and important events of its history<sup>81</sup> down to the victory of Augustus Caesar (8, 678) in the battle of Actium and his triumph in 29 B.C.<sup>82</sup> This finale is the climax of the decipherment of the shield for both Augustan and later readers; it glorifies not only the greatness of the Roman Empire and its peace regained after the civil wars, but also the Princeps as direct descendant of Aeneas and Ascanius, and establishes the lineage of the *gens Iulia* in its claims to Trojan origin.

Standing in contrast to the glorious future on Aeneas' shield (from the point of view of its fabrication) is the glorious past on the helmet bestowed on Narilus. The scenes from the last years of the *reconquista* and the expulsion of the Moors from Spain are certainly conceived by the narrator as

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Eigler 1994, 154; Eigler 1998, 294: 'Wenn die Schildbilder für Aeneas nicht deutbar sind, für wen denn dann? [...] für Vergil und seine Zeitgenossen. [...] Der Schild bleibt für den Betrachter in der erzählten Zeit stumm, nicht aber für den in der Erzählzeit befindlichen Leser, dieser versteht die Botschaft.'

<sup>81</sup> It is an old problem of the interpreters of Vergil that, on the one hand, the narrator in 8, 626-630 announces 'res Italas Romanorumque triumphos and genus omne futurae | stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella' as the subject of the decorations but that in the *ekphrasis* the narrator presents only a selection of events mainly from the early republic and, in the great finale, Actium and the triumph of 29 B.C. On this problem see, for instance, Quinn <sup>2</sup>1969, pp. 49-58, 196; Harrison 1997 and the literature quoted above n. 42.

<sup>82</sup> In 29 B.C., however, the young Caesar ('Octavianus') had not yet received the name 'Augustus' (see above n. 40), nor was the Palatine temple of Apollo, at whose entrance Augustus is represented sitting, dedicated until 9 October 28 B.C.; this shows that Vergil writes from a point of view after January 27 B.C. and presupposes a reader of that same period.

a warning to Narilus and his people not to offer resistance to the Spaniards and to the annexation of their lands to the Spanish Empire, for otherwise they must expect a fate similar to the Moors in Spain. To what extent Narilus understands this warning remains unclear: the contemporary reader, however, will have understood the Spanish claim to rule in the new realm of the 'Indies' that after 90 years of colonisation could no longer be challenged without falling victim to the Spanish war machine.

A second message for contemporary and future readers can, however, also be detected in the descriptions of Placcius and Carrara. Their picture of the colonisation of the New World and its post-Columbian history is a legitimisation of the Spanish conquest that will bring — or rather, at the time when Placcius and Carrara were writing their epics, had already brought — civilisation and the Christian religion to the uncivilized and barbarian pagans there. As in the *Aeneid*, the reader is invited to join the narrator (and implied author) in his admiration and to adopt his views of the lawfulness of the colonisation and its blessings both for Europe and the 'Indies'.

Therefore one may say that in all four epics the function of the descriptions transcends the primary scope of the description of an artwork made by a god for the hero in order to arm him for the battles he must fight.

If, finally, we accept the challenge of judging which of the Neo-Latin Columbus poets should be awarded the laurel of the best poet with the best *ekphrasis*, we may certainly say that Stella is rather conservative in his ekphrastic technique and the most Vergil-like of the three. Placcius and Carrara go far beyond the Vergilian model through greater variation of ekphrastic and narrative techniques, and by including the person who gave the shield as a gift to the hero, and the viewer of the shield in its description. Carrara goes still further by fashioning part of the description as a dialogue between Columbus and Aretia — a procedure we do not find in any of the *ekphraseis* in antiquity. Perhaps it is he who has the best claim to the laurel.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> I am much indebted to Eric Kuchle (Heidelberg), Prof. Andrew N. Dyck (Los Angeles) and Prof. William McCuaig for the correction of the English text. Earlier versions of this paper were read at the Symposium Cumanum 2006 'The Vergilian Tradition: Manuscripts, Texts and Reception' at the Villa Vergiliana in Cuma in June 2006, at the Institute for Literary Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest in April 2007, and at the fourth conference 'Texts and Contexts: The Role of Latin in Early Modern Europe' at the Aarhus University Conference Centre in Sandbjerg Estate in May 2007. I am most grateful to the organizers of the two conferences, Prof. Patricia A. Johnston and Prof. Marianne Pade, and to Prof. László Szörényi and Dr. Enikő Békés (Budapest) for their invitations and to the various audiences for discussion and helpful comments.

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Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen  
Philologisches Seminar  
Wilhelmstraße 36  
D-72074 Tübingen  
heinz.hofmann@uni-tuebingen.de

José María MAESTRE MAESTRE

EL BROCENSE CONTRA EL INGLÉS HENRY JASON:  
UNA NUEVA INTERPRETACIÓN DE LA PARADOJA *LATINE*  
*LOQVI CORRVPIT IPSAM LATINITATEM* Y DE SUS  
POSTERIORES CAMBIOS TEXTUALES

Sin lugar a duda, uno de los textos más conocidos por los estudiosos de la latinidad renacentista e incluso por muchos de los profesionales de la Filología Clásica hispana es la famosa paradoja del Brocense *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem*. Pero esa paradoja que tantas y tantas veces ha sido utilizada como prueba de que en la España del Renacimiento no se hablaba latín no ha sido abordada hasta ahora con la profundidad necesaria por ningún investigador: nadie ha explicado satisfactoriamente hasta hoy por qué exactamente y contra quién escribió tan interesante opúsculo el humanista extremeño, ni nadie ha estudiado hasta ahora de manera conjunta y de forma correcta los distintos cambios textuales introducidos en la segunda de las dos redacciones que tuvo la obra, ni nadie, en fin, ha escudriñado la causa de que esas modificaciones fueran sacadas a la luz por nuestro compatriota en una segunda versión publicada nueve años después de la primera.

Nuestra presente ponencia dará luz a todas esas interrogantes hasta el punto que nos atrevemos a afirmar (y perdonémosen la posible falta de modestia) que en los estudios sobre la célebre paradoja<sup>1</sup> de Sánchez habrá

\* Dedizamos este trabajo a la memoria de la Dra. Dña. M<sup>a</sup>. José López de Ayala, excelente latinista y buena amiga, que tanto trabajó, además, como primera Secretaria que fue de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos. Aclaremos, por otra parte, que nuestro trabajo, realizado en el seno del Proyecto de Investigación BFF2003-01367 de la DGICYT, fue presentado en España como ponencia plenaria por invitación en el *IV Congreso de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos (Medina del Campo 22-24 mayo de 2003)*. Agradecemos, finalmente, al Dr. D. J. Gil Fernández, nuestro maestro, la ayuda prestada durante su realización, así como a los Drs. D. G. Tournoy, D. D. Sacré y D. M.A. Díaz Gito la atenta lectura que ha realizado de nuestro original y las sugerencias con que lo ha enriquecido.

<sup>1</sup> Cf., además de la obra de J. Gómez de la Cortina, Marqués de Morante que encontramos en la nota 4, de los estudios de P.U. González de la Calle que citamos en las notas 47, 57 y 103, del artículo de L. Ruiz Fidalgo y L. de Cañigral, que recogemos en la nota

un antes y un después marcado por la ponencia que tan amablemente se nos ha invitado a presentar en este IV Congreso de la Sociedad de Estudios Latinos.<sup>2</sup>

## 1. Historia del texto

Como es sabido, la famosa paradoja<sup>3</sup> del Brocense se publicó tres veces en el Renacimiento: en 1578 vio la luz por primera vez como pasquín y con el título de *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem*<sup>4</sup>; en 1582 volvió a reimprimirse como paradoja y con el mismo título y texto anterior<sup>5</sup>;

4, y de las investigaciones de J.M<sup>a</sup>. Núñez González, que hallará el lector en las notas 8 y 107, los trabajos de P.U. González de la Calle, *Oración inaugural del curso académico de 1912 a 1913* (Salamanca: Imp. y Lib. de Francisco Núñez, 1912), p. 40; *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas. Su vida profesional y académica. Ensayo biográfico* (Madrid, 1923), pp. 104-105; y de F. Martínez Cuadrado, 'Ideas pedagógicas del Brocense', *Alcántara*, 6 (1985), 192-194.

<sup>2</sup> Advertimos que la ponencia que presentamos al citado Congreso, con el título de 'El latín como lengua viva en el Renacimiento: el Brocense versus Henry Jason', era mucho más extensa. Por comprensibles razones de espacio nos hemos visto obligados a dividir nuestra investigación en dos partes: en el trabajo que ahora sacamos a la luz, abordaremos los objetivos arriba expuestos, y, en otro, que en principio se intitulará 'De disquisitione responsoria Henrici Jason, ingenuarum artium professoris, in magistri Francisci Sanctii editam assertionem de non loquendo Latine' y aparecerá en J.M. Maestre Maestre – J. Pascual Barea (eds.), *Acta selecta XI Conventus Academiae Latinitati Fovendae (Alcagnicii – Ampostae, 24-28 Iulii 2006)* (Romae – Alcagnicii – Ampostae: Academia Latinitati Fovendae — Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, en prenta) haremos un estudio de conjunto y una valoración del opúsculo del maestro inglés.

<sup>3</sup> En la impresión en forma de pasquín el opúsculo sanctiano no recibe el nombre de *paradoxon*, pero debemos señalar que ya en 1578 Henry Jason alude a la misma con tal calificativo (cf. los textos a los que se refieren las notas 76 y 131).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. L. Ruiz Fidalgo – L. de Cañigral, 'Un impreso desconocido del Brocense: la paradoja segunda', *Minerua*, 3 (1989), 289-297. Para una descripción bibliográfica del mismo, cf. *ibid.*, 290-291. Finalmente, aunque aceptamos la condición de pasquín formulada por los referidos investigadores (cf. *ibid.*, 289-290), creemos conveniente recordar también las siguientes palabras del Marqués de Morante, *Biografía del maestro Francisco Sánchez "El Brocense"* (Madrid, 1859) (reed. Cáceres, Institución Cultural "El Brocense". Excma. Diputación Provincial), pp. 33-34 (= *Catalogus librorum doctoris d. Joach. Gomez de la Cortina, March. de Morante, qui in aedibus suis exstant* (Matriti: Apud Eusebium Aguado, Aulæ Regiae Typographum, 1859), pp. 701-702): 'Trató el Brocense de corregir tan grave mal, y al efecto publicó en 1578 un interesante opúsculo, impreso en pliego de marca y en la forma misma de las *Thesis* que se sustentaban en los actos públicos'.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Paradoxa Francisci Sanctii Brocensis in inclyta Salmanticensi academia primarii rhetorices Graecaeque linguae doctoris* (Antuerpiae: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1582), pp. 27-35. Aclaremos que, aunque prácticamente idéntico — y de ahí que hablemos de dos y no de tres versiones del opúsculo —, el texto publicado en 1582 tiene también alguna pequeña, pero importante variante respecto al de 1578, como señalamos en la nota 44.

por último, en 1587 apareció de nuevo como capítulo final de la *Minerua* con el título de *Qui latine garriunt corrumpunt ipsam Latinitatem* y con determinadas variantes textuales tanto en la carta-prefacio como en el cuerpo de las *Responsiones* de nuestro humanista.<sup>6</sup>

## 2. Síntesis de la paradoja *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem*<sup>7</sup>

En las dos primeras ediciones de la paradoja ésta comienza con una carta preliminar de Sánchez a sus discípulos, en la que, tras señalar que no había querido hacer pública su negativa a que se hablara en latín para no contribuir a difundir aun más la tacha de bárbara que daban los extranjeros a España, y después de recordar que el propio Pietro Bembo, instaurador de la latinidad en Italia, se oponía también a la citada práctica<sup>8</sup>, arremete contra unos desconocidos *ludimagistri* a los que culpa de haber tenido que sacar a la luz, en contra de su voluntad, un documento dando a conocer su parecer sobre esa cuestión. A renglón seguido, tras exponer las opiniones de Hernán Núñez ‘el Pinciano’<sup>9</sup> y de Jerónimo

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Sánchez Salor – C. Chaparro Gómez (eds.), *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas. Minerua o De causis linguae Latinae libri I, III, IV* (Introducción y edición E. Sánchez Salor), *Liber II* (edición C. Chaparro Gómez) (Cáceres, 1995), pp. 672-680. Aclaremos que en el aparato crítico de esta magnífica edición encontrará el lector los cambios textuales introducidos por el Brocense respecto a la primera edición de la paradoja.

<sup>7</sup> Señalamos que para nuestra breve síntesis hemos utilizado en la medida que hemos podido la elegante traducción de la segunda versión de la paradoja realizada por E. Sánchez Salor en la edición de la *Minerua* que citamos en la nota anterior. Por otra parte, para una síntesis de las principales ideas del texto de la paradoja en la segunda versión, remitimos al lector a nuestro trabajo ‘De Latine loquendi controuersiis in Hispania (saec. XVI)’, en A. Capellán García – M<sup>a</sup>. D. Alonso Saiz (eds.), *Acta selecta X Conuentus Academiae Latinitati Fouendae (Matriti, 2-7 septembris 2002)* (Matriti: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos de Alcañiz, 2006), pp. 81-110, donde encontrará, además, una visión de conjunto del problema del latín como lengua viva en el Renacimiento hispano.

<sup>8</sup> Recuérdesse que Pietro Bembo se hizo famoso, dentro de la segunda batalla del ciceronianismo, por su defensa, frente a Giovanfrancesco Pico de la Mirandola, de la imitación de Cicerón más pura posible (cf. J.M<sup>a</sup>. Núñez González, *El ciceronianismo en España* (Valladolid: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Valladolid, 1993), pp. 18-23): aunque paradójicamente el humanista italiano pasó a la historia por su defensa del toscano del Trecento como base del uso literario de la lengua vulgar, sin embargo, en el caso del latín, entendía que debía ser ‘clásico’ y, por tanto, no admitía un uso vulgar del mismo.

<sup>9</sup> Tengamos presente que el Pinciano fue profesor de la Universidad de Salamanca desde el curso 1522-23 hasta el 8 de enero de 1548 en el que el Claustro salmantino le declara jubilado (cf. M.D. de Asís, *Hernán Núñez en la historia de los estudios clásicos* (Madrid, 1977), pp. 52-65): el Brocense sacaba así la autoridad de uno de los más grandes filólogos que pasaron por el Estudio General salmantino.

Osorio<sup>10</sup>, contrarias también al uso del latín hablado, y después de afirmar que nada más contrario a un discurso bien limado que el hablar en latín de repente, se dirige a sus discípulos para pedirles que confíen en él, como experto maestro<sup>11</sup>, antes que en aquellos locos que parlotaban en latín por todas partes.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Jerónimo Osorio fue un afamado erudito portugués que nació en Lisboa (1506-1580). A los trece años marchó a estudiar a Salamanca, a los veintidós a París, donde cursó filosofía y fue compañero de San Ignacio de Loyola. Después pasó a Bolonia, donde destacó por sus conocimientos de lengua hebrea. Por su elocuencia fue conocido como el 'cicerón portugués'. Su dominio del latín fue tal que Alfonso García Matamoros escribió: 'Sono et numero orationis leniter demulcet aures, ut hac una possit singulari uirtute cum Lactantio et Christophoro Longolio et quouis alio Ciceroniano non iniuria certare' (cf. J. López de Toro (ed.), *Alfonso García Matamoros. "Pro adserenda Hispanorum eruditione"* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1943), p. 206, parág. 96). Para más información, cf. *ibid.*, p. 261, así como Nicolás Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana noua siue Hispanorum scriptorum qui ab anno MD ad MDCLXXXIV florere notitia* (Matriti: Apud Ioachimū de Ibarra typographum regium, 1783), I, 592-594.

Respecto a la referencia a Osorio realizada por el Brocense cabe señalar, por otra parte, que con ella nuestro compatriota no sólo sacaba a la palestra la autoridad de un afamado ciceroniano que había estudiado en Salamanca, sino también, posiblemente, la de un ilustre erudito portugués: pensamos, en definitiva, en la posibilidad de que Sánchez tuviera presentes los muchos alumnos portugueses que por su obvia proximidad geográfica estudiaban en la Universidad salmantina.

<sup>11</sup> Recuérdese que el Brocense se convirtió en Maestro en Artes el 21 de febrero de 1573 y que, de acuerdo con la nomenclatura académica del Renacimiento, el título de Doctor se reservaba para las facultades de Medicina y Leyes (cf. González de la Calle, *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas*, pp. 132-133): en consecuencia, traducimos el término latino *doctor* por 'maestro' y no por 'doctor' (cf. et P. Valero García, *La Universidad de Salamanca en la época de Carlos V* (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1988), p. 168).

<sup>12</sup> 'Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis auditoribus suis s.

Quum multa hactenus in uulgis ediderim, reuerentia Hispaniae matris impeditus sum, ne inter illa et hoc documentum de abusu Latine loquendi insererem, ne uidelicet nomen barbarae, quod fortasse immerito apud exterarum nationum acquisiuit, hoc etiam peccato propalato confirmaretur. Quis enim iam doctorum Latine loquitur, praecipue apud Italos, postquam Petrum Bembum, Latinae linguae instauratorem, Latine loquentes audiuit execrantem? Sed tanta est stultorum hominum et praecipue ludimagistrorum peruersitas, ut quo magis admoneantur, eo diutius in imbibita opinione perseuerent. Quare mihi temperare non potui, quoniam illi mihi iam crebro stomachum mouerunt, quin etiam cum Hispaniae nostrae nota, quae in hoc tam crasso errore diutius occupetur, hanc assertionem in uulgis comprobata emitterem. Hoc idem iam ante me asseruit Ferdinandus Pintianus Graece et Latine impense doctus. Hieronymus certe Osorius, si se loquentiae omnino tradidisset, non exculta illa et numerosa oratione tantopere ualuisset. Nihil est enim quod ita repugnet limitae orationi quam illa extemporalis loquendi profluuiis. Quare uos, auditores charissimi, experto doctori credentes stilum diligenter exercete, uerbaque Latina passim effutientes communi sensu carere affirmare ne dubitetis. Vale' (citamos, tanto en el caso de este texto como en el de los demás de la primera edición de la paradoja que aparecerán a lo largo de nuestro trabajo, por el ejemplar del pasquín encuadernado al final de la *Disquisitio responsoria*... de H. Jason que se conserva en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia con la signatura 9/5792 (cf. nota 64) y que el lector puede consultar también a través de Ruiz Fidalgo – de Cañigral, 'Un impreso', 297).



Acabada la carta-prefacio, encontramos seis respuestas a seis objeciones, que el Brocense introduce sin aclarar quién es su autor.

a) En la primera objeción se afirma, poniendo a Columela como autoridad, que los maestros de las artes son el uso y la experiencia, y que no hay ninguna disciplina en la que no se aprenda cometiendo errores.<sup>13</sup> El Brocense replica:

1. El agrónomo romano llevaba razón al hablar de las artes, pero el hablar latín no es un arte.<sup>14</sup>
2. Es necesario distinguir, siguiendo a Quintiliano, entre hablar bien en latín y hablar con congruencia gramatical.<sup>15</sup>
  - 2.1. No basta con buscar expresiones latinas, sino que hay que añadir exquizez en la unión de las palabras: decimos ‘habere orationem’ y no ‘facere orationem’, ‘agere gratias’ y no ‘facere gratias’.<sup>16</sup>
  - 2.2. Quienes, creyéndose encima doctos, escriben ‘Vigilant milites in monte’ en lugar de ‘speculantur de monte’, ‘tentat frangere aciem’ en lugar de ‘conatur aciem perrumpere’ o ‘dimisit suos milites’ en lugar de ‘dimisit copias’ o ‘dimisit exercitum’, esos practican la lengua, pero no el estilo latino.<sup>17</sup>

b) La segunda objeción parte del supuesto de que, debido a las frecuentes discusiones en distintas disciplinas, conviene hablar asiduamente en latín.<sup>18</sup> El humanista formula en su contra las dos siguientes consideraciones, en la segunda de las cuales vuelve a hacer hincapié de nuevo en la importancia de expresarse en latín con estilo:

<sup>13</sup> “‘Vsus et experientia dominantur in artibus nec ulla est disciplina in qua non peccando discatur. Nam ubi quid perperam administratum cesserit improspere, uitatur quod fefellerat, illuminatque rectam uiam docentis magisterium”. Haec Columella lib. I, cap. I [= Colum., 1, 1, 16]’.

<sup>14</sup> ‘Vere et sapienter Columella, si de artibus loquaris, sed Latine loquendi nulla est ars. Hoc enim obseruatione rerum innumerabilium constat’.

<sup>15</sup> ‘Grammatica, musica, rhetorica et similes errando addiscuntur, sed, ut inquit Fabius lib. I, cap. 6, “Aliud est Latine loqui, aliud grammaticae loqui”’.

<sup>16</sup> ‘Nec enim satis est Latinas quaerere dictiones; delectus adhibendus est in uerborum coniunctione, quem isti locutuleii miris modis dilacerant. Non enim quicquid Latinum est, statim Latine dicitur. “Habere orationem” dicimus, non “facere”; “uerba facere”, non “agere”; “agere gratias”, non “facere”’.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Quid dicam de illis qui sibi docti uidentur et passim habentur? Quidam enim ex illis scripsit: “Vigilant milites in monte pro speculantur de monte, tentat frangere aciem pro conatur aciem perrumpere, dimisit suos milites pro dimisit copias seu exercitum”, [...] Sic itaque loquuntur qui linguam, non stilum exercent’.

<sup>18</sup> ‘Propter crebras in uariis disciplinis disputationes Latino sermone assidue loquendum’.

1. Las discusiones serias y de peso deben ponerse por escrito y no lanzarse al viento.<sup>19</sup>
2. No debemos acostumbrarnos a usar expresiones como ‘noleitas’, ‘uoleitas’, ‘per modum praeteritionis’, ‘dico quod’ o ‘nota quod Pappa habet aures’.<sup>20</sup>

c) En la tercera objeción se afirma que, si alguien desea hablar francés, aprenderá a hablarlo bien en Francia.<sup>21</sup> El Brocense presenta en contra tres argumentos, el segundo de los cuales guarda relación de nuevo con la cuestión de expresarse en latín con estilo:

1. No se pueden comparar las demás lenguas con el latín, que ya no se habla.<sup>22</sup>
2. En el Renacimiento sólo cabía recurrir a los libros, si se quería escribir en latín con pureza.<sup>23</sup>
3. Que lo mismo sucedía con el griego y con el hebreo, que se aprendían no para hablarlos, sino para escribirlos.<sup>24</sup>

d) La cuarta objeción señala que de la misma manera que los niños pequeños balbucean ‘papas’, ‘mamas’ y ‘taytas’ y después se corrigen, así quien habla mal en latín también podrá expresarse bien después.<sup>25</sup> El rétor extremeño replica que, siguiendo la autoridad de Quintiliano, no se debe enseñar a los niños expresiones que luego tengan que desechar.<sup>26</sup>

e) En la objeción quinta se parte del supuesto de que, si hablar latín no fuese bueno, no sería recomedado por todos y las propias Universidades

<sup>19</sup> ‘Serias et graues disputationes litteris, non uentis debere mandari quis est qui ignoret, nisi clamosus disputator aut cerebrosus uociferator?’.

<sup>20</sup> ‘An ideo semper assuescendus est loquelae, ut postea dicamus “noleitas”, “uoleitas”, et per “modum praeteritionis”, “dico quod”, et “nota quod Pappa habet aures”? Quod, si talis urgeat necessitas, qui Latine scripserit, blaterones superabit’.

<sup>21</sup> ‘Si quis linguam Gallicam assequi studeat, optime illam cum Gallis loquendo comparabit’.

<sup>22</sup> ‘Dissimile admodum est linguarum aliquam cum Latina, quae iam nulla est, comparare’.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Sed nunc soli sunt libri ad quos recurrendum est, si pure Latine scribere uelimus’.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Idem esto iudicium de Graeca uel Hebraea lingua, quas non ut loquamur, sed ut intelligamus addiscimus’.

<sup>25</sup> ‘Non desinunt isti onocrotali subinde obiicere seu uerius obgannire, moris esse ut infantes paruuli “papas”, “mamas”, “taytas” balbutiant, qui tamen postea in melius corrigantur’.

<sup>26</sup> ‘Nemo sanae mentis tale consilium probabit, ut ineptae nutrices doceant, quae postea sint dedocenda. Ego certe qui plurimos liberos sustuli, nunquam id sum passus, qui Quintiliano auctore didicerim, non assuescendum puerum sermoni, qui dediscendus sit’.

no ordenarían en sus Estatutos que se leyera y se discutiera en esa lengua.<sup>27</sup> Sabiendo que esa objeción era la más importante de todas y de que con su respuesta pondría en tela de juicio la propia normativa legal de la Universidad de Salamanca, el Broicense puso mucho mayor empeño en responder a la misma que a las cinco restantes.<sup>28</sup> Así, tras recordar con Cicerón que no hay nada tan corriente como la ignorancia supina y arremeter contra la caterva de necios que adoran y admiran a los que hablan en latín, sacó a relucir ocho argumentos tomados de varones mucho más sabios ora de la antigüedad ora del propio s. XVI<sup>29</sup>:

1. Como decía Cicerón, es cierto que a hablar se aprende hablando, pero no menos cierto es que a hablar mal se aprende hablando mal.<sup>30</sup>
2. El orador arpinate afirmaba que sólo debemos hablar la lengua que nos es conocida.<sup>31</sup>
3. Como recomendaba Quintiliano, las nodrizas no deben hablar una lengua incorrecta y el niño no debe acostumbrarse a unas expresiones que después tenga que rechazar.<sup>32</sup>
4. En Italia, como recordaba Erasmo, había eruditos, como el historiador florentino Bernardo Ocrulario, que imitaba a la perfección a Salustio, pero que se negaba a platicar en latín.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> 'Si Latine loqui non esset laudabile, non ita passim ab omnibus commendaretur et omnes academiae legibus sanxerunt ut et Latine legatur et disputetur'.

<sup>28</sup> Basta con ver a simple vista el pasquín de 1578 para comprobar que la *Responsio* a la *Obiectio quinta* ocupa por sí sola el mismo espacio que las otras cinco restantes réplicas del Broicense.

<sup>29</sup> "Quasi uero quidquam tam sit ualde quam nihil sapere, uulgare", ut praeclare 2 de diuinatione scripsit Cicero [= Cic., *div.*, 2, 81]. Sed quoniam tu mihi stultorum turbam obiectis qui Latine loquentes colunt et admirantur, ego tibi contra doctissimorum iudicium et consensum opponam, qui huiusmodi pestem siue loquentiam auersantur'.

<sup>30</sup> Se trata de una cita de Cic., *de orat.*, 1, 149-150, de la que por su importancia extrapolamos el siguiente párrafo: 'In quo fallit eos quod audierunt: dicendo homines ut dicant, efficere solere. Vere enim etiam illud dicitur: "peruere dicere homines peruere dicendo facillime consequi"'. Señalamos, por otra parte, que la importancia que el Broicense concedió a dicha cita se deja ver en la forma de introducirla: un encabezado independiente con el texto 'Cicero lib. 2 [sic] de Oratore, de exercitatione agens, sic inquit'.

<sup>31</sup> 'Cicero, primo *Offic.* §[= Cic., *off.*, 1, 107-112] "Intelligendum est etiam, etc: ut enim sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis, ne, ut quidam in Graeca inculcantes, iure optimo irrideamur, sic in actiones omnemque uitam nullam discrepantiam conferre debemus"'.  
<sup>32</sup> 'Quintilianus, lib. cap. 1 [= Quint., *inst.*, 1, 1,4-5]: "Ante omnia ne sit uitiosus sermo nutritibus: [...] Non assuescat ergo, ne dum infans quidem est sermoni qui dediscendus sit"'.  
<sup>33</sup> 'Erasmus, lib. 8 *Apophtheg.* [cf. *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia emendatiora et auctiora, ad optimas editiones, praecipue quas ipse Erasmus postremo curauit, summa fide exacta, doctorumque uirorum notis illustrata*. Recognouit Ioannes Clericus (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1962), IV, col. 363 D-E, dentro del pará-

5. Guillermo Budé<sup>34</sup> criticaba a Valla en el uso de los recíprocos diciendo que eso le sucedía por haber leído u oído a unos charlatanes que no practicaban un latín puro.<sup>35</sup>
6. Cornelio Wauters<sup>36</sup> escribió que quien no observa la propiedad en la unión de las palabras ni ponía cuidado en ello, lo único que hacía es trasladar al latín palabras extranjeras.<sup>37</sup>
7. Joaquín Sterk de Ringelberg<sup>38</sup> advertía que suele suceder que quienes hablan con perfección, escriben de forma menos correcta: que nadie, en fin, trata dos cosas con la misma perfección.<sup>39</sup>

grafo II de *Thræsea*] sic ait: “Hac ratione duci uidentur Itali quidam eruditi, qui licet pulchre calleant Latine, tamen uix unquam adducci possunt ut in familiari congressu Latine loquantur. At, si quando compellit necessitas, dicunt exacte, quasi de scripto. Noui Venetiae Bernardum Ocularium, ciuem Florentinum, cuius historias si legisses, dixisses alterum Sallustium aut certe Sallustii scriptas; nunquam tamen ab homine impetrare licuit, ut mecum loqueretur; subinde interpellabam: “Surdo loqueris, uir praeclare; uulgaris linguae uesteris tam sum ignarus quam Indicae”. Verbum Latinum nunquam quui ab eo extundere””.

<sup>34</sup> El gran filólogo y erudito francés Guillermo Budé nació en París en 1467 y falleció en 1540. Alumno de Juan Láscares llegó a ser el mejor helenista de su época. La obra citada por el Brocense se intitula *Commentarii linguae Graecae* y, entre las varias ediciones de la misma que se hicieron en el Renacimiento, figura una que tiene como pie de imprenta ‘Basileae, Apud Nicolaum Episcopium iuniorem, 1556’ y que podemos consultar en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (sign. 3/7489).

<sup>35</sup> ‘Budaeus, in *Comment. Linguae Graecae*, reprehendens Vallam circa reciprocorum usum, sic ait: “Id autem Laurentio non alias accidit quam ex praua loquentium consuetudine, quibus aut legendis aut audiendis inuiti erroris contagionem contrahimus; simul ex sermone extemporali et neglecto, cui inter familiares assuescimus, praesertim purae Latinitatis ignaros””.

<sup>36</sup> Cornelio Wauters ó Valerio fue un humanista y profesor belga que nació en Oude-water en 1512 y falleció en 1578. Fue el sucesor de Nannius como profesor de lenguas clásicas en el Colegio de las tres lenguas de Lovaina. La obra citada por el Brocense es su *Grammaticarum institutionum libri IIII*, de la que se hicieron varias ediciones en el s. XVI, como la que lleva el pie de imprenta de ‘Lugduni, Apud Iacobum Roussin, 1596’, que se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional matritense con la signatura 3/40062.

<sup>37</sup> ‘Cornelius Valerius in fine suae *Syntaxeos*: “Hanc proprietatem in uerborum coniunctione qui non conseruat nec delectum habet ullum, is barbarica phrasi omnem peruertit Latinitatem. Quod iis fere solet accidere qui linguam Latinam ad idioma uernaculum detorquent””.

<sup>38</sup> Joaquín Sterck de Ringelberg, también conocido como Joaquín Fortius, nació en Amberes hacia 1499 y murió en torno a 1536. Tras pasar años en la corte del rey Maximiliano, terminó sus estudios en Lovaina. Después ejerció como profesor (enseñó griego, literatura y astronomía) en Orleáns y Lyon. Entre sus obras figura el *De ratione studii liber* citado por el Brocense, que puede consultarse dentro de la edición de sus *Opera* que tiene el pie de imprenta de ‘Lugduni, Apud Gryphium, 1531’ y de la que se conserva un ejemplar en la Biblioteca Nacional matritense con la signatura 3/65896.

<sup>39</sup> ‘Ioachimus Fortius, in libello *De ratione studii*, cap. *De scribendo*: “Nam fere fit ut qui loquuntur accurate, minus erudite scribant. Dum enim rerum illarum uoluptate afficiuntur, imperfectiores oportet sint in altero. Nemo pari cura res duas unquam tractauerit””.

8. Por último, Bartolomé Ricci<sup>40</sup> recordaba que él no obligaba a sus discípulos, como hacían en muchas escuelas, a expresar en latín todo lo que tuvieran que hablar, pues no sabía si ello proporcionaba a la elegancia latina más beneficio que perjuicio.<sup>41</sup>

f) Finalmente, en la objeción sexta se defiende que, dados los intercambios comerciales entre los pueblos y la necesidad de hablar con extranjeros, hablar latín es a veces no sólo útil, sino necesario.<sup>42</sup> Sánchez formula en contra las cuatro siguientes consideraciones, insistiendo, de forma ahora recapitulativa, en la importancia de expresarse en latín con estilo:

1. Él no rechazaba la lengua latina, sino que lo que veneraba y abrazaba era el estilo: que, si alguien estaba perfectamente ejercitado en el mismo, en el momento en que la necesidad lo exigiese, diría espontáneamente: ‘Da mihi panem’ o ‘Da mihi aliud obsonium’.<sup>43</sup>
2. Cicerón recomendaba en muchos lugares el estilo y en una carta a Galo escribió que ‘el estilo es el artesano del hablar’.<sup>44</sup>
3. De los estercoleros de quienes aconsejan a los chicos que mejor o peor hablen la lengua de Cicerón, se deriva la ruina de la lengua latina.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Bartolomé Ricci fue un humanista italiano que nació en Lugo (Romaña) en 1490 y falleció en 1569. Estudió en Bolonia, Padua y Venecia. Ejerció docencia en Ravena y Ferrara: en esta última ciudad como preceptor de Alfonso y Luis de Este, hijos de Hércules II. La obra citada por el Brocense es su *De imitatione libri tres ad Alphonsum Atestinum*, de la que se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (signatura 3/37271) un edición con el pie de imprenta ‘Parisiis, Apud Bernardum Turrisanum, 1557’.

<sup>41</sup> ‘Non soleo ego (ne hoc quoque omitam) meum discipulum cogere, ut fit plerumque in scholis, quidquid ei dicendum usu ueniat, Latine ut id proferre conetur. Vtrum enim plus commodi an damni ad Latinam elegantiam, quam nos quaerimus, hoc afferat studium, non plane satis habeo comprobatum’. Señalamos, por otra parte, que la importancia que el Brocense concedió también a esta cita se ve igualmente en la forma de introducirla: un encabezado independiente con el texto ‘Ex Bartolomaeo Riccio, lib. 3 *De imitatione Ciceronis*, in calce’.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Propter uaria inter gentes commercia aut ut cum externis hominibus colloquamur, non solum utile, sed necessarium aliquando est Latine loqui’.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Ego Latinam linguam non damno, stilum ueneror et amplector, in quo qui probe fuerit exercitatus, si necessitas ingruat, repente dicet: “Da mihi panem” uel “aliud obsonium”’.

<sup>44</sup> ‘Multis in locis Cicero commendat stilum et ad Gallum, lib. 7 [= Cic., *fam.*, 7, 25, 2], sic scribit: “Vrge igitur nec transuersum <unguem>, quod aiunt, a stilo; is enim dicendi opifex”. Aclaremos que todo este párrafo no aparece en la primera edición, en forma de pasquín, de 1578, sino en la de los *Paradoxa* de 1582 (por un probable error tipográfico en la cita ciceroniana falta el término *unguem*, que tampoco aparece en la edición de la *Minerva* de 1587). El Brocense, en conclusión, abría ya en la segunda edición su posterior y definitivo razonamiento de que él no se oponía tanto a que se hablara latín como a que se hablara sin elegancia la antigua lengua del Lacio (cf. *infra* el subapartado 10.1.4).

<sup>45</sup> ‘Quid dignum illis imprecabor qui sic admonent pueros: “Vel male vel bene loquere cum M.” Ex huiusmodi sterquiliniis tantam accepit lingua Latina labem et calamitatem’.

4. Que, en consecuencia, él coincidía con los más doctos en que en ningún lugar y en ningún momento se debía hablar una lengua extranjera y, especialmente, la latina.<sup>46</sup>

### 3. La paradoja del Brocense en el marco de las aulas salmantinas

Una lectura detenida del texto del Brocense nos lleva rápidamente a la conclusión de que la polémica tenía como telón de fondo la propia universidad salmantina. A tal conclusión se había llegado ya al demostrarse la oposición de Sánchez a hablar latín<sup>47</sup> y al observarse que el título inicial de la paradoja *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem* recogía, incluso textualmente, la opinión de algunas de las autoridades académicas del famoso Estudio General.<sup>48</sup> Recordemos, en efecto, que en la visita del Trilingüe de 7 de octubre de 1566, Diego de Herrera, colegial prebendado de hebreo, puso en boca del vicerrector Juan Escribano una frase en castellano que no es otra que la que después escribiría en latín el Brocense<sup>49</sup>:

que asta agora no avido ninguna cuenta en hablar latín, sino muy poca, e que en lo que toca a las multas eran pocas e casi de tarde en tarde e que se habla romanze e quando este testigo entro en el no se hablaua latin antes. El vize R<sup>or</sup> disimulaba en ello y dezia y era su opinion quel estilo de hablar latin se corrompia con el continuo hablar latin.

Pero la relación de la paradoja con las aulas universitarias es mucho más evidente. Debemos caer en la cuenta de que el Brocense nunca hubiera publicado su texto en forma de pasquín salvo que su deseo fuera el de que lo conocieran todos los alumnos salmantinos, debemos percatarnos de

<sup>46</sup> 'Ego uero cum doctissimis, neminem excipio, uiris teneo nulla aetate aut tempore aliena lingua, nedum Latina, esse loquendum'.

<sup>47</sup> La oposición del Brocense a hablar latín quedó inmortalizada en los famosos legajos de 'Visitas del collegio Trilingüe' conservados en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, como bien puso de relieve P.U. González de la Calle, 'Latín y romance. Contribución al estudio de la vida docente española en el siglo XVI', en *Varia. Notas y apuntes sobre temas de letras clásicas* (Madrid: Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1916), pp. 234-247. La posición de Sánchez fue criticada por otros maestros salmantinos, como Francisco Martínez, Catedrático de Prima de Latinidad (cf. R.M<sup>a</sup>. de Hornedo, 'Los estudios de gramática en la Universidad de Salamanca desde 1583 a 1588', *Miscelánea Comillas* I (1892-1942), 606-607, nota 41; L. Gil Fernández, *Panorama social del humanismo español (1500-1800)* (Madrid: Tecnos, 1997), pp. 136-137).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. González de la Calle, 'Latín y romance', p. 234; Gil Fernández, *Panorama social*, p. 59; y Ruiz Fidalgo – de Cañigral, 'Un impreso', 292.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. González de la Calle, 'Latín y romance', p. 234, nota 1.

que es a sus propios discípulos a quienes dirige la carta-prefacio, y debemos considerar que es a los mismos a los que pide que confíen en él, como experto maestro, y no en los criticados *ludimagistri*.

Por otra parte, es claro que la alusión a los *ludimagistri* nos lleva también al Estudio General: el Brocense no da el nombre de los maestros criticados, pero es obvio que en el contexto de las aulas todos sabían a quiénes se refería. La propia vehemencia de la polémica nos lleva a pensar, además, que no se trata de una polémica libresca, sino que los personajes criticados eran de carne y hueso. Reparemos, en efecto, en el vehemente contenido de las siguientes frases y expresiones que encontramos en la carta-prefacio o en las respuestas a las objeciones:

- Sed tanta est stultorum hominum et praecipue ludimagistrorum peruersitas, ut (carta-prefacio)
- quoniam illi mihi iam crebro stomachum mouerunt (carta-prefacio)
- communi sensu carere affirmare ne dubitetis (carta prefacio)
- isti locutuleii (respuesta a la objeción primera)
- clamosus disputator (respuesta a la objeción segunda)
- cerebrosus uociferator (respuesta a la objeción segunda)
- blaterones superauit (respuesta a la objeción segunda)
- onocrotali (objeción cuarta)
- obgannire (objeción cuarta)
- Nemo sanae mentis (respuesta a la objeción cuarta)
- stultorum turbam (respuesta a la objeción quinta)
- sterquiliniis (respuesta a la objeción sexta)

Es evidente que tan duras frases y expresiones sólo se comprenden bien, si el pasquín fue fruto de una acalorada polémica en el seno de las aulas docentes salmantinas.

#### 4. Las consabidas pistas del Brocense: ironía y buen humor

Pero antes de desvelar contra quiénes lanzó su ataque el Brocense debemos recordar una de sus características más esenciales: su ironía y buen humor.<sup>50</sup> El humanista, haciendo gala de una gran inteligencia, sembró sus obras de velados ataques que el investigador moderno ha de esforzarse

<sup>50</sup> Sobre el arrogante, pero divertido carácter del Brocense, cf. A. Holgado Redondo, 'El Brocense o la arrogancia del saber', en *Actas del Simposio Internacional "IV Centenario de la Minerua del Brocense: 1587-1597 (Cáceres-Brozas, mayo de 1987)"* (Cáceres: Institución Cultural "El Brocense" – Excma. Diputación Provincial, 1989), pp. 61-79.

por descubrir e interpretar. Recordemos, por ejemplo, que, dado que el claustro salmantino estaba a favor del *Ars* de Nebrija y que intentaba obligarlo a explicar gramática latina a través de ese manual, Sánchez se declaró en el prólogo-dedicatoria de la *Minerua* como sucesor del gramático andaluz, pero en el fondo entró a criticarlo, como sabemos que hacía en sus clases, con una cita de Santo Tomás<sup>51</sup> que realmente era un regalo envenenado contra sus colegas escolásticos<sup>52</sup>: ‘*Ars enim mutari debet quoties intellectui melius occurrit*’. El arte debía cambiarse cuantas veces se le ocurriera algo mejor al intelecto. Naturalmente que sí. ¡Pero el arte al que se refería el Brocense no era el arte en abstracto, sino el mismísimo *Ars* de Nebrija!

Mas, si alguna duda albergamos sobre el fino humor del Brocense traigamos a la memoria el siguiente pasaje de las *Annotationes in genus nominum* de las *Breues institutiones* (Salamanca, 1566), en el que el humanista extremeño sale al encuentro de un gramático que había dedicado al rey de Portugal una obra en contra de la suya<sup>53</sup>:

Denique id sentit Quintilianus, etiam si quidam nebulo obganniat, qui cum meras nugas regi Lusitanorum inculcarit, dente rodere lupino secure bonos auctores se posse putet: quem nominare non audeo, ne meis scriptis aliquando fiat illustris.

Sólo el lector que reparara en el paralelismo de la frase ‘rodere lupino secure’ con ‘Rodericus Lopez a Segura’ o Ruy López de Segura podría adivinar que el humanista extremeño se estaba refiriendo a las *Grammaticae institutiones* publicadas en Lisboa en 1563 y dedicadas al rey Sebastián de Portugal.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>51</sup> *Prima. secund. quaest.*, 97, art. 2. La cita aparece también, con la misma irónica finalidad, en el lema de las *Institutiones* publicadas en Salamanca en 1595.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. J.M. Maestre Maestre, ‘*Barbatus Perottos*: los tópicos del prólogo-dedicatoria de la *Minerua*’, en *Actas del Simposio Internacional*, pp. 229-231.

<sup>53</sup> Citamos a través de *Francisci Sanctii Brocensis, in inclyta Salmanticensi academia emeriti, olim rhetorices et primarii Latinae Graecaeque linguae doctoris, Opera omnia una cum eiusdem scriptoris uita, auctore Gregorio Maiansio* (Genevae: apud fratres de Tournes, 1766), I, 21, aunque debemos señalar que el gran bibliófilo valenciano no se percató de que el Brocense criticaba veladamente a Ruy López de Segura.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. A. Oyola Fabián, ‘Ruy López de Segura, un humanista ignorado del siglo XVI. Sus *Grammaticae institutiones*’, en Marqués de la Encomienda – M. Terrón Albarrán – A. Viudas Camarasa (eds.), *El humanismo extremeño. Estudios presentados a las I<sup>as</sup> Jornadas organizadas por la Real Academia de Extremadura en Zafra y Fregenal de la Sierra en 1996* (Trujillo: Real Academia de Extremadura de las Letras y las Artes, 1997), p. 310, nota 15, donde el autor reconoce el mérito de tan curioso descubrimiento a B.J. Gallardo, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos* (Madrid: [Imprenta y Fundición de Manuel Tello], 1888), III, 503, [nº 2784]. Debemos señalar, no obstante, como ya hicimos en J. M. Maestre Maestre, ‘Humanismo y censura: un campo



Pues bien, recordado el divertido carácter del Brocense, creemos que estamos en condiciones de desvelar la punta de lanza de la invectiva de nuestro compatriota contra los tozudos *ludimagistri* de la Universidad de Salamanca. Prestemos atención, en efecto, a la redacción de la *Obiectio quarta*: ‘Non desinunt isti onocrotali subinde obiicere seu uerius obgan-nire, moris esse ut infantes paruuli “papas”, “mamas”, “taytas” balbutiant, qui tamen postea in melius corrigantur’. Pues bien, recordado el divertido carácter del Brocense, creemos que estamos en condiciones de desvelar la punta de lanza de la invectiva de nuestro compatriota contra los tozudos *ludimagistri* de la Universidad de Salamanca. Prestemos atención, en efecto, a la redacción de la *Obiectio quarta*: ‘Non desinunt isti onocrotali subinde obiicere seu uerius obgan-nire, moris esse ut infantes paruuli *papas, mamas, taytas* balbutiant, qui tamen postea in melius corrigantur.’

Y preguntémos como es posible que el humanista llame a sus adversarios *onocrotali*, esto es, ‘pelícanos’.<sup>55</sup> Es evidente que por razones geográficas obvias en Salamanca no podían existir esas aves marítimas. Pero todo lector culto que hubiera leído el pasaje de Plin., *nat.*, 10, 131:

Olorum similitudinem onocrotali habent nec distare existimarentur omnino, nisi faucibus ipsis inesset alterius uteri genus. Huc omnia inexplebile animal congerit, mira ut sit capacitas. Mox perfecta rapina sensim inde in os reddita in ueram aluum ruminantis modo refert. Gallia hos septentrionalis proxima oceano mittit.

de estudio para el filólogo clásico’, en *XVII Encuentros de Historia y Arqueología. Historia y Economía. Encuentros en homenaje al profesor Pereira Iglesias* (Cádiz: Ayuntamiento de San Fernando. Fundación Municipal de Cultura, 2002), pp. 95 y 105, nota 67, que no compartimos la necesidad de Oyola Fabián de corregir *secure* en *secur[a]e*. Esa corrección se cargaría el ingenioso juego de palabras pensado por el Brocense. Por tanto, en la traducción proporcionada por el citado investigador en el texto de la misma página, que transcribo, además, pensando en aquellos ayunos en la lengua del Lacio: ‘Finalmente este es el parecer de Quintiliano, por más que cierto enredador ande murmurando, quien habiendo dedicado unos pasatiempos al Rey de los Portugueses, piense [*sic*] que puede roer con su diente de lobo de Segura a los buenos autores. Al tal no me atrevo a nombrarle, no sea que alguna vez alcance la fama a costa de mis escritos’, debe corregirse la versión de la oración de relativo ‘qui... dente rodere lupino secure bonos auctores se posse putet’ en ‘quien... piensa que puede roer con su diente impunemente [= *secure*] a los buenos autores’.

<sup>55</sup> No todos los traductores de la definitiva obra gramatical del Brocense han interpretado el término *onocrotali* de la misma manera. G. Clerico (ed.), *Sanctius. Minerve. Introduction, traduction et notes* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1982), p. 389, lo tradujo por ‘onocrotales’, y Sánchez Salor (ed.), *Francisco Sánchez*, p. 677, por ‘aves acuáticas’. La versión del término *onocrotali* por ‘pelícanos’ la encontramos, paradójicamente, en la que sin duda es la peor de las tres traducciones que se han hecho hasta ahora de la referida obra de Sánchez: F. Rivera Cárdenas, *Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas “El Brocense”. Minerva o De la propiedad de la lengua latina. Introducción y traducción* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 1976), p. 489.

sabía que, cuanto menos, esos pájaros que el naturalista romano veía similares a los cisnes procedían del noroeste de Francia en la región próxima al mar.

## 5. Identificación del destinatario de la paradoja con el inglés Henry Jason

La pista proporcionada por el Brocense es suficientemente importante. Pero para su correcta intelección debemos prestar atención al siguiente párrafo del Marqués de Morante<sup>56</sup>:

Salió á impugnar este escrito [= la paradoja *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem* publicada en 1578] *Enrique Jason*, teólogo y maestro en artes en la Universidad, uno acaso de los muchos que por aquel tiempo venían de las naciones estrañas á Salamanca, atraídos por la fama de sus estudios. Intituló su impugnación, que no llegó a imprimirse, *Disquisitio responsoria in Magistri Sanctii editam assertionem*.

Nos encontramos, pues, con que un maestro en artes, llamado *Enrique Jason*, entró en litigio con el Brocense, escribiendo una *Disquisitio responsoria in Magistri Sanctii editam assertionem*. El Marqués de Morante desconocía el origen del mismo, pero por el apellido vislumbró ya que sería ‘uno acaso de los muchos que por aquel tiempo venían de las naciones estrañas á Salamanca, atraídos por la fama de sus estudios’.

Sería en 1923, cuando el benemérito P. U. González de la Calle, que encontró en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia la mencionada *Disquisitio responsoria* e hizo una síntesis de la misma<sup>57</sup>, aclaró que la patria de su autor, que ahora se nos presenta como *Henry Yason*, era Inglaterra<sup>58</sup>:

Indice claro, y hasta un tanto aparatoso y pretencioso, de tales resistencias, se nos ofrece en una curiosa “Disputatio responsoria” (que cita *G. Cortina* y que hemos hallado manuscrita en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia), debida a los desvelos del inglés *Henry Yason*.

Pues bien, debemos recordar que Inglaterra está situada en el Océano Atlántico, justamente en frente del Noroeste de Francia, y que los pelícanos son unas de las aves marítimas más habituales en sus costas.<sup>59</sup> Con

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Marqués de Morante, *Biografía*, p. 34 (= *Catalogus*, p. 702).

<sup>57</sup> Cf. P.U. González de la Calle, ‘La paradoja segunda del “Brocense”. Apuntes y notas’, *Arquivo de história e bibliografia*, 1 (1923-1926) [moderna reimpresión en Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 1976], 176-179.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. González de la Calle, ‘La paradoja segunda’, 175.

<sup>59</sup> Este dato puede ser verificado por el lector de manera inmediata y profusa, como hemos hecho nosotros, buscando a través del ‘Google’ o de cualquier otro buscador informático el

el calificativo de *onocrotali* el Brocense daba una ingeniosa pista para identificar a sus adversarios. Pero de ello no se percataron ni el Marqués de Morante, que sólo hizo una breve síntesis<sup>60</sup> y editó un par de pasajes de la *Disquisitio responsoria*<sup>61</sup>, ni González de la Calle, que, aunque dedicó más horas que Gómez de la Cortina a resumir el opúsculo de Jason<sup>62</sup>, no llegó nunca a publicar su prometida edición del mismo<sup>63</sup>, ni tampoco L. Ruiz Fidalgo y L. de Cañigral, que sacaron a la luz el pasquín, aunque sin señalar explícitamente que el ‘legajo misceláneo’<sup>64</sup> en el que estaba el mismo en la Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia era justamente el mismo donde estaba la *Disquisitio responsoria* de Jason.<sup>65</sup>

término ‘pelicano’ asociado a Inglaterra: son muchas, en efecto, las páginas electrónicas que nos hacen ver la existencia de aquellas aves marítima en las costas de Gran Bretaña.

<sup>60</sup> Por su brevedad optamos por transcribir aquí la síntesis a la que nos referimos (cf. Marqués de Morante, *Biografía*, p. 34; *Catalogus*, p. 702): ‘Su autor dividió esta obra en tres partes: esfuerzase á probar en la primera que el uso continuo del latín no corrompe su elegancia; quiere demostrar en la segunda que la costumbre de hablar aquel idioma ilustra la latinidad, lejos de corromperla; y, por último, en la tercera decide la cuestión a favor suyo con razones, dice, tomadas de la filosofía misma *ex sinu philosophiae*’. Para más información remitimos al lector a la síntesis de P.U. González de la Calle (cf. nota 57) y, sobre todo, a nuestro futuro trabajo citado en la nota 2.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Marqués de Morante, *Biografía*, pp. 34 y 114-116 (= *Catalogus*, pp. 702 y 782-784). Con el primero de los dos pasajes, mucho más breve y tomado de Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. 51<sup>r</sup>-[51<sup>r</sup>], Gómez de la Cortina intenta demostrar que el alumno inglés ‘trata alguna vez con dureza al Maestro Sánchez, pero no puede menos de rendir homenaje á su esclarecido ingenio’. Helo aquí: ‘Tum uero et maxime ut te referas ad syncera et solida argumenta, in quibus ita te uel arte uel ingenio geris atque obtines, ut illa tria semper uideas quae praeclens Cicero suo perfecto oratori [cf. *orat.* 43, 1] conspicienda censuit. Testes sunt plures libri a te conquisita cum prudentia, dispositione solerti et concinna oratione elaborati, qui nomen tuum ab iniuria obliuionis perpetuo defendent. Nolo illos enumerare. Iam enim nosti [cf. el texto al que hace referencia la nota 77] quam auersor illud [cf. Cic., *Lael.*, 89, 3] “Obsequium amicos”. Respecto al segundo de los pasajes, tomado de Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. 34<sup>r</sup>-[35<sup>r</sup>] y publicado en forma de apéndice (= NOTA II), hemos de señalar que Gómez de la Cortina no lo entendió, como ponemos de manifiesto en la nota 84.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. nota 57.

<sup>63</sup> ‘También me ha sido posible, tras algunos desvelos, transcribir la parte legible (la aún no menoscabada por los enemigos inexorables del papel escrito) de la citada “Disquisitio responsoria” de Yason, que pienso publicar cuando me sea posible acometer la empresa de dar a las prensas una edición anotada de las “Paradojas” *sanctianas*’, leemos textualmente en González de la Calle, ‘La paradoja segunda’, 176.

<sup>64</sup> *Disquisitio responsoria Henrici Jason, ingenuarum artium professoris, in magistri Francisci Sanctii editam assertionem de non loquendo Latine*, 70 ff. (69 folios numerados sólo en los correspondientes rectos, pero sin contabilizar por error el 38<sup>r</sup> bis y el [38<sup>r</sup>] bis), Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 9/5792.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Ruiz Fidalgo – de Cañigral, ‘Un impreso’, 290: ‘Constituye, por tanto, una gran satisfacción el haber encontrado, casi por casualidad, como suele ocurrir en estos casos, un pasquín español de un autor importante en la historia de nuestro humanismo y un tema, por descontado, polémico. Se trata del ejemplar existente en la Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, con la signatura 9/5792, dentro de un legajo misceláneo.’

## 6. Datos biográficos del inglés Henry Jason

Descubierto el nombre y la patria del principal *ludimagister* contra el que el Brocense dirigió su vehemente ataque, desvelemos ahora los importantes datos que afortunadamente conocemos sobre el mismo a través de un espléndido trabajo de A. Huarte sobre las solicitudes elevadas por los estudiantes irlandeses e ingleses al Claustro de Diputados de la Universidad de Salamanca desde 1574 a 1595<sup>66</sup>, así como por nuestra propia lectura de la *Disquisitio responsoria*.

### 6.1. *Datos del fondo documental de la vieja Universidad de Salamanca*<sup>67</sup>: *H. Jason, un exiliado inglés por motivos religiosos*

En el Claustro de Diputados del 8 de agosto de 1577 encontramos una solicitud de nuestro maestro en artes, donde se nos aclara que dejó Inglaterra por su condición de católico, que en ese momento llevaba ya ‘algunos años’ viviendo pobremente en Salamanca, y que entonces pedía que se le permitiera residir en el Hospital de la Universidad<sup>68</sup> para poder así

<sup>66</sup> Cf. A. Huarte, ‘Petitions of Irish Students in the University of Salamanca, 1574-1595’, *Archivum Hibernicum*, 4 (1915), 96-130. Para comprender mejor la presencia de estudiantes irlandeses en nuestro país durante el reinado de Felipe II, nada mejor que recordar las siguientes palabras de E. García Hernán, *Irlanda y el rey prudente* (Madrid: Ediciones Laberinto, 2000), pp. 16-17: ‘No es posible hablar de la presencia irlandesa en la Monarquía hispánica durante el siglo XVI sin evocar los colegios irlandeses de Santiago, Lisboa, Sevilla y Salamanca. Felipe II quiso abrir las puertas de sus reinos a esos estudiantes exiliados y ofrecerles facilidades para que tuvieran colegios de su nación’.

<sup>67</sup> Es seguro que el fondo documental antiguo de la Universidad de Salamanca hay más datos sobre H. Jason que los proporcionados por A. Huarte en el artículo citado en nuestra nota anterior. Así nos lo hace ver el siguiente párrafo que escribió González de la Calle, ‘La paradoja segunda’, pp. 175-156, a renglón seguido de citar el trabajo de A. Huarte: ‘Con posterioridad a esa fecha, he podido personalmente completar y ampliar las referencias de mi citado compañero, tras una penosa y no muy fructífera investigación en los “Libros de matriculas” de la vieja Escuela salmantina, pero se me permitirá que omita aquí la mención de mis averiguaciones, para que no alcance extensión indebida este trabajo, ya acaso largo en exceso’. Al desconocer los datos descubiertos, pero no publicados, por González de la Calle, nos dirigimos personalmente a la Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, pero nuestra labor hasta ahora no ha tenido más éxito que el de volver a encontrar los documentos sacados a la luz por A. Huarte (cf. notas 69, 71 y 72).

<sup>68</sup> Sobre el Hospital del Estudio General Salmantino, nada mejor que remitir al ‘Título LI. Del hospital del estudio, y de los pobres que a de auer en el’ de los *Estatutos hechos por la muy insigne Vniversidad de Salmanca. Año 1561* (Salamanca: en casa de Juan María de Terranoua, 1561), ff. 60<sup>r</sup>-61<sup>r</sup> (cf. E. Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca: Imprenta y Librería de Francisco Núñez, 1914), I: *La Universidad de Salamanca y los reyes*, 326-328).

terminar sus comenzados estudios. El Claustro encargó al doctor Antonio de Solís y al maestro fray Juan de Guevara, visitador del Hospital, para que hicieran el informe pertinente sobre 'la vida y costumbres' del solicitante<sup>69</sup>:

Muy illustre señor:

Yo Henrique Jason, ingles, maestro en artes, por el zelo de ser catholico dexe mi tierra y hazienda y vine en España a esta Vniuersidad de Salamanca por la fama y opinion que en todo el mundo tiene de letras, virtud y christiandad, donde algunos años ha que con la diligencia que pude con los trabajos de la pobreza, bendito sea Dios, he pasado hasta agora, mas ya forzado con no poder mas no me ha quedado remedio ninguno sino solo suplicar a v. s. me mire con ojos de piedad y me haga limosna para poder acabar mis comenzados estudios, y sera muy grande para mi que v. s. me de el lugar en el hospital de esta Vniuersidad que el yrlandes<sup>70</sup> que ya se fue graduado tenia, y asi quam humillmente puedo a v. s. suplico que attenta mi necesidad si mi vida y letras del todo no parezieren yndignas desta merced y limosna, vsando de la misericordia acostumbrada, v. s. me la conceda. Muy illustre señor, humilde siervo de v. s. que sus muy illustres manos besa. El maestro Enrique Jason.

La qual dicha peticion aviendo sido leida, oyda, entendida por los los dichos señores començaron a tratar e votar açerca de lo en ella contenido, e aviendolo tratado, platicado e votado, la dicha Vniuersidad y claustro dixo que cometia y cometio a los dichos señores doctor Antonio de Solís e maestro fray Juan de Guevara, visytador del dicho hospital, que sus mercedes se ynformasen de la vida y costumbres del dicho Henrique Jason y vean, traten y platiquen que conuinientes o yncouinientes puede aver de dar aposento al susodicho en el dicho hospital, e de todo lo demas que conviene y es necesario, asi açerca de su vida, costumbres y modo de uiuir, *moribus et vita et cetera*, e visto y entendido lo vno e lo otro, lo refieran en el primero claustro para que la Vniuersidad prouea e determine lo que mas convenga, para lo qual les dieron comision *ad referendum* como esta dicho.

Posteriormente, en el Claustro de Diputados del 30 de agosto del mismo año los profesores comisionados elevaron su positivo informe, aunque dejando bien claro que 'en la lengua española' estaba 'poco exercitado'. Habida cuenta de que en el Hospital no se le podía acomodar, ni tampoco en el Colegio Trilingüe, el Claustro decidió otorgar al inglés por un año 'diez mil maravedis para ayuda a que prosiga e acabe sus estudios'<sup>71</sup>:

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Huarte, 'Petitions', 122-123. Advertimos que hemos cotejado la transcripción de Huarte con el texto original [Archivo Universitario de Salamanca (= AUSA) 46, f. [136<sup>v</sup>] y que hemos corregido algunos ligeros *lapsus*.

<sup>70</sup> Se trata de Eustachius Oliferus, como bien señala A. Huarte, 'Petitions', 122, nota 1. Para más información sobre el mismo, cf. *ibid.*, 98 (Claustro de Diputados de 27 de junio de 1577).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Huarte, 'Petitions', 123. Advertimos que hemos cotejado la transcripción de Huarte con el texto original [AUSA 46, ff. 142<sup>r</sup>-[142<sup>v</sup>]] y que hemos corregido también algunos ligeros *lapsus*.

E fuera los señores doctor Solis e maestro Guevara començaron a dar relacion de la comission que les fue cometida en el claustro passado, diziendo que el dicho Henrique Jasson, ingles, es hombre honesto y de buena vida y benemerito para que la Vniuersidad le haga toda merced y limosna por ser como es, según la relacion y examen que de algunas personas an fecho, muy docto e de buena vida y recogimiento, e tiene muy buenas partes, avnque en la lengua española esta poco exercitado, y que la Vniuersidad le puede dar la limosna que fuere servida porque en el estara muy bien empleada.

E por los dichos señores Rector, y maestrequela, y personas susodichas, oyda y entendida la dicha relacion, e tratando e platicando açerca del comodo y estança que se le daria, o entretenimiento para que pudiera pasar e continuar sus estudios, y attento que la Vniuersidad no tiene al presente apposento que le dar, porque en el hospital por auer como ay muchos pobres enfermos y no aver estancia desocupada, ni menos en el Colegio Trilingue, no le podian acomodar ni poner, e aviendolo platicado, conferido y tratado, e votando acerca dello según sus asientos y antigüedades, e como lo an de vso y costumbre, la dicha Vniuersidad e claustro vino y se resoluo en que por este año, digo por vn año, la Vniuersidad le de, y mando dar, en limosna al dicho Henryque Jasson diez mil maravedis para ayuda a que prosigua e acabe sus estudios, los quales el mayordomo Juan de Cosca le de e pague por sus tercios del año, y no todos juntos, sino conforme como paga a los criados que sirven a la dicha Vniuersidad y tienen salario della, que con fee deste claustro, e librança del señor Rector, y carta de pago del dicho Henrique Jasson de como los rezibe se le pasaran en cuenta.

Pero Jason se marcharía de Salamanca sin terminar sus estudios. En el Claustro de Diputados del 20 de diciembre de 1578 encontramos una nueva solicitud de nuestro personaje y del irlandés Donato Cavelo para que la Universidad de Salamanca les ayudase a retornar 'por quanto ellos avian sido llamados de su tierra para la guerra contra los herejes'. El Claustro decidió otorgar dos ducados a cada uno de ellos para tal finalidad<sup>72</sup>:

Yten en este claustro Henrique Jasson, yngles, y Donato Cavelo, hiberno, a los quales e a cada vno la Vniuersidad en el año pasado avia dado en limosna a cada vno diez mill maravedis, pidieron y suplicaron por una peticion que por quanto ellos avian sido llamados de su tierra para la guerra contra los herejes, y les conbenia yr alla, y hallarse en ella, y no tenian para el camino, la Vniuersidad les hiziese merçed de ayudarles con alguna limosna para el.

E por la dicha Vniuersidad oydo y entendido lo sudodicho, e tratando e votando açerca de lo pedido por los susodichos, la dicha Vniuersidad y claustro mando que se de a cada vno dellos dos ducados en limosna para su camino e no otra cosa, e que los seys mill maravedis que la Vniuersidad avia

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Huarte, 'Petitions', 107. Advertimos que hemos cotejado la transcripción de Huarte con el texto original [AUSA 48, f. [XV<sup>v</sup>]] y que hemos corregido igualmente algún que otro *lapsus* sin importancia.

mandado dar al dicho Donato para ayuda a su estudio y para este año, contenidos en el claustro antes deste, se queden para la Vniuersidad e no se le de librança dellos. Lo qual fue votado *in uoce* y secretamente por agallos blancos e negros en lo tocante a los quatro ducados e no vbo contradición ninguna, sino que la dicha limosna se hiziese e se diesen dos ducados a cada vno como esta dicho.

Los textos citados hablan por sí mismos. Nos encontramos, sin duda, con uno de los muchos católicos que hubieron de exiliarse de Inglaterra e Irlanda a causa de la represión religiosa emprendida por la reina Isabel I. El retorno de Jason a su patria tuvo lugar a finales de 1578 o a principios de 1579 y se debió a su deseo de participar en la llamada segunda guerra irlandesa que se prolongó desde este último año a 1583 y acabó con el fracaso estrepitoso de James Fitzmaurice<sup>73</sup>: recordemos que, pese a los ruegos del papa Gregorio XIII, Felipe II no entró en guerra con la reina inglesa. Al monarca español le convenía mucho mantener la paz con una monarquía que estaba dispuesta a mirar a otro lado en su deseo de anexionarse Portugal.<sup>74</sup>

## 6.2. *Datos de la propia* Disquisitio responsoria

Pero, como ya anticipamos, los datos que conocemos sobre Henry Jason no sólo proceden de las actas de los Claustros de Diputados de la vieja Universidad de Salamanca. La propia *Disquisitio responsoria Henrici Jason, ingenuarum artium professoris, in magistri Francisci Sanctii editam assertionem de non loquendo Latine* — que tal es el título completo

<sup>73</sup> Actualmente desconocemos cuál fue la suerte que corrió Jason. Pero, habida cuenta del fracaso de James Fitzmaurice en 1579, del nombramiento más tarde como Virrey de Irlanda del militar Lord Grey de Wilton desde 1580 a 1582, ‘una época exasperada, de guerra sin cuartel’ y de la posterior aparición en escena del capitán Stanley, ‘que anegó en sangre la revuelta irlandesa’ (cf. ‘Capítulo III. La segunda guerra irlandesa. 1579-1583’, en García Hernán, *Irlanda*, pp. 107-141), no descartamos que el maestro inglés hubiese acabado con sus huesos en la cárcel o que incluso hubiese perdido la vida en aquella frustrada tentativa de los católicos contra la reina Isabel I.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. García Hernán, *Irlanda*, p. 115: ‘Isabel I, con su política ambigua, convenció a Felipe II para que entrara en Portugal — a pesar del coste que para Inglaterra supondría a la larga —, pues así ella se quedaba con las manos libres para atacar a los irlandeses mientras los españoles luchaban contra los portugueses. También se puede interpretar que Felipe II consintió la aventura de James Fitzmaurice para que la reina no le molestara en la anexión de Portugal. Gregorio XIII, que conocía los intereses de España e Inglaterra con respecto a Portugal, trató de disuadir a Felipe II para que su ejército fuera directamente contra Inglaterra, a cambio de la gracia de un nuevo subsidio. No le convenció, pues en Castilla palpitaba el deseo de anexionarse Portugal desde hacía más de cien años’.

del opúsculo — nos permite reconstruir aún más la biografía de nuestro personaje.

### 6.2.1. La alusión a los *onocrotali* ingleses

En primer lugar, debemos llamar la atención sobre un punto capital. En el prefacio mismo del opúsculo Jason deja claro que el destinatario de la paradoja del Brocense es él. Y para ello saca a relucir el calificativo de *onocrotali*, sacándole una punta mucho más fina de lo que nosotros hemos hecho hasta ahora. La intención de Sánchez no era sólo dejar claro que sus adversarios procedían de Inglaterra, sino que, como se podía deducir de la etimología del correspondiente término griego<sup>75</sup>, eran unos ‘burros que rebuznaban’<sup>76</sup>:

Dico me prudentiae tuae aciem multum desiderare, quia non in primis circumspeixisti quomodo nos, quos onocrotalos appellas, possimus nos hic uersare ac libere exire ex rete tuo, quamuis in medias tuas plagas nosmet immittamus. Quippe licet tibi concedimus paradoxon tuum, tibi tamen hoc poterat apparere, ualde nobis tenendum esse ut loquamur Latine, ne plane uideamur non obgannientes (ut tu in rixa magis asper quam aptus), sed quasi rudentes onocrotali.

### 6.2.2. Alusión a los problemas religiosos de Inglaterra e Irlanda

En su opúsculo Jason también alude, como era de esperar, a los problemas religiosos de su patria. El maestro inglés critica la máxima de Ter., *Andr.*, 68, recogida por Cicerón en *Lael.*, 89, 3, ‘Obsequium amicos, ueritas odium parit’ y la convierte en ‘ueritas amicos, obsequium odium parit’, aduciendo en su razonamiento la injusticia que se sufría en las Islas Británicas en ese momento: la verdad acarreaba odio y muerte y la adulación prosperidad<sup>77</sup>:

Deinde uulgar illud quod in Terentium a Cicerone nostro praesertim philosophante non ita recte coniicitur, ualde quidem reiicio, atque potius hoc probo: “ueritas amicos, obsequium odium parit”. [...] Nec, ut reor, Cicero-nem temere insimulo. Nam si ipse sic dixero: “Hoc tempore apud quosdam insulares ueritas, pudor, sanctimonia, uirtus certe odium, uincula et mortem

<sup>75</sup> Recuérdese que el término griego ὄνοκρόταλος es un compuesto de ὄνος (= ‘asno’) y de un segundo formante derivado del verbo κροτέω (= ‘hacer ruido’): nótese que al aplicar Jason el adjetivo *rudentes* (= ‘rebuznantes’) al término *onocrotali* en el texto que sigue, hacer ver a las claras que había captado las traviesas intenciones del Brocense.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [1<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff.35<sup>r</sup>–[35<sup>v</sup>].



comparant, et illorum contraria amicos, praemia et felicitatem”, nonne is esset in me iniuriosus qui affirmasset me haec absolute enuntiasse ac non potius, quantum satis esset, ostendisse synceram ueritatem in aduersa et potius inuersa aut conuersa affirmatione spectandam esse?

### 6.2.3. Henry Jason, un inglés maestro en artes liberales y alumno de teología en la Universidad de Salamanca

Pero mucho más importantes son los datos que nos ofrece el opúsculo sobre la cualificación profesional de nuestro personaje. Descubramos, en efecto, que, aunque a partir del propio título: ‘Disquisitio responsoria Henrici Jason, ingenuarum artium professoris, in magistri Francisci Sanctii editam assertionem de non loquendo Latine’, sabemos que Jason era ‘ingenuarum artium professoris’, el *status* en la Universidad de Salamanca era el de alumno<sup>78</sup>:

Hic forte uicinorum populariumque uel opem uel testimonium implorabitur contra Anglum qui palam audet magistrum Sanctium tanta calumnia afficere. Non omnis Anglus malus et iste magister quoque est, at ita calumniator nequaquam quidem. Sed quia in hac regia academia hoc tempore auditor est, is ita academicus moris et linguae academicae modicus est assertor.

Como hemos visto<sup>79</sup>, el Marqués de Morante apuntó que Jason era teólogo: no tenemos ninguna prueba para demostrar esa hipótesis, pero la creemos correcta tanto por la condición de maestro en artes que ya tenía el alumno inglés, como por su relación con el padre Mancio.<sup>80</sup>

### 6.2.4. H. Jason, alumno del Brocense en las clases de Retórica

Pero las noticias proporcionadas por la *Disquisitio responsoria* van mucho más lejos: Jason era uno de los alumno asistentes, entre 1577 y 1578, de las clases de Retórica del Brocense. Recordemos a tal efecto que en 1573 Sánchez obtuvo en propiedad la cátedra de esa disciplina y que, tres años más tarde, sustituyó al maestro León de Castro en la cátedra de Griego, como bien se refleja, por ejemplo, en el título del *Organum dialecticum et rhetoricum*.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [20<sup>v</sup>]. Advertimos que hemos corregido en *regia* el erróneo *regina* que ofrece el original.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 56 (cf. *et* el texto citado en la nota 84 y el texto al que se refiere la nota 108).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. el subapartado 7.2.

<sup>81</sup> Recordemos que el título completo de esta obra es *Organum dialecticum et rhetoricum cunctis disciplinis utilissimum ac necessarium per Franciscum Sanctium Brocensem*

El aserto que acabamos de hacer queda claro a través del siguiente pasaje, donde llama al Brocense 'magister' y 'rhetor' criticándolo por oponerse precisamente él a hablar en latín, cuando la retórica era el arte de hablar y no de escribir<sup>82</sup>:

Rhetorica, quae dictionem, non scriptionem ut opus suum molitur, omnia eo non alio refert. Quare multum demiror magistrum esse rhetorem qui nos deuios et errantes tam pertinaciter esse cupit idque in sua ipsius arte, in qua se ducem nobis uiuaeque monstrantem esse profiteatur.

o de este otro, en el que se insiste en la misma idea, revelando, además, que nuestro compatriota llevaba ya muchos años negándose a hablar latín en sus clases<sup>83</sup>:

At legitur hic de more uel Hispanice uel macharonice, qui legendi mos ita inualuit, ut uel rhetorica legatur Hispanice. Sed et rhetor magister hoc iam plures annos propugnat: non loquendum Latine. Ex quo sequitur non legendum Latine. At malus mos extirpandus et optimis ac salutaribus legibus parendum nec unius alicuius autoritas ita ualeret contra omnium.

## 7. Datación de la *Disquisitio responsoria* de Henry Jason

Por las solicitudes elevadas al Claustro de Diputados sabemos que Jason fue alumno del Brocense entre 1577 y 1578. En consecuencia cabe pensar que la *Disquisitio responsoria* debió de ser escrita en esta fecha. Pero esa suposición cobra carta de realidad a partir de un pasaje del opúsculo que el Marqués de Morante publicó, aunque no comprendió.<sup>84</sup> Jason admite

*in inclyta Salmanticensi academia rhetorices primarium Graecaeque linguae doctorem* (Lugduni: Apud Antonium Gryphium, 1579).

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [59<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. 63<sup>r</sup>-[63<sup>v</sup>]. Sobre este punto, cf. nota 47.

<sup>84</sup> El Marqués de Morante, que, como ya dijimos (cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 61), editó el pasaje, creyó que en él Jason transcribía una carta del Brocense al rector de la Universidad de Salamanca donde defendía justamente lo contrario de lo que después criticaría: que era conveniente hablar latín. He aquí sus palabras exactas (cf. Marqués de Morante, *Biografía*, p. 34; *Catalogus*, p. 702): 'No vacila en poner de manifiesto la que él llama *inconsecuencia del Brocense*, toda vez que habia en otro tiempo sostenido lo contrario; y lo comprueba con una carta escrita por este á uno de los Rectores de la Universidad de Salamanca, cuyo nombre calla (1). Este argumento *ad hominem*, que el Teólogo quiere hacer valer en pro de su aserto, solo prueba una cosa: que Sanchez habia sostenido un error que la meditación y la experiencia le hicieron conocer despues; y al rectificarle públicamente daba un insigne testimonio de que no era hombre incapaz de desasirse de antiguas y rancias preocupaciones'.

la posibilidad de que el Brocense censurara con legitimidad filológica a quienes llamaban ‘rector’ al primer mandatario de la Universidad o que aplicaban el término ‘dominatio’ a una persona, puesto que *stricto sensu* ni aquél era Dios ni éste era un señor. Pero, al hacer tal afirmación, cae en la cuenta de que el razonamiento puede ofender al rector que le había concedido la ayuda para continuar sus estudios y atenúa su afirmación halagando los oídos de quien dirigía las riendas universitarias por segunda vez<sup>85</sup>:

Sic ut mea exilitas te non dico errati, sed studii propensioris quaedam asserendi iam monet, ita tua autoritas et prudentia (quibus certe merito tuo uales) reprehenderet sic scribentem “N. rectori uniuersitatis salutem dicit”, aut sic loquentem “Non teneo alteram rem quod possum dare tuae dominationi”, quum nec ille, quem iste parum Latine alloquitur, ita est dominus, neque quem alter salute sua ita scribens impertit, est Deus, quamuis is sane est plurimum honoratus, nobilis et doctus atque huius principis academiae iam semel et iterum meritissimo rector.

Pues bien, la expresión ‘iam semel et iterum meritissimo rector’ nos lleva inequívocamente a don Juan de Acuña, que fue rector por primera vez en 1574 y que ocupó su segundo mandato desde el 13 de febrero, festividad de San Martín, de 1577 al mismo día de 1578.<sup>86</sup> En consencuencia, Jason tuvo que escribir su opúsculo en ese período.

### 7.1. *La apresurada redacción de la tercera parte del opúsculo*

Un examen caligráfico de la *Disquisitio responsoria* nos hace ver que el autor comenzó a escribirla sosegadamente, pero que al final se precipitó en la escritura. En efecto, la cuidada letra que, por ejemplo, encontramos en los ff. 1<sup>r</sup> y 17<sup>r</sup> frente a la de los ff. [53<sup>v</sup>] y 54<sup>r</sup> sólo se explica, a nuestro juicio, si pensamos en la obligada vuelta hacia su tierra de Jason a fines de 1578 o principios de 1579<sup>87</sup>: fue probablemente la noticia de que había de retornar para incorporarse a la segunda guerra de Irlanda lo que llevó al maestro en artes inglés a apresurarse y descuidar la letra de la parte final de su opúsculo.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff.34<sup>r</sup>-[34<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>86</sup> Cf. E. Esperabé Arteaga, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, 1917), II: *La Universidad de Salamanca. Maestros y alumnos*, 9.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 72.

## 7.2. *La tercera parte del opúsculo como parte inconclusa: la falta de noticias sobre el padre Mancio*

Y esa misma razón es la que justifica también que la *Disquisitio responsoria* quedase inconclusa. Recordemos, en efecto, que, llegado el momento de demostrar que la oratoria es tanto o más importante que la literatura escrita, Jason decidió ejemplificar su aserto con la obra de Sócrates y del padre Mancio. Pero mientras que del maestro de Platón apuntó que consiguió la inmortalidad, pese a no haber escrito ni una sola línea, en el caso del conocido enemigo del Brocense<sup>88</sup> — y señalamos este último dato sobre el padre Mancio por su importancia de cara a intuir los apoyos con que contaba el alumno inglés — lo único que encontramos en el texto es una laguna en blanco<sup>89</sup>:

Duo in disiunctis aeuis satis sint ad fidem huius partis faciendam: Socrates ille et magnus noster Mancius. Atqui de Socrate, qui nec literam unquam scripsit, hoc commemoratur a principibus, talem eum fuisse ut illius excellentiam diuinus Plato, quamuis suis libris fere omnibus eam summa ope exprimere contendebat, non satis assequatur. [...] Iam uero de patre Mancio. [*Laguna de texto*].

La *Disquisitio responsoria* quedó, pues, inacabada por la decisión tomada por el autor de retornar a su país en aquellos terribles momentos de guerra contra la reina Isabel.

## 8. *La Disquisitio responsoria como segunda respuesta de Henry Jason al Brocense*

El Marqués de Morante postuló que Jason había escrito su *Disquisitio responsoria* como respuesta a la paradoja del Brocense. Pero las cosas no

<sup>88</sup> Recuérdese el siguiente y elocuente pasaje de Marqués de Morante, *Biografía*, p. 46; *Catalogus*, p. 714 (cf. et A. Tovar – M. de la Pinta Llorente, *Procesos inquisitoriales contra Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas* (Madrid, 1941), p. LXI): ‘Esplicando Retórica Sanchez, impugnó una opinion de Aristóteles, y como llegase á noticia del P. Mancio, catedrático de Prima de Teología, dijo: “Eso es heregía, porque Santo Tomás está fundado en Aristóteles, y nuestra fé en Santo Tomás; luego reprobar á Aristóteles es decir mal de nuestra fé”. Cuando llegó á noticia del Brocense tan estupenda y estúpida argumentación, exclamó: “No pudiera decir eso sino un fraile Dominico modorro; y si á mí me prueban que mi fé está fundada en Santo Tomás, yo... [= cagaré en ella] y tomaré otra”’.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. 65<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>.

fueron exactamente así, pues, como ya supuso González de la Calle<sup>90</sup>, el opúsculo nos descubre que las seis objeciones a las que responde el Brocense habían salido de la pluma del inglés. Recordemos que, al comenzar su alegato contra la primera *Responsio* de Sánchez, Jason afirma que va replicar por orden a cada una de las seis respuestas del humanista extremeño, para defender así sus seis asertos anteriores. El adjetivo posesivo ‘nostras’ nos descubre que él es el autor de las anónimas *obiectiones* a las que respondió el Brocense<sup>91</sup>:

Atque quo nobis melius elucescat haec ueritas, iam primum has inductas a te tenebras omnes et caligines fugabo, ac ordine respondebo ad sex tuas responsiones, ut totidem nostras assertiones impeditas expediam, easque omnes et singulas firmas esse et inuictas perspicua ratione demonstrem.

Por otra parte, al finalizar su réplica contra la segunda *Responsio* del rétor extremeño, el maestro en artes inglés transcribe la segunda *obiectio* que introduce con un ‘nostris’ harto elocuente<sup>92</sup>:

Valens itaque et satis potens atque secunda est haec nostra altera obiectio. Eam igitur loco suo restituimus et his nostris adscribimus:

Propter crebras in uariis disciplinis disputationes Latino sermone assidue loquendum.

Y de manera similar actúa en la parte final de sus alegatos contra la tercera *Responsio* de Sánchez<sup>93</sup>:

Quare, cum haec tua nullo modo consistunt atque in eis ipse tibi non constas, hoc effici credo, ut haec tertia nostra obiectio inconcussa maneat atque ut tua responsio plene sit explosa<sup>94</sup>

contra la quinta<sup>95</sup>:

<sup>90</sup> Las palabras de González de la Calle, ‘La paradoja segunda’, 178, son las siguientes: ‘Y, se jacta de haber rechazado las impugnaciones del “Brocense” a las tesis u objeciones que el mismo “Brocense” menciona en su “Latine loqui” etc. (tenemos motivos para suponer que esas tesis fueron previamente formuladas por E.Y., impugnadas después por Sánchez de las Brozas y defendidas, de nuevo, por aquél en la “Disquisitio”, a que venimos refiriéndonos)’. Como vemos, el investigador se quedó en una mera suposición, pero no llegó a buscar pruebas filológicas para demostrar su sospecha.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. 8<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [14<sup>v</sup>]:

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [16<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>94</sup> A continuación aparece el texto de la *Obiectio tertia* que transcribimos en la nota 21.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [23<sup>v</sup>].

Prius tamen quinta nostra obiectio quam pluribus asserui ac restitui, hic suo in loco constituenda est<sup>96</sup>

y contra la sexta<sup>97</sup>:

Atqui ne quid huius omittatur sexta nostra obiectio, iam satis liberata, est denique adscribenda.<sup>98</sup>

Una excepción lógica encontramos en la parte final de la réplica a la cuarta *Responsio*. Aquí, como era de esperar, Jason descubre que la humorística redacción de la misma había salido de la pluma del Brocense<sup>99</sup>:

Atque hac quidem in re, si ista duo organa nobis soluta esse uelis et libera, concedas oportebit solutam esse responsionem tuam quartam, itaque illaesam mansisse quartam hanc obiectionem quam tu uel aperte proteruus uel putide facetus sic describis:

Non desinunt isti onocrotali subinde obiicere seu uerius obgannire, moris esse ut ut infantes paruuli “papas”, “mamas”, “taytas” balbutiant, qui tamen postea in melius corrigantur.

No cabe duda, pues, de que las *Obiectiones* presentadas como anónimas por el Brocense salieron, como hemos podido comprobar, de la pluma del autor de la *Disquisitio responsoria*. Y no sólo eso. Gracias al opúsculo de Jason sabemos que las objeciones formuladas por él no fueron seis, sino muchas más. Fue el rétor extremeño el que escogió esas seis a la hora de responder en su paradoja<sup>100</sup>:

Deinde quam bene, argute et plene respondisset ad obiectiones, non dico sex, sed sexcentas, quamque omnia et singula contra allata diluisset! At hic quidem ad solas istas sex, quas suo arbitratu ex plurimis seduxit, ita plane respondit, ut eas quidem omnes fecerit non parum firmiores.

Así las cosas, podemos afirmar que la *Disquisitio responsoria* fue realmente la segunda respuesta que Jason dio al Brocense. El maestro inglés escribió su opúsculo no para impugnar la paradoja *Latine loqui corruptipit ipsam Latinitatem*, sino para defender los alegatos que previamente había presentado a Sánchez y que éste transcribe como anónimos en su paradoja, para criticarlos a continuación.

<sup>96</sup> A continuación encontramos el texto de la *Obiectio quinta* que podemos leer en la nota 27.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. 53<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>98</sup> A continuación hallamos el texto de la *Obiectio sexta* que transcribimos en la nota 42.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [17<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. 52<sup>r</sup>-[52<sup>v</sup>].

## 9. Sombras y luces sobre el origen de la polémica entre Henry Jason y el Brocense

Lo expuesto hasta aquí arroja bastante luz sobre el origen de la polémica. Jason abandonó Inglaterra por motivos religiosos y, como otros muchos de sus compatriotas, decidió refugiarse en España. Salamanca se convirtió en un asilo para muchos de aquellos ingleses e irlandeses católicos que tuvieron que huir de su país por la represión ideológica impuesta por la reina Isabel. Nuestro maestro en artes decidió continuar sus estudios en la Universidad salmantina, pero, cuando decidió hacerlo, apenas sabía castellano. Ilusamente pensó que en la cuna de la cultura hispana se hablaría latín, máxime cuando así lo ordenaban los Estatutos del afamado Estudio General salmantino. Pero las cosas eran muy distintas, tan distintas, digámoslo ya, que ni su mismísimo maestro de Retórica hablaba latín. Jason exigió que se cumpliera el precepto lingüístico universitario, haciendo gala de una formación nórdica en la que la lengua del Lacio todavía se seguía cultivando como lengua hablada.<sup>101</sup> Puesto contra las cuerdas por el maestro en artes inglés, a la sazón alumno suyo, el Brocense utilizó el único arma que tenía a mano: el latín de Jason, como el de los otros ingleses e irlandeses que pululaban por Salamanca, era similar a la bárbara jerga medieval del canon nefasto<sup>102</sup> y era condenable, por tanto, como contrario a la *Latinitas* clásica que soñaban resucitar los humanistas.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> Aunque es innegable que el latín no pasó de ser tampoco allí una lengua de élite (cf. el trabajo nuestro que citamos en la nota 7), lo cierto es que muchos humanistas del norte de Europa, como Erasmo, utilizaban muy frecuentemente la antigua lengua del Lacio para comunicarse entre sí o con otros extranjeros. Como bien señaló Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [31<sup>v</sup>], el texto en el que Erasmo refiere la negativa del historiador florentino Bernardo Oriculario a hablar en latín, demuestra en sí mismo el uso coloquial de la lengua latina que hacía el gran humanista holandés: 'Tertium peccatum est quum ita Bernardum tuum cum Erasmo copulas, ut obmutescens ille non tam promoueat quod uelles quam loquax iste nobis confirmet quod nolles'.

<sup>102</sup> Respecto al canon nefasto y su crítica por parte del Brocense en el prólogo-dedicatoria de la *Minerua* de 1587, cf. J.M<sup>a</sup>. Maestre Maestre, 'Barbatos Perotos: los tópicos del prólogo-dedicatoria de la *Minerua*', en *Actas del Simposio Internacional*, pp. 203-209. Y sobre la denominación de *bárbaro* con que los humanistas tildaban el latín medieval, cf. asimismo nuestro trabajo 'Bárbaros contra humanistas', *Estudios de historia y de arqueología medievales*, 7-8 (1987-88), 131-152.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. P.U. González de la Calle, "Latín "universitario". Contribución al estudio del uso del latín en la antigua universidad de Salamanca", en *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal. Miscelánea de estudios lingüísticos, literarios e históricos* (Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando, 1925), pp. 795-818. Sobre el raquífico latín de la mayoría de los españoles durante el Renacimiento, así como sobre la jerga latina, la 'música barbaresca', de los estudiantes y eruditos hispanos durante el mismo período, cf. Gil Fernández, *Panorama*

Es fácil imaginar la posición de ridículo en la que tuvo que quedar el Brocense, cuando aquel alumno aventajado le hablaba en latín dentro de sus clases sin que él pudiera contestarle. El incidente debió de armar tal revuelo en las aulas universitarias que el humanista extremeño no vio otra manera de sofocarlo que la de sacar a la luz un pasquín donde con la fina ironía que le caracterizaba arremetía contra el maestro en artes inglés. Sánchez tenía que lavar su imagen ante los alumnos y eso justifica que el pasquín vaya dirigido a los mismos.<sup>104</sup> Y lo mismo hizo Jason, pues al acabar la segunda de las tres partes de su opúsculo, el maestro inglés se dirige a los compañeros de clase para convencerlos del error al que trataba de inducirles su maestro en la luego célebre paradoja<sup>105</sup>:

Itaque tibi dicto meo uale, orationem conuertam ad condiscipulos meos scholasticos Salmanticenses atque hoc ipso argumento, quia mihi uidetur eximium ad fidem faciendam, secundam hanc partem meae responsionis concludam:

“Habetis hic, comilitones mei amabiles atque adamati condiscipuli imperatrix huius academiae, responsionem meam, satis (ut reor) perspicuam, ad hanc assertionem quae obnixe conatur nos omnes detertere et auertere a loquendo Latine; in qua mea responsione uidetis usum, necessitatem et multiplices atque maximas utilitates Latinae uestrae locutionis rationibus ab experientia, uetustate, artibus et philosophia desumptis satis luculenter confirmata et stabilita. [...] Quae cum ita sint, quid iam dubitabimus exterminare, eiicere ac penitus explodere tam inuenustam assertionem plane pleneque credere et affirmare quam hoc ipsum “Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem” uanius ante hunc diem auditum fuisse nihil”.

Parece claro que la polémica entre el Brocense y Jason se originó y se desarrolló posteriormente como acabamos de describir. Pero desgraciadamente hay cosas que, hoy por hoy, quedan entre oscuras sombras y que habrá que seguir investigando. Valga como ejemplo el siguiente pasaje de la *Disquisitio responsoria*, donde Jason echa en cara al Brocense el que hubiera escrito en su contra un poema y una condenatoria sentencia que colocó al frente de una carta para él ‘insignis’, pero para nosotros desconocida<sup>106</sup>:

Lingua damnatur quum inhibetur eius usus, cum a coetu loquentium exterminatur atque eiicitur. Homines tum demum damnantur propter aliquam linguam, quando contumelia aut probro afficiuntur, quia utuntur ea lingua. Iam

*social*, pp. 48-83 y 136-145. Y, por último, para una valoración del latín de la *Disquisitio responsoria* de Jason remitimos al lector al trabajo nuestro que anunciamos en la nota 2.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. el texto citado en la nota 12.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. [51<sup>v</sup>]-53<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [45<sup>v</sup>].



autem ut carmen illud et sententiam damnationis taceamus quam fronti literis insignibus affixisti. Nolumus enim quasi talione te petere et quadrupedem constringere, quia nos indigne tractaueris. Quod quidem faceremus, si hanc tuam calcem ad illud tuum caput uiolentius alligaremus. At enim absit ut magister a magistro nodo tam misero et diro colligaretur. Illud itaque missum facimus.

###### 10. El influjo de la *Disquisitio responsoria* de Henry Jason en los cambios textuales realizados por el Brocense en su paradoja

Pero las luces de nuestra investigación son, como prometimos al principio de nuestro trabajo, mucho mayores que esas leves sombras de las que acabamos de hablar. Ningún investigador se ha percatado hasta ahora de que la *Disquisitio responsoria* resulta clave para entender los cambios textuales que encontramos al comparar el texto de la paradoja de las dos primeras ediciones con el de la tercera renacentista.<sup>107</sup> Por el contrario, la tesis tradicional hasta ahora vigente fue la que formuló en su día el Marqués de Morante al hablar del opúsculo de Jason<sup>108</sup>:

No dio el Brocense la menor importancia á tal escrito. Así es que en las dos ediciones que posteriormente hizo de su opúsculo *De abusu latinè loquendi*, ni modificó sus opiniones, ni hace mérito siquiera de la impugnación del Teólogo.

Entremos, pues, a dilucidar lo que sin duda es el objetivo más importante de nuestro trabajo: ¿Por qué modificó el Brocense el título y algunos pasajes de la carta-prefacio y de las *Responsiones* de su célebre paradoja?

Dado que la *Disquisitio reponsoria* replica una por una a las seis *Responsiones* del Brocense, estudiaremos, en primer lugar, los cambios introducidos por éste en la redacción definitiva de sus respuestas. A continuación abordaremos las modificaciones de la carta-prefacio y por último, para terminar así con una explicación que a buen seguro sorprenderá gratamente al propio lector, con la modificación del propio título de la paradoja.

###### 10.1. Cambios introducidos por el Brocense en el texto de sus Responsiones

Comencemos por estudiar los diversos e importantes cambios que encontramos dentro de las dos últimas *Responsiones*.

<sup>107</sup> La conveniencia de su estudio fue puesta de relieve ya, sin embargo, por J.M<sup>a</sup>. Núñez González, '*Latine loqui/ Latine garrere* o del ciceronianismo de "El Brocense"', en *Actas del Simposio internacional*, p. 134, nota 25.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Marqués de Morante, *Biografía*, p. 35 (= *Catalogus*, p. 703).

10.1.1. Veamos, en primer lugar, la causa de eliminación del texto ‘Quamobrem in istis exercitationibus, etsi utile est etiam subito saepe dicere, tamen illud utilius sumpto spatium ad cogitandum paratius atque accuratius dicere’ de la cita de Cic., *de orat.*, 1, 149-150 aducida por el Brocense en su *Responsio* a la *Obiectio quinta*.

Nuestro compatriota tomó su decisión, después de leer la oportuna contrarréplica de Jason al pasaje congratulándose de que hubiera sacado a colación esa cita de Cicerón. Es el propio arpinate el que dejó claro que en muchas ocasiones resulta útil el hablar en latín de repente o extemporáneamente<sup>109</sup>:

[Quamobrem in istis ipsis exercitationibus, etsi utile est etiam subito dicere, tamen illud utilius sumpto spatio ad cogitandum paratius atque accuratius dicere] Vtile est etiam saepe dicere. Quid expressius aut euidentius dici poterat ad testificandum quod subita et extemporalis dictio utilitatem adferat non contemnendam? Sic igitur tuus Cicero stylum esse uult optimum dicendi magistrum, ut dictionem subitam ac fortuitam bonum esse dicendi effectorem concedat. Quare contra te satis enodate e Cicerone habetur etiam amplius quam ante contendebar.

10.1.2. Conozcamos ahora por qué suprimió el Brocense la cita ‘Cicero, primo *offic.* §. Intelligendum est etiam, etc.: “ut enim sermone eo debemus uti qui notus est nobis, ne, ut quidam in Graeca inculcantes, iure optimo irrideamur, sic in actiones omnemque uitam nullam discrepantiam conferre debemus”’ aducida en su *Responsio* a la *Obiectio quinta*.

El pertinente pasaje de réplica de Jason colocó a Sánchez contra las cuerdas. Nuestro compatriota interpretó la frase de Cic., *off.*, 1, 111, 6: ‘sermone eo debemus uti qui nobis est notus’ en sentido restrictivo, es decir, como una recomendación de no usar una lengua desconocida. Pero de la frase también podría deducirse justamente lo contrario, esto es, la recomendación de que usáramos la lengua que conocemos. Jason, haciendo gala de un buen sentido del humor, echa en cara a su maestro de Retórica su sofisticado razonamiento y responde a su ataque a través de la autoridad de Cicerón con una cita de éste mucho más demoledora: ‘Non enim tam est gloriosum scire Latine quam turpe nescire’.<sup>110</sup> He aquí el oportuno pasaje, que sin duda resultará del agrado del lector<sup>111</sup>:

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. [24<sup>v</sup>]-25<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Cic., *Brut.*, 140, 8. La cita textual del arpinate reza de la siguiente manera: ‘non enim tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire’.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. [25<sup>v</sup>]-26<sup>r</sup>.

[Vt enim sermone eo debemus uti qui nobis est notus, sic in actiones etc.] Hoc illud est quod in arte tua praecipitur, uenari similitudines. Attamen ne credas ita licere. Quippe nonnihil pluribus locis peccabitur, si ex altero membro similitudinis fiant enuntiata. Sed quemadmodum in locis sterilibus miserisque et ubi triticum non est, fit panis ex auena et lolio, sic in arida quaestione quae nullum inuentum probabile de se praebet, necessum est ut percipiantur enuntiata e membris similitudinis. Sit igitur pronuntiatum ita ereptum, non dico acceptum, e Cicerone: “sermone eo debemus uti qui nobis est notus”. Et tu quid inferis? Ergo Latine loqui corrumpit Latinitatem! Iterum dico: repete mercedem ab eo qui ita docuit concludere. Caeterum, ut alteram et nostram conclusionem queamus ex Cicerone elicere, audiamus Ciceronem progredientem et plenius narrantem de sermone. Ideo adiungamus ad proloquium illud hanc alteram admonitionem e summo oratore et philosopho: “Debemus etiam efficere ut sermo Latinus sit nobis quam notissimus. Non enim tam est gloriosum scire Latine quam turpe nescire. Caue itaque ne sis turpis, nam turpitudinis et dedecoris malum plus omnibus malis refugiendum est”. Sic ille tuus uel potius noster Cicero. Quid? Iamne contueris erumpentem hanc conclusionem? Ergo debemus uti sermone Latino quo firmetur in nobis et efflorescat ipsa Latinitas.

**10.1.3.** Descubramos a continuación la causa de la supresión del siguiente pasaje de la cita tomada del final del *De imitatione Ciceronis liber III* de Bartolomé Ricci y aducida por el Brocense en su *Responsio* a la *Obiectio quinta*:

Equidem si meo discipulo cum eis uersandum sit qui tantum ex modo egregie atque splendide loquantur, in eam consuetudinem eum inducerem omnino, id enim fieret quod nos in nostra lingua et Romani in hac ipsa sua faciebant, ut nulla difficultate, multa enim cum dignitate, quidquid postea uellet, commode loqueretur. Sed quum hic a libris discessit aut etiam a magistro suo, alio locutionis suae rationem referre cogitur, domi, in uiis, cum familiaribus, ruri, in urbe, alio etiam modo loquendum est.

Jason encontró en esta cita una de las formas más contundentes para responder a Sánchez, dado que el pasaje más que apoyar su posición se volvía en contra suya. El maestro inglés esgrimió, en primer lugar, que el texto dejaba claro que, siempre que los alumnos hablasen en latín con quienes dominasen bien esta lengua, la conversación resultaba útil para el pertinente aprendizaje, pues no de otra manera se aprendían en el Renacimiento las lenguas vernáculas y no de otra forma se aprendía latín en la antigua Roma. Y en tal contexto nada mejor que una universidad tan afamada como la de Salamanca, dedicada por entero a dar vigencia a la lengua latina.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [39<sup>v</sup>].

[Equidem, si meo discipulo cum iis uersandum sit, qui tantum eo modo egregie et splendide loquantur, in eam consuetudinem eum inducerem omnino] Iste quidem hoc in loco totus noster est. Ingenue siquidem et prolixè asserit quod si uersandum esset cum illis qui egregie et splendide loquantur, tum discipulum suum omnino ab eo inducendum in illam consuetudinem, ut assidue cum illis colloqueretur, quo linguae Latinae et uirtutes nancisceretur loquendo Latine. At uero absit ut coetus iste splendide loquentium Latine in Latina academia adeoque principi et summa academia desideretur. Hic igitur sedulo loquendum est Latine aut (si magis hoc placet) academice. Nam lingua Romana uictrix nostris triumphantibus academiis penitus est dicata.

Y, de otro lado, Jason argumentó que los reparos de Ricci tenían sentido si se pensaba en niños pequeños, pero nunca en los jóvenes, ya barbados, del Estudio General salmantino. Mientras que los niños de las escuelas tenían como único bagaje literario un pequeño diccionario y las fábulas de Esopo y, saliendo de las clases no tenían con quien conversar en latín, los estudiantes salmantinos pasaban los días entre grandes maestros estudiando, en la lengua del Lacio, a Platón, a Aristóteles, a Cicerón, a Galeno, o leyendo los tomos de los *Decretalia* papales o los volúmenes de los *Decreta* de los santos padres. No se podía comparar, en fin, una simple escuela de un olvidado pueblo con el mismísimo santuario de Minerva que representaba Salamanca <sup>113</sup>:

Post succedit [Sed cum hic a libris discessit aut etiam a magistro, alio locutionis suae rationem referre cogitur etc.] Ne quid omittam. Sicut ante sui temporis et loci differentias cum uetustatis et Romanorum perfectione conferebat, ita hic causas refert atque enumerat cur discipulus eius nonnunquam parum composite loquatur planeque corrumpat dignitatem Latinitatis, dum studeat celeritati locutionis. Haec summa est et quidem uniuersum eorum quae ante ultimum periodum habentur. Facilis et expedita istorum omnium dilutio. Videmus uel ad oculum illa aetatum discrimina. Rationes etiam et causas alias haud oscitanter uidemus. Sed cum plures differentias cernimus inter nostrae imperatricis Academiae alumnos et Riccii discipulum quam ille temporum commemorat, fit sane ut nunc commemoratae istae causae et pericula non cadant in nos, quemadmodum forte tunc locum habebant aliquem in illo illius ludimagistri discipulo. Ille discipulus (uti nobis hic narrat praeceptor) erat puer infans, noster grex adultus est die et literis ad loquendum multo prouectior. Ille rure aut in urbe negotiosa atque illiterata uictitabat, nostri Salmanticae in Mineruae nemore et sacrario beatius agunt. Ille ab uno Riccio illic poterat doceri et uel uerborum flexus uel uerbula quaedam et phrases Latinas aliquando addiscere, nostri uero hic a plurimis summis uiris ac diuinis doctoribus regias scientias, abdita mysteria linguae Latinae

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [39<sup>v</sup>]-[40<sup>v</sup>].

ministerio percipiunt atque usque exugunt et imbibunt. Ille (ne plura) domi maximos suos, non tamen ita magnos, autores habuit confabulationes pueriles, aliquod dictionariolum atque Aesopi fabellas, nostri denique (sancte Deus!) quam bene differentes in suis musaeis sibi adapertos semper habent! Alii Platonem, Aristotelem, Ciceronem et suum Galenum aspiciunt, quidam rerumpublicarum ciuitatum politiae et uitae nostrae temperatores libros plures quotide consulunt, partim uenerandos tomos *Decretalium* et sacrata sanctorum patrum *Decreta* assidue reuoluunt, reliqui uero sacrosancta et tremenda uolumina perennnis philosophiae quantum possunt, contemplantur. Quid? Hosne omnes uocandos esse censes ad leges puelli illius et discipuli tui Riccii?

10.1.4. Estudiemos, finalmente, por qué el Brocense sustituyó el texto final de la paradoja de 1578 y 1582 ‘Ego denique cum doctissimis, neminem excipio, uiris teneo, nulla aut aetate aut tempore aliena lingua, nedum Latina, esse loquendum’ por el de ‘Ego uero cum doctissimis, neminem excipio, uiris teneo nulla aut aetate aut tempore Latina lingua, nisi praemeditate, esse loquendum’ que encontramos en la *Minerua* de 1587.

Cualquier lector de la primera redacción de la paradoja se percató rápidamente de la insensatez que puso al final de la misma nuestro compatriota: en ningún momento de la vida había que hablar en una lengua extranjera y, especialmente, en la latina. Y encima Sánchez presentaba tal aserto arropado por la autoridad de los hombres más doctos.

Pues bien, como era de esperar, Jason se percató del tremebundo error cometido por nuestro compatriota y se lo echó en cara. ¿Cómo se le había ocurrido tamaña desconsideración con los extranjeros? ¿En que clase de monstruo ‘apolítico’ se había convertido? ¿Qué habrían de hacer a partir de ese momento los embajadores enviados a otros países a la hora de hablar sobre los distintos problemas? ¿O es que nuestro compatriota pensaba que lo mejor era no viajar al extranjero ni enviar allí embajadores? El Brocense, en definitiva, había olvidado el valor de cualquier idioma extranjero — y, en especial, del latín — como lengua de comunicación<sup>114</sup>:

[Nulla aut aetate aut tempore aliena lingua, nedum Latina, loquendum est] Nae tu homo uideris parum propitius et fauens aduenis, nullo autem modo politicus. Quid si negotium publicum geras apud externos aut cum imperio in prouincias longinquas ultimasue regiones proficiscaris? Quid si tibi consiliario cum nuntiis et legatis aliorum et legatis aliorum principum amplissima potentissimi tui regis negotia sunt tractanda? Respondebis fortassis te nolle aut domo tua longius secedere aut regium esse senatorem. At uides quod sint tamen clarissimi et plures qui cum Latine loquentibus non minus lubenter quam necessario colloquantur Latine. Dabis ueniam.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [48<sup>v</sup>].

El argumento de Jason era irrefutable. Sánchez no tenía otra opción que suprimir o corregir sus palabras. Optó por la segunda vía: en la segunda redacción de la paradoja su posición no era ya la de que no había que hablar en latín nunca, sino que no había que utilizar la lengua del Lacio sin reflexionar de antemano.

Podemos decir que en cierto modo esa misma idea se contiene ya en la frase ‘Nihil est enim quo ita repugnet limatae orationi quam illa extemporalis loquendi profluuiis’ que encontramos en la primitiva carta-prefacio de las ediciones de 1578 y 1582 y también implícitamente en su posterior insistencia en algunas de sus *Responsiones* de la importancia de expresarse en latín con estilo.<sup>115</sup> Pero el Brocense no desarrollará completamente sus convicciones en esa línea hasta el momento de preparar la versión aparecida en 1587.

Así se explica, en primer lugar, el siguiente nuevo párrafo de la carta-prefacio, donde nuestro compatriota saca a la palestra a Pietro Bembo y a Jerónimo Osorio pero no para decir, como antes, que se oponían a hablar en latín, sino para señalar que consiguieron fama y renombre por su dominio escrito de la lengua del Lacio. Los oradores sagrados deben rehuir las conversaciones, incluso en castellano, para dedicarse por entero a preparar por escrito unas intervenciones que causen la admiración de los hombres más doctos:

Quicumque enim aliquando peritiam linguae Latinae est assequutus, Petrum Bembum dico aut Osorium aut nostrum Pincianum, non loquendo, sed scribendo, meditando et imitatione id sunt assecuti. Hortor igitur sacri verbi concionatores — quando polite et apposite de suggesto loqui non ultima laus est — ut etiam Hispanae loquentium coetus fugiant, quam paucissima loquantur ipsi patianturque uel mutos et elingues in confabulationibus appellitari, dum ex scripto et meditato doctorum hominum aures ducant in admirationem.

Así se explica también que la nueva carta-prefacio culmine en la segunda versión con un pasaje donde el autor, como también hará después también en la *Responsio* a la *Obiectio sexta*, insiste en la importancia que al estilo le daba Cicerón. El Brocense afirma ahora con claridad que su oposición no es a hablar en latín, sino a que no se hable con la debida elegancia:

Stylus exercendus est diligenter; hic enim, ut Marcus Tullius ait, est egregius dicendi magister: hic uere nos docebit communi sensu illos carere qui

<sup>115</sup> Véanse, dentro del apartado II, nuestra síntesis de las *Responsiones* a las objeciones primera, segunda, tercera y sexta. Es evidente que el expresarse en latín con estilo implica premeditación y de ahí que el Brocense piense antes en ‘escribir’ que en ‘hablar’ (cf., por ejemplo, el texto al que se refiere la nota 23).

linguam Latinam in plateis aut etiam in gymnasiis, miris modis conantur dilacerare.

Así se entiende que la lista de autoridades esgrimidas en la *Responsio* a la *Obiectio quinta* — la más importante, como ya dijimos — comience ahora con una nueva cita que no figuraba en la primera redacción. Nos referimos al texto ‘Expende diligenter cap. 84 Suetonii in Augusto’ que por su interés conviene desarrollar:

nam deinceps neque in senatu neque apud populum neque apud milites locutus est umquam nisi meditata et composita oratione, quamvis non deficeretur ad subita extemporali facultate, ac ne periculum memoriae adiret aut in ediscendo tempus absumeret, instituit recitare omnia. Sermones quoque cum singulis atque etiam cum Liuia sua grauiore non nisi scriptos et e libello habebat, ne plus minusue loqueretur ex tempore. Pronuntiabat dulci et proprio quodam oris sono dabatque assidue phonasco operam; sed nonnumquam infirmatis faucibus praeconis uoce ad populum contionatus est.

Como es fácil intuir, la intención de Sánchez es hacernos ver que de la misma manera que Augusto no hablaba ni en público ni privado, sino después de haber preparado minuciosamente sus intervenciones, así también quien quisiera expresarse en latín en el Renacimiento tenía que preparar antes la oportuna intervención.

Y así se comprende que en la *Responsio* a la *Obiectio sexta*, poco antes de terminar la definitiva redacción de su opúsculo, nuestro compatriota opte por sacar a la palestra la autoridad de Cicerón, esgrimida ahora también en la carta-prefacio, para recalcar que lo importante era el estilo<sup>116</sup>: ‘Multis in locis Cicero commendat stylum, et ad Gallum, lib. 7, sic scribit: “Vrge igitur nec transuersum <unguem>, quod aiunt, a stylo; is enim dicendi opifex”’.

Como vemos, el Brocense cambió el final de su paradoja y con él su argumentación: no se oponía a hablar en latín, sino a que se hablara de repente y, por tanto, sin elegancia. Pero, dado que ese nuevo razonamiento debía ser apuntalado previamente, preparó el terreno para hacer más comprensible su nuevo final introduciendo sustanciales cambios al principio y al final de su opúsculo y aduciendo en la *Responsio* a la *Obiectio quinta* un nuevo testimonio de autoridad que le diese más fuerza a ese ‘cum doctissimis uiris... teneo’ que escribió en la primitiva redacción y volvió a repetir en la versión definitiva.

<sup>116</sup> Como ya dijimos en la nota 44, este importante párrafo aparece ya en la edición de los *Paradoxa* de 1582, lo que implica que el Brocense vislumbraba ya por entonces lo que a la postre sería su razonamiento definitivo.

## 10.2. *Cambios introducidos por el Brocense en el cuerpo de la carta-prefacio*

Pasemos ahora a examinar aquellos cambios textuales producidos en la carta-prefacio que entendemos guardan relación con la *Disquisitio responsoria* de Jason.<sup>117</sup>

10.2.1. Comencemos cuestionando la causa de la sustitución del párrafo de la epístola a los alumnos del texto aparecido en 1578 y 1582 ‘Quis enim iam doctorum Latine loquitur, praecipue apud Italos, postquam Petrum Bembum, Latinae linguae instauratorem, Latine loquentes audiuit execrantem?’ por el de ‘Quis enim est, non dico in Hispania, sed etiam in tota Europa — quattuor aut sex doctos excipio — qui non et sentiat et praecipiat uerbis Latinis exercendam linguam, ut prompte et celeriter possis quae male cogitaueris, expromere?’ que hallamos en la carta al lector de la *Minerua* de 1587.

El argumento inicial del Brocense era a todas luces una falacia. Pese a la defensa de un latín ciceroniano realizada por Pietro Bembo y a su crítica a quienes no seguían el modelo de los clásicos<sup>118</sup>, era indudable que en Italia, cuna de las letras humanas, había muchísimos eruditos que se expresaban oralmente en la vieja lengua del Lacio.

Jason no podía pasar por alto un contraataque que de antemano tenía ganado. Pero no lo hizo replicando directamente al pasaje de la

<sup>117</sup> En la carta-prefacio encontramos dos cambios, cuya causa no obedece a la *Disquisitio responsoria*, sino a la inserción del texto original de la paradoja en la *Minerua*. Tal es el caso, en primer lugar, de que la carta-prefacio comience en la edición de 1587 con un ‘Lectori salutem’ frente al ‘Franciscus Sanctius Brocensis auditoribus suis s.’ que hallamos en las ediciones de 1578 y 1582: la alocución a los alumnos, tan importante en el origen de la paradoja (cf. los apartados II y III), no tenía ahora sentido, como es obvio. Y tal es el caso, en segundo lugar, de que la misma composición comience con una frase impuesta a todas luces por el nuevo contexto editorial: recordemos, en definitiva, el trueque de ‘Quum multa hactenus in uulgus ediderim, reuerentia Hispaniae matris impeditus sum, ne inter illa et hoc documentum de abusu Latine loquendi insererem, ne uidelicet nomen barbarae, quod fortasse immerito apud exterarum nationes acquisiuit, hoc etiam peccato proplato confirmaretur’ de las ediciones de 1578 y 1582 por el de ‘Vltimum posuimus ad linguam Latinam praecipuum documentum, quia magna uulnera debent arte atque dolo bono tractari. Timui enim ne, si hoc remedium in libri fronte proponeretur, omnes medicinam licet saluberrimam, auersarentur’ de 1587. Por otra parte, cabe observar que, aunque también encontramos alguna expresión dura en la nueva carta-prefacio (cf. el texto que abre el subapartado 10.2.2.), el tono de vehemencia no es el mismo que encontramos en la anterior: en el nuevo contexto la polémica no tenía ya la fuerza que tuvo inicialmente (cf. *et nota* 123).

<sup>118</sup> Cf. *nota* 8.



carta-prefacio<sup>119</sup>, sino a aquel otro de la *Responsio quinta* en el que Sánchez sacó a la palestra el argumento de que, según Erasmo, en Italia había eruditos, como el historiador Bernardo Ocriculario, que imitaba a la perfección a Salustio, pero que se negaban a platicar en latín. El maestro inglés contestó irónicamente que nuestro compatriota tenía la costumbre de confirmar sus raciocinios con la mitad de la mitad de las debidas pruebas. Pues si el argumento era que ‘algunos eruditos italianos’ no hablaban en latín, tenía que confirmar ese aserto con varios personajes y no con una única referencia a Bernardo Ocriculario<sup>120</sup>:

[Hac ratione duci uidentur Itali quidam eruditi, qui licet pulchre calleant latine, tamen uix unquam adduci possunt, ut in familiari congressu Latine loquantur] Sic magnus ille Erasmus qui sane mihi non aliter unquam uisus est magnus quam illius haec ita more suo probata et illustrata autoritas magna mihi uisa est hoc tempore. Sed detur magno isto audientia cui iam placet authoritati suae probationem adiicere. Nam quod dicebat tribus uerbis (Itali quidam eruditi) illud sua consuetudine confirmat ex medio trium uel potius ex illius medii dimidio. Quidam (inquit) Barnardus Florentinus. At ubi iam sunt Itali et eruditi?

Jason deja claro, además, que una cosa era que los humanistas italianos no quisiesen hablar en latín dentro del ámbito familiar y otra muy distinta el tratar de inferir de ahí que en las academias italianas no se expresaban los eruditos habitualmente en la vieja lengua del Lacio, como de hecho acontecía<sup>121</sup>:

Atqui qui uix adducuntur eos credo adduci, licet aegre et uix, et qui in familiari congressu insolenter et uix id faciant, faciunt tamen. Deinde quid credamus eo facere in academiis suis Italos, dico homines Musis omnibus dicatos, philosophicis concertationibus enutritos, suae ipsorum Latinitati rotundo ore et lingua acuta natos? Hic enim tuus Erasmus tantum loquitur de familiari congressu et solum de quibusdam Italos et id demum probat cum unico Barnardo.

Es evidente que estas palabras tuvieron el oportuno calado en la mente del Brocense. Nuestro compatriota se percató de que de la conocida defensa de la lengua italiana frente al latín realizada por Bembo no podía

<sup>119</sup> Tengamos presente que, aunque el maestro inglés hace algunas referencias a la carta-prefacio del Brocense, sin embargo, no hace un ataque directo y minucioso contra la misma como el que encontramos en la segunda parte de su *Disquisitio responsoria* respecto a cada una de las seis *Responsiones* de nuestro compatriota.

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. 30<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [30<sup>v</sup>].

deducir que en Italia nadie se expresaba en la vieja lengua del Lacio. Así pues, llevado probablemente por el mencionado razonamiento de Jason, abandonó su planteamiento inicial y lo sustituyó por otro que no sería discutido por nadie: en efecto, de afirmar que ya ni los italianos hablaban en latín Sánchez paso a decir que no había ni en España ni en Europa nadie que no dijese que no había que hablar en latín.

10.2.2. Así las cosas, pasemos a examinar la inserción en la epístola al lector de la *Minerua* de 1587 de la frase ‘Quis porro ludimagister grammaticus non subinde pueris crepat — honor sit auribus doctorum — “Vel male uel bene, loquere cum Marco”? Tanta est stultorum hominum ignorantia, peruersitas et pertinacia. At ego, apud quem pluris est rectae rationis pondus quam multorum praescriptum, assero nihil pestilentius posse iuueni linguae Latinae cupido euenire quam aut uerbis Latinis effutire cogitata aut loquentium profluentiae interesse’ que a todas luces aprovecha parte del texto ‘Quid dignum illis imprecabor qui sic admonent pueros: “Vel male uel bene loquere cum M.” Ex huiusmodi sterquiliniis tantam accepit lingua Latina labem et calamitatem’, que hallamos en la *Responso* a la *Obiectio sexta* de la paradoja de 1578 y 1582.

Para nosotros es evidente que este cambio guarda relación con los dos últimos que hemos estudiado. Pero antes de pasar a hacer los oportunos razonamientos, recordemos que la crítica del Brocense a aquellos maestros de escuela que ordenaban a su alumnos hablar la lengua de Marco Tulio Cicerón con la frase ‘Vel male uel bene loquere cum M.’ no fue utilizada sólo por nuestro compatriota dentro de su paradoja, sino que también la sacó a la palestra, ya jubilado como Catedrático de Retórica, en la última de sus obras gramaticales, el *Arte para en breve saber latín*<sup>122</sup>:

Dicen algunos grosseros que pues el niño va a la escuela a deprender latín, que es bien que comience luego a chascar en latín, *chascar* dicen, i otros mas pulidos dicen *engullir*, i otros que para mi son irracionales, dicen “Vel male uel bene loquere cum M.”.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. F. Sánchez de las Brozas, *Arte para en breve saber latín*, en el prólogo intitulado ‘Del provecho que se saca de la gramática en romance’ (cf. *Francisci Sanctii Brocensis, in inclyta Salmanticensi Academia emeriti, olim rhetorices, et primarii Latinae Graecaeque linguae doctoris, opera omnia...*, I, 229). Respecto a la fecha de composición y edición del opúsculo conviene recordar que el título completo del mismo es el siguiente (cf. *ibid.*, 227): *Arte para en breve saber latín; compuesta por el maestro Francisco Sánchez, catedrático jubilado en Rhetorica, i Regente de Latín i Griego en la Universidad de Salamanca* (cf. et A. Holgado Redondo, ‘El Brocense’, p. 73). Para mayor información sobre su contenido, cf. S. Protomártir, ‘Notas sobre el *Arte para en breve saber latín* del Brocense’, en *Actas del Simposio internacional*, pp. 137-144.

Pues bien, una pregunta retórica para evidenciar que todos los maestros de escuela aconsejaban a sus alumnos que bien o mal hablasen en latín, venía como anillo para coronar el razonamiento de que en España y Europa todo el mundo estaba empeñado en utilizar coloquialmente la vieja lengua del Lacio y para expresar a continuación que, pese a la existencia de tantas opiniones en contra, el joven amante de la lengua latina debía rehuir el uso coloquial y extemporáneo de la misma. La frase aprovechada, pues, encajaba mejor en la carta-prefacio y de ahí que la encontremos justamente a renglón seguido del párrafo que estudiamos en el subapartado anterior.

Pero consideremos, por el contrario, que, desde el momento en que nuestro compatriota abandonó la tesis de que nunca se debía hablar latín y la substituyó por la de que jamás se debía utilizar oralmente la vieja lengua del Lacio sin haber reflexionado de antemano, la mencionada frase dejaba de tener sentido en la *Obiectio sexta* por dos razones fundamentales: de un lado, porque, a la luz del importante cambio de posición del Brocense, no se comprendía bien del todo, salvo con las debidas precisiones, una frase que, si bien favorecía los intereses de Sánchez porque con ella los maestros de escuela obligaban a sus alumnos a hablar en latín incorrectamente, también se volvía en contra suya, dado que con ella también les obligaban a hacerlo bien y, por tanto, con la obligada reflexión previa.

Además, en estricta lógica, la frase ‘Ex huiusmodi sterquiliniis tantam accepit lingua Latina labem et calamitatem’ tampoco era congruente dentro del razonamiento que acabamos de examinar: sólo cabía, en efecto, calificar de *sterquilinia* a las recomendaciones de hablar mal en latín, pero no a las recomendaciones de hacerlo correctamente.

El Brocense había tomado buena nota de las inteligentes críticas dialécticas de Jason y trató de corregir, como vemos, las imprecisiones de su primitiva redacción. Y no sólo eso: de paso, en esta caso, suavizaba un ataque<sup>123</sup> cuya virulencia no pasó desapercibida para Jason<sup>124</sup> y cuya

<sup>123</sup> Como ya dijimos, la atenuación del tono de vehemencia anterior se evidencia también en la nueva carta-prefacio (cf. nota 117).

<sup>124</sup> Recordemos, en efecto, las siguientes palabras de Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. 46r: ‘Et tamen dicis: “Ego Latinam linguam non damno”. Imo iam audacter et subcommotus assero: “magis et maius facis”. Namque nos omnes damnas et sane pluribus nominibus nos damnas propter linguam Latinam, dum nos “stultorum turbam”, “obgan-nientes”, “blaterones”, “onocrotalos” et “communi sensu carentes” uocitas. Olim una litera damnabant, tu plures et maiusculas praefixisti. Vna sententia damnabant, tu sane plures adeoque plurimas tulisti. Status diminutione damnabant, tu certe capite et uita, dum eam nullam esse iussisti. Ex uno loco interdicto damnabant, tu omni loco ac tempore et

existencia no tenía sentido después del retorno a Inglaterra del maestro inglés.

10.2.3. Por último, pasemos a estudiar la causa de la adición, también en la epístola al lector de la *Minerua* de 1587, de la frase ‘Non discimus Hebraea uel Graeca, ut loquamur, sed ut docti efficiamur. Quur igitur in Latinis non idem efficiemus, quandoquidem iam nulla natio est, quae Latine aut Graece loquatur?’, que resulta redundante respecto a la frase ‘Idem esto iudicium de Graeca uel Hebrae lingua, quas non ut loquamur, sed ut intellegamus addiscimus’ que hallamos en la *Responsio* a la *Obiectio tertia* tanto en el texto de la paradoja de 1578 y 1582 como en el 1587.

Es evidente que el Brocense quiso dejar bien claro que, al igual que el latín, el griego y el hebreo eran lenguas que se aprendían no para hablarlas, sino para comprender lo escrito en ellas. Pero ¿por qué decidió insistir en este argumento al punto de incluirlo en la carta-prefacio definitiva?

Tres son las razones que a buen seguro lo llevaron a ello. En primer lugar, debemos recordar el siguiente pasaje de la *Disquisitio responsoria* donde Jason afirma que, si no se hablaba en Hebreo o en Griego era porque no conocía bien esas lenguas y porque no se tenía con quien hablarlas, pero que, de la misma manera que Tito Pomponio se comunicó en griego con los áticos o Cicerón con los sicilianos, así cualquier hombre docto podría hablar griego o hebreo de tener alguien con quien comunicarse en esas lenguas<sup>125</sup>:

Fateor equidem quod non saepe loquimur Hebraice aut Graece et hanc credo esse rationem, quia aut ipsi eas linguas nescimus aut non habemus cum quibus loquamur aut utroque modo sumus impediti. Sed ut Titus Pomponius cum Atticis locutus est Graece et Cicero cum Siculis, quia luculenter sciebant Graece et habebant colloquentes, sic neminem esse arbitror sapientem, qui non lubenter, imo lubentissime in simili casu loqueretur Graece aut Hebraice. Deinde lingua Graeca addiscitur (id quod tu nobis hic concedis), cur igitur non a docente? Si sic, ualde credo a loquente Graece. Rursus eadem lingua perdiscitur ut doceatur uel ut scientia aliqua aut cognitio quae in illa continetur, ad lumen uocetur docenda. Sed haec non commode efficientur nisi loquatur Graece. Ergo addiscimus linguam Graecam, ut loquamur Graece. Idem esto iudicium de Latina idque sane eo magis quia iam Latina magis est necessaria ad docendi ac discendi munus, ita Graecis academiis nobis commutatis in Latinas.

quasi aqua et igne interdixisti. Denique una nota grauitur damnabant, tu nobis plures odiosissimas inuassisti easque omnes propter linguam Latinam; tamen post haec omnia dicis: “Ego linguam Latinam non damno”.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. 16<sup>r</sup>-[16<sup>v</sup>].

El argumento de Jason abría un frente realmente peligroso. Tengamos presente — y así entramos en la segunda consideración que a buen seguro pasó por la mente del Brocense para insistir en su argumento — que el título LXIII de los Estatutos de la Universidad de Salamanca disponía que, dentro del Colegio Trilingüe, había que hablar ‘siempre’ latín, griego o Hebreo<sup>126</sup>: ‘Yten, que siempre hablen Latín, Griego, o Hebreo todos, y que nadie hable Romance dentro del Collegio, y esto se entienda de Rhetoricos, Griegos y Hebreos’.

Nuestro compatriota decidió apagar el nuevo incendio que provocaba el argumento del maestro inglés. Y decidió sofocarlo también por la simple razón — y aquí encontramos la tercera y última consideración que probablemente se hizo a sí mismo Sánchez — de que, dado que, como pone de manifiesto el párrafo que acabamos de citar, los Estatutos de la Universidad afectaban a ‘Rhetoricos, Griegos y Hebreos’, nadie tenía una obligación mayor de cumplir ese precepto que él que no sólo era Catedrático de Retórica, sino que además, desde 1576, era también Catedrático de Griego.<sup>127</sup>

#### 10.4. *El cambio de título de la paradoja*

Por último, pasamos a desvelar a cuento de qué Sánchez decidió cambiar el título *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem* por el *Qui Latine garriunt corrumpunt ipsam Latinitatem*, extremo que, como ya anticipamos, estamos seguros que sorprenderá agradablemente al lector.

##### 10.4.1. Interpretación contemporánea

Como era de esperar, tan llamativa modificación ha llamado la atención de los investigadores actuales. Fue J.M<sup>a</sup>. Núñez González quien, haciendo gala de la perspicacia filológica que le caracteriza, se dio cuenta de que el Brocense hizo el cambio tras percatarse de que había utilizado la expresión ‘Latine loqui’ con el simple valor de ‘hablar en latín’ y no con el de ‘hablar con propiedad el latín’ que tenía la misma en Cicerón<sup>128</sup>:

Probablemente nuestro humanista se dio cuenta de que no había aplicado en el título de su paradoja un precepto que allí mismo había enunciado: que no era suficiente encontrar las palabras latinas adecuadas, sino que además

<sup>126</sup> Cf. E. Esperabé Arteagá, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, I, 345.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. el texto al que se refiere la nota 81, así como el contenido de la misma.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Núñez González, ‘*Latine loqui*’, p. 135.

*delectus adhibendus in uerborum coniunctione. Latine loqui* no significaba en Cicerón “hablar en latín” sin más, sino “hablar un latín puro”, “hablar con propiedad el latín”. Y él mismo así lo había empleado al oponerlo a *Grammaticae loqui* o *barbare loqui*. De esa manera debió darse cuenta de que tal título no resultaba ya paradójico, sino contradictorio: “Hablar el latín con propiedad corrompe la propiedad del latín”.

Una prueba más, en propia carne, de que hablar en latín “sin premeditación” corrompía la propiedad de la lengua latina; un indicio más, en suma, de su ciceronianismo.

#### 10.4.2. Posición de Henry Jason

Es indudable que Núñez González dio en la clave, pero su descubrimiento ya había sido postulado por el maestro en artes huido de Inglaterra. Fue él quien hizo ver al Brocense su tremebundo error, como podemos comprobar leyendo su *Disquisitio responsoria*. Los razonamientos utilizados por Jason son de dos tipos: dialécticos y filológicos.

##### 10.4.2.1. Razonamientos dialécticos

El comienzo mismo del opúsculo del maestro inglés es una andanada dialéctica contra el principal problema de la paradoja del Brocense. No se puede hacer un enunciado sobre algo, si lo que deseamos señalar no se da por naturaleza en él, ni tampoco se puede hacer ese mismo enunciado, cuando lo que contiene por naturaleza ese algo es justamente lo contrario de lo que queremos enunciar. En definitiva, si *Latine loqui* significa ‘hablar el latín con propiedad’ no se puede decir *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem*<sup>129</sup>:

Si mihi uisum esset modo illo sicco, presso et sano dialecticorum contra hoc placitum magistri Sanctii agere, tunc quidem haec mea in illum instituenda disquisitio perbreuis futura esset et uictoria illico sine sudore compararetur. Quippe ex uno et altero praecepto illius artis disserendi quae tanquam leges firmarent, nihil posse uere de aliquo enuntiari quod eidem non inest, nec illi sedem dari posse ut hic ullo modo insit, ubi eius contrarium a natura inest. Ex his, inquam, institutis cito conficeretur negotium summumque hoc magistri, quod in uestibulo habemus, *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem* una atque altera necessaria demonstratione penitus conuinceretur. Sed rhetores ita secum agi non facile tolerant.

Otro razonamiento dialéctico que conduce a la misma conclusión es el de que, si el propósito de la gramática es el de adquirir la *Latinitas*, esto es,

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. 1<sup>r</sup>.

la capacidad de hablar bien latín, es evidente que el *Latine loqui*, esto es, el hablar con propiedad el latín nos llevará al deseado puerto y no al contrario<sup>130</sup>:

Est autem nostrae grammaticae proposita Latinitas. Quare evidens est conclusio: Latine loqui ipsam Latinitatem non parum magis promouebit. Et si sic, quam corruptum est illud tuum “corrumpit”! Deinde non uides quam tecum ipse pugnas, dum etiam atque etiam laudas quod opprimendum atque eiiciendum esse contendis?

Pero mucha más gracia tiene este otro razonamiento dialéctico, en el que Jason hace ver a Sánchez que más que llamar ‘paradoxon’ a su opúsculo debería haberle llamarle ‘adynaton’, pues su aserto no era ‘paradójico’, sino ‘imposible’. La *Latinitas* escrita es perfecta, pero la oral es imperfecta. Lo imperfecto es lo contrario de lo perfecto y, por la ley de los contrarios, un contrario puede corromper a su contrario. Luego, el hablar mal latín puede corromper el escribir bien el latín. Pero el Brocense no ha caído en la cuenta de que *Latine loqui* y *Latinitas* no son contrarios. Ambos aluden a la capacidad de hablar bien el latín<sup>131</sup>:

Hic (ut libere quod sentio, dicam) nihil nisi lenta quaedam, ieiuna et quae nihil exhibent negotii nec tam admirabili oppositioni ullo modo apta et conuenientia uideo. Hoc tuum paradoxon uel potius adynaton (luisse uidetur, si non Graeculus in Graeca dictione offendi) inopinabili aliquo ex Cicerone (si illo tantopere frui cupiebas) tibi stabiliendum erat hoc (opinor) modo: nos ne oculis quidem cernimus ea quae uidemus. Ita Cicero primo Tusculanarum [= 1, 46, 2]. Sic ea Latinitas quam linguis usurpamus sine dubio non est Latinitas. Est enim imperfecta. At uero quae calamo et stylo exercetur, ea demum est perfecta, ea sola Latinitas. Imperfectum quidem perfecto est aduersum. Sed aduersum aduersarium suum contrarietatis lege corrumpit. Ergo Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem. Siquidem haec primum uidemus, non uidemus: Latinitas est, non est Latinitas, similia sunt. Deinde locutio percepta auribus et oculis res uisa haud dissimilia apparent.

#### 10.4.2.2. Razonamientos filológicos

Es obvio que dada la estrecha relación entre retórica y dialéctica en el siglo XVI<sup>132</sup>, a los lectores renacentistas los razonamientos anteriores le

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. [11<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. 26<sup>r</sup>-[27<sup>v</sup>].

<sup>132</sup> Cf. C. Chaparro Gómez, ‘El Brocense: dialéctica y retórica’, en F. Grau Codina – X. Gómez Font – J. Pérez Durà – J.M<sup>a</sup>. Estellés González (eds.), *La Universitat de València i l’Humanisme: Studia Humanitatis i renovació cultural a Europa i al Nou Món* (València: Departament de Filologia Clàssica. Universitat de València, 2003), pp. 35-52.

resultarían tan gratos como decisivos. Pero ese no es el caso de los lectores actuales. Estamos convencidos de que, como nos ha sucedido a nosotros mismos, los razonamientos filológicos tienen un mayor peso.

Comencemos por recordar un breve pasaje en el que Jason echa en cara al Brocense su somnolencia al no haber diferenciado entre *Latine loqui* y *non Latine loqui*, esto es, en no haberse dado cuenta de que para que *Latine loqui* signifique *hablar mal* necesariamente debe aparecer como *non Latine loqui*, pero nunca como *Latine loqui*<sup>133</sup>: ‘Deinde cuius est soporis nullum uidere discrimen inter Latine loqui et non Latine, hoc est, inter bene et male loqui?’.

Pero el razonamiento definitivo llegará en el momento en que Jason replica al razonamiento que el Brocense tomó de Cornelio Valerio, afirmando que quienes retuercen la lengua latina pensando en esquemas propios de las lenguas vernáculas, esos contaminan la latinidad con expresiones bárbaras. El maestro inglés acepta gustosamente el raciocinio. Y a renglón seguido deja claro que precisamente eso es lo que impide decir en latín *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem*. Hacerlo así sería como presentar como contrarios los términos *amicitia* y *coniugium*. El Brocense, en suma, ha caído en la misma trampa que deseaba evitar sacando a relucir el aserto de Cornelio Valerio. Pensado en castellano<sup>134</sup> ha transferido al término *Latine loqui* un valor inexistente en latín<sup>135</sup>:

Sic uisus est proponere, itaque fundamentum suum ponere. Qui detorquent linguam Latinam ad idioma uernaculum, isti quidem Latinitatem barbarie contaminant. Bene habet tibi principium. Concedimus propositionem. Iam (amabo) assume. Sed qui Latine loquuntur detorquent. Nil opus est amplius, Nego hoc assumptum. Hoc proba et uicisti. Sed heus tu non prius probabis quam amicitia et coniugio duo contradictoria ac desperata inter se concilies atque coniungas. Anceps sane in disputatione opus et non nisi desperanter et frustra (credo) moliendum. Loqui Latine et non Latine quo pacto possint eodem tempore, eodem loco, eodem modo et (ut omnia simul cum tua bona uenia sic dicam) terminis praecise supponentibus pro iisdem in eodem cadere, ipse ita leuiter doctus ne suspicari quidem possum. At dices: Ipsum

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. 12<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>134</sup> Los tremebundos errores que suelen cometer quienes tratan de escribir en latín pensando en castellano, fueron denunciados también, como bien señala Gil Fernández, *Panorama social*, pp. 137-138, por P. Simón Abril en la Epístola dedicatoria a Máteo Vázquez de Leca que encontramos en *Los diez y seis libros de las epístolas o cartas de Marco Tulio Cicerón vulgarmente llamadas familiares: traducidas de Lengua Latina en Castellana por el Doctor Pedro Simón Abril, natural de Alcaraz...* (Barcelona: En Casa de Sebastián Cormellas, 1615).

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, ff. [33<sup>v</sup>]-34<sup>r</sup>.



loqui Latine aliter accipio. Et ego: “Dupliciter igitur delinquis, tum quia non te explicas, licet nec ita omnem maculam eluisses, tum uero quia te hoc ipso uel scribens induis quod hic tuus Valerius exuendum esse docet. Nam hoc Latine loqui a sua et Latina notione ad idioma uernaculum detorques”. Quid igitur iam impedit quo minus ipse sic inferam: ergo ita Latine (nam fere utor tua notione) scribere corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem.

‘Nam hoc Latine loqui a sua et Latina notione ad idioma uernaculum detorques’. ¿Se podría describir mejor el tremebundo error cometido por el Brocense? Es evidente que el maestro en artes inglés dio en la diana con un razonamiento impecable, tan impecable que obligó a Sánchez a cambiar el título de su paradoja.

#### 10.4.3. Sobre la introducción del término *garrire* por parte del Brocense

Pero el cambio del Brocense fue un regalo envenenado para Jason. Detengámonos en analizar el trueque realizado por nuestro compatriota en el título cambiando *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem* por *Qui Latine garriunt corrumpunt ipsam Latinitatem*.

Era evidente que nuestro humanista no tenía más remedio que eliminar la expresión *Latine loqui*. Pero ¿por qué escribir *Latine garriunt*? J.M<sup>a</sup>. Núñez González<sup>136</sup> sacó a la palestra el siguiente pasaje del *Ciceronianus* de Erasmo, donde, al preguntar Buléforo a Nosopono con qué método se preparaba para hablar en latín, éste le contestó que su primera regla era evitar hablar en latín, siempre que fuera posible, y añadió después<sup>137</sup>:

Ad garriendum de quibuslibet nugis, sufficit mihi sermo gallicus aut batauicus: prophanis ac uulgaribus fabulis non contamino sacram linguam. Quod si qua res urget, ut latine dicendum sit, et pauca loquor nec sine praemeditatione. Et in eum usum habeo paratas aliquot formulas.

A nuestro colega el pasaje le interesaba para señalar que ‘el Brocense evitaba “chapurrear” y contaminar el latín, y, como Nosopono, asegura tener preparadas algunas fórmulas por si la necesidad acuciara, al tiempo que sostiene que no se ha de emplear el latín ‘nisi praemeditate’. A nosotros, sin embargo, el pasaje nos interesa para llamar la atención de la aparición en el mismo del término *garriendum* con el sentido de *garrire nugae* que encontramos en Plaut., *Aul.*, 830.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Núñez González, ‘*Latine loqui*’, p. 134.

<sup>137</sup> Cf. Erasmo, *Ciceronianus*, 551-556 (ed. de A. Gambaro (Brescia: La Scuola Editrice, 1965), pp. 46-48).

Pero ¿es éste el significado que tiene *garrire* en el nuevo título de la paradoja del Brocense. Creemos que no. Es posible interpretar el verbo de esta forma o con el significado de ‘charlotear’, ‘parlotear’ o similar<sup>138</sup>. Mas el Brocense fue mucho más sutil. Y para captarlo debemos caer en la cuenta de que el verbo *garrire* tiene un sentido especial aplicado a las aves: ‘gorjear’ o ‘graznar’.

Recordemos a tal efecto que el cap. VIII de la *Linguae Latinae exercitatio* de Juan Luis Vives se intitula *Garrientes*, esto es, ‘Los charlatanes’.<sup>139</sup> El término cobra el sentido plautino de *garrire nugas*, si recordamos el nombre de *Nugo* de uno de los interlocutores y si tenemos en cuenta el comienzo de la última intervención de este mismo personaje<sup>140</sup>: ‘Satis nugatum est, reuertamur ad ludum, sed prius relegamus quae preceptor explicauit’.

Pero el vocablo adquiere el sentido arriba explicado cuando nos percatamos de que dos de los interlocutores tienen nombres de pájaros: *Gracculus* (‘pequeño grajo’) y *Turdus* (‘tordo’). Es muy posible que el humanista valenciano escogiera el nombre de *Grajo* por la fama que tienen estas aves de hacer mucho ruido y el de *Tordo* por el atolondramiento que caracteriza a estos pájaros.<sup>141</sup> Pero es mucho más evidente que Vives decidió crear una sutil dilogía en el título de su capítulo: *Garrientes* no significa sólo ‘Charlatanes’, sino también ‘Graznantes’.

<sup>138</sup> También Jason, *Disquisitio responsoria*, f. 46<sup>r</sup>, nos ofrece un pasaje donde usa el participio del verbo *garrire* para describir negativamente a un idioma bárbaro y estrepitoso frente a la dulzura del latín: ‘Sed et praeter omnes linguas Latina lingua hic a te eiicitur atque exterminatur, cum dicis “nedum Latina”. Quid tua Latina committere tantum? Quid Romani potuere? Nulla est omnium lingua tam barbara, tam horrida, tam stridens, tam sibilans, tam rauca, tam aspera, tam praecipitans, tam torpens, tam hiscens, tam garriens, tam murmurans aut denique tam boans in quam ita acerbus et crudelis iudex atque in suauissimam, nobilissimam et mellitissimam Latinam extitisti’.

<sup>139</sup> Esa es la traducción que encontramos en Ch. Coret y Peris (ed.), *Diálogos de Juan Luis Vives traducidos en lengua castellana* (Valencia: Por Benito Monfort, 1759), p. 73, así como en la versión de F. Calero y M<sup>a</sup>. J. Echarte que citamos en la nota 141.

<sup>140</sup> Cf. Ch. Coret y Peris (ed.), *Diálogos*, p. 104.

<sup>141</sup> Cf. F. Calero – M<sup>a</sup>. J. Echarte, *Juan Luis Vives valenciano. Linguae Latinae exercitatio. “Ejercicios de lengua latina”*. Traducción y notas (València: Ajuntament de València, 1994), p. 152, nota 62; M<sup>a</sup>. P. García Ruiz (ed.), *Luis Vives. Los “Diálogos” (Linguae Latinae exercitatio). Estudio introductorio, edición crítica y comentario* (Pamplona: Eusa. Ediciones de la Universidad de Navarra, S. A. 2005), p. 428. En el caso del tordo debemos recordar, además, que lo encontramos en Plin., *nat.*, 10, 117-125, dentro del catálogo ‘de aui-bus quae locuntur’ (cf. M.A. Díaz Gito, ‘Interpretaciones humanísticas de un tópico clásico: el poema a la muerte de un ave (I): el *Epitaphium parrochini sturni* de Maffeo Vegio’, *Calamus renascens*, 2 (2001), 187) y que el naturalista romano recuerda allí que ‘Agrippina Claudii Caesaris turdum habuit, quod numquam ante, imitantem sermones hominum’: el humanista valenciano sacó a escena, pues, un ave ‘parlanchina’.

Mas, por si todavía tenemos alguna duda, nada mejor que sacar también a la palestra los vv. 11-12 del poema *Sturni tumulus* compuesto por Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella hacia 1535<sup>142</sup>:

Quin etiam mecum multis garrire Latine  
Et Graece solitus saepe diebus eras.

¡Como vemos, la expresión *garrire Latine* había sido acuñada ya muchos antes de que la utilizara el Brocense<sup>143</sup>, aplicada también en este caso a un ave y, más concretamente, a un ave que tanto la Antigüedad como el Renacimiento tildaron de parlanchina: el estornino<sup>144</sup>! El antecedente, pues, es perfecto, excepción hecha de que el sentido semántico de *garrire* es distinto: en el caso de Calvete de Estrella debemos traducirlo por ‘gorgear’, mientras que en el caso del Brocense el sentido es más bien el de ‘graznar’.

En definitiva, aunque los lexicógrafos modernos aceptan que *garrire* es un ‘verbe expressif’, pero que ‘il ne semble pas que le verbe s’applique au cri d’un animal déterminé’<sup>145</sup>, sabemos que sus predecesores del Renacimiento, como es el caso de Nebrija<sup>146</sup> o de Étienne<sup>147</sup>,

<sup>142</sup> Cf. M.A. Díaz Gito, ‘Poesía elegíaca de Calvete de Estrella: poema a la muerte de un pajarito’, en J.M<sup>a</sup>. Maestre Maestre – J. Pascual Barea – L. Charlo Brea (eds.), *Humanismo y pervivencia del mundo clásico. Homenaje al profesor Antonio Fontán* (Alcañiz-Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos-Editorial Laberinto-C.S.I.C., 2002), III.3, 1012. Agradecemos a nuestro querido discípulo y colega que nos llamase la atención sobre tan valioso pasaje.

<sup>143</sup> El poema no fue editado en el Renacimiento, sino que hasta su reciente edición se encontraba manuscrito en el *codex philologicus* 397 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Hamburgo (cf. Díaz Gito, ‘Poesía elegíaca’, pp. 1005-1006): resulta, pues, complicado que el Brocense conociera esa composición, pero no imposible, dado, como todos sabemos, que las copias manuscritas circulaban de mano en mano entre los humanistas.

<sup>144</sup> Recordemos, de un lado, que el estornino también aparece en el catálogo pliniano ‘de aubus quae locuntur’, que citamos en la nota 141, y, de otro, que Pontano, como señalamos en la nota 148, calificó a su *sturnus* de *garrulus*.

<sup>145</sup> Cf. A. Ernout – A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots* (Paris: Librairie Klincksieck, 1939), p. 411: ‘Il ne semble pas que le verbe s’applique au cri d’un animal déterminé. Ce n’est qu’à une époque relativement tardive qu’il s’emploie en parlant d’animaux, du reste divers: chien, grenouille, oiseaux, cf. Thes. VI 1695, 45 sqq. Dans la l. archaïque, *garrus* n’a que le sens de “bavarder”; *garrulus* se dit de toute espèce d’êtres ou de choses’.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. G. Colón – A.-J. Soberanas (eds.), *Elio Antonio de Nebrija. Diccionario latino-español (Salamanca 1492)* (Barcelona: Puvill-Editor, 1979), f. g II<sup>o</sup>: ‘*Garrio*, is, iui, por gorgear las aves’.

<sup>147</sup> Consideremos que el primer dato que encontramos en *Roberti Stephani, lexiconographorum principis, Thesaurus linguae Latinae in IV tomos diuisus, cui post nouissimam Londinensem editionem, complurium eruditorum uirorum collectis curis insigniter auctam, accesserunt nunc primum Henrici Stephani, Rob. F., annotationes autographae ex*

pensaban que el sentido básico de este era el propio del gorjeo de las aves.<sup>148</sup>

Pero ¿a dónde queremos ir a parar? Recordemos ya que el Brocense bautizó irónicamente a Jason y a quienes como él procedían de Inglaterra e Irlanda y hablaban ese para él bárbaro latín medieval<sup>149</sup>, con el nombre de *onocrotali*. Pues bien, teniendo en mente a los pelícanos, ¿qué verbo cuadraría mejor que *garrire* para recordarlos sin tener que mencionarlos?

Sánchez hizo gala una vez más de su fina inteligencia. Decidió pasar factura a Jason por su demoledor contraataque y para eso nada mejor que crear en el nuevo título una velada y destructiva alusión a los *onocrotali*, a esos pajarracos marítimos que habían volado desde el Océano a Salamanca y que rebuznaban como burros. La factura era perfecta y tanto más perfecta cuanto que de esa forma el Brocense volvía a atrapar en sus redes a unas aves que soñaron poder escapar de las mismas, como ingenuamente escribió Jason al comienzo de su *Disquisitio responsoria* sin sopesar bien el irónico sentido del humor de su maestro de Retórica<sup>150</sup>:

Dico me prudentiae tuae aciem multum desiderare, quia non in primis circumspexisti quomodo nos, quos onocrotalos appellas, possimus nos hic uersare ac libere exire ex rete tuo, quamuis in medias tuas plagas nosmet immittamus. Quippe licet tibi concedimus paradoxon tuum, tibi tamen hoc poterat apparere, ualde nobis tenendum esse ut loquamur Latine, ne plane uideamur non obgnantes (ut tu in rixa magis asper quam aptus), sed quasi rudentes onocrotali.

## 11. Fecha de redacción y publicación de la segunda versión de la paradoja

A la luz de todas las consideraciones anteriores y, sobre todo, de la última, es evidente que en la segunda redacción de la paradoja el Brocense tuvo

*codice Biblioth. P. ciuita. Genev.* (Basileae: Typis et Impensis E & J.R. Thurnisiorum fratr., MDCCXL), II, 442, s. v. 'Garrio', es el siguiente: 'Garrio [...] est, inquit, Donatus, tanquam auis inaniter loqui'.

<sup>148</sup> Tengamos presente, además, que, tanto en la Antigüedad como en el Renacimiento, *garrulus* era el adjetivo que se utilizaba para indicar que un ave era parlanchina: traigamos a la memoria así Ov., *am.*, 2, 6, 26, donde el poeta romano aplica ese término al papagayo de Corina, o los vv. 1-2 del poema *Deploratio sturni* de Pontano, donde el humanista italiano califica con el mismo vocablo a su estornino (cf. M. A. Díaz Gito, 'Dos interpretaciones humanísticas de un tópico clásico: el poema a la muerte de un ave (y II): la "Deploratio sturni" de Giovanni Pontano', *Calamus renascens*, 3 (2002), 61).

<sup>149</sup> Cf. nota 103.

<sup>150</sup> Para la oportuna referencia bibliográfica del pasaje, cf. nota 76.

presente las agudas observaciones filológicas y dialécticas esgrimidas por Jason. Dado que el texto de la primera versión se vuelve a publicar tal cual en 1582, podríamos pensar a simple vista que la segunda redacción se hizo entre esta última fecha y 1587, año de publicación de la definitiva *Minerua*. Sánchez habría hecho los cambios señalados con motivo de la inclusión de su opúsculo en la que a la postre habría de ser su obra gramatical más representativa. Pero creemos que la realidad no fue exactamente esa.

Cabe suponer que Jason entregó a Sánchez su *Disquisitio responsoria* poco antes de retornar a su patria. No debemos olvidar, además, que el maestro inglés debió de hacer públicos sus ratiocinios en las aulas salmantinas. Es claro, en definitiva, que fue a finales de 1578 cuando nuestro compatriota se percató de que Jason llevaba razón en algunos de sus planteamientos. Pero el Brocense no podía dar la imagen de que cedía un palmo en su posición, cuando lo que estaba en juego era su prestigio docente ante los alumnos. Aunque el maestro inglés se marchó de Salamanca a finales de ese año, sabemos que aún había allí otros alumnos ingleses e irlandeses<sup>151</sup>, otros ‘pelícanos’, en suma, que se hubieran mofado de la victoria de su compañero. Y eso sin olvidarnos de que el Estudio General salmantino había también profesores enemigos de Sánchez, como el padre Mancio, que se hubieran alegrado de la derrota de su colega. Así las cosas, nada de extraño tiene que el Brocense volviese a publicar tal cual en 1582 la primitiva redacción de la paradoja.

Pero, conocida la *Disquisitio responsoria*, Sánchez sabía que no podía pasar a la posteridad con un error filológico-dialéctico tan grande como el que le había echado en cara el maestro inglés. Así que sólo cuando creyó que ya nadie podría concatenar los cambios con las críticas realizadas por el maestro inglés<sup>152</sup>, los hizo públicos: pero, aun cuando parcialmente<sup>153</sup>

<sup>151</sup> Hecho que podemos comprobar consultando el trabajo de A. Huarte que citamos en la nota 66, así como el de P.U. Gozález de la Calle que encontrará el lector en la nota 103.

<sup>152</sup> Esto no tiene nada de extraño, pues de manera similar actuó Erasmo en su polémica con Ginés de Sepúlveda, como ponemos de relieve en nuestro trabajo ‘La adscripción a Portugal de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda en el *Ciceronianus* de Erasmo: ¿*lapsus* o error deliberado?’, en *Cataldo e Andre de Resende. Congresso Internacional do Humanismo Português (Coimbra-Lisboa-Évora, 25 a 29 de Outubro de 2000)* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudios Clásicos, 2002), pp. 131-134 y 161.

<sup>153</sup> Pese a los cambios introducidos, el Brocense mantuvo el fondo de su tesis: no convenía expresarse en latín sin reflexionar de antemano, sin estilo y elegancia, en último término. Cristalizaba así en nuestro país una teoría purista que en el fondo fue la que acabó con el sueño de resucitar la lengua latina en el Renacimiento, como explicamos con mucho más detalle en el trabajo nuestro que citamos en la nota 7.

daba su brazo a torcer, el Brocense, el arrogante y humorístico rétor de la Universidad de Salamanca, se vengó de aquel ‘pelicano’ de la manera más fina e ingeniosa en el nuevo título de su paradoja. Nadie podría pensar así que había hecho la más mínima concesión a aquel díscolo alumno que había puesto en tela de juicio su honor como latinista.

## 12. Conclusiones

El pasquín que a la postre se convertiría en la paradoja II del Brocense nació del enfrentamiento entre nuestro humanista y Henry Jason, un maestro en artes liberales inglés, exiliado en España a causa de la represión religiosa de la reina Isabel I contra los católicos de Inglaterra e Irlanda.

En el curso 1577-78 Jason se matriculó en las clases de Retórica para teólogos impartidas por el Brocense, donde, al no saber castellano, exigió que, de acuerdo con los Estatutos de la Universidad de Salamanca, se hablase latín. Ante la negativa de nuestro compatriota, el maestro inglés esgrimió una serie de objeciones a nuestro compatriota, que, herido posiblemente en su orgullo ante el ataque de tan conspicuo alumno, decidió contestar públicamente sacando a la luz en 1578 como pasquín la primera redacción de su célebre paradoja.

Inmediatamente después Jason escribió su extensa *Disquisitio responsoria... in magistri Francisci Sanctii editam assertionem de non loquendo Latine*, que se conserva manuscrita en la Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia matritense (signatura 9/5792), junto con el único ejemplar conocido de la primera edición en forma de pasquín de la paradoja.

La lectura de la *Disquisitio responsoria* resulta capital para entender los distintos cambios textuales que hallamos, al cotejar el texto de las ediciones de 1578 y 1582 con el de 1587, en la redacción de las *Responsiones* quinta y sexta, en el de la carta-prefacio y, sobre todo, por su especial relevancia, en el propio título de la paradoja.

En efecto, fue el maestro de artes liberales inglés el que hizo caer a nuestro compatriota en la cuenta de que había incurrido en el mismo defecto que debía de haber evitado siguiendo el ejemplo de Cornelio Wauters que él mismo había esgrimido: había escrito *Latine loqui* pensando en castellano y no en latín. En la lengua del Lacio *Latine loqui* no significaba simplemente ‘hablar latín’ sino ‘hablar latín con propiedad’. En consecuencia, *Latine loqui corrumpit ipsam Latinitatem* no era paradjico, sino imposible.

Jason ganó varias jugadas al Brocense, pero no la partida completa. Nuestro compatriota introdujo los obligados cambios en una nueva redacción de su opúsculo, aunque no la sacó a la luz hasta casi nueve años más tarde para no dar la sensación ante sus alumnos y colegas de que había cedido un palmo. En esa redacción, haciendo gala de su divertido humor y fina ironía, Sánchez lanzó contra Jason y los demás ingleses e irlandeses que pululaban por el Estudio General de Salamanca la peor de sus andanadas: ‘graznar’ en latín como esos ‘pelícanos’ venidos del Océano era corromper la propia latinidad.

Universidad de Cádiz  
Facultad de Filosofía y Letras  
Departamento de Filología Clásica  
Avda. Dr. Gómez Ulla, nº 1  
11003-Cádiz (España)  
josemaria.maestre@uca.es

Veronika COROLEU OBERPARLEITER

NICOLAUS VERNULAEUS' DARSTELLUNG DER HABSBURGER:  
*APOLOGIA, VIRTUTES UND HISTORIA AUSTRIACA*,  
MIT EINEM EXKURS ÜBER DIE *METHODUS LEGENDI HISTORIAS*

**Einleitung<sup>1</sup>**

Im Jahr 1648 wurden in Münster und Osnabrück Friedensverträge geschlossen, die jahrzehntelang andauernde territoriale, konfessionelle und verfassungspolitische Streitfragen beendeten. Die Konflikte zwischen dem Heiligen Römischen Reich, Frankreich und Schweden sowie die Kämpfe innerhalb des Reiches werden bekanntlich unter dem Namen Dreißigjähriger Krieg zusammengefasst. Die Friedensverträge sind als Westfälischer Friede bekannt, mit dem zusammen auch der Friede von Münster zur Beendigung des spanisch-niederländischen Krieges geschlossen wurde, der im heutigen Gebiet von Belgien, Luxemburg und der Niederlande achtzig Jahre lang mit Unterbrechungen geführt worden war.<sup>2</sup> Zu Beginn des folgenden Jahres starb in Leuven ein Dramatiker, kaiserlich-königlicher Geschichtsschreiber, anerkannter Professor für Rhetorik und Lateinprofessor des *Collegium Trilingue Buslidianum* namens Nicolaus Vernulaeus (Nicolas de Vernulz). Da seine Lebenszeit — er wurde 1583,

<sup>1</sup> Mein besonderer Dank gilt Prof. Geoffrey Eatough und Prof. Wolfgang Speyer für ihre Korrekturen der ersten Version dieses Aufsatzes. Weiters danke ich von Herzen den Professoren Dirk Sacré, Gilbert Tournoy und Jan Papy für ihre Gastfreundschaft im Februar 2005, vor allem aber für ihr freundliches Interesse an und ihre Anregungen zu einem Referat (über Teile der vorliegenden Thematik), das ich durch Vermittlung von Prof. Gerhard Petersmann und Prof. Alfons Wouters im Rahmen eines Erasmus-Austausches vor einer anregenden Zuhörerschaft in Leuven halten durfte. Unverzichtbare Hinweise erhielt ich in der anschließenden Diskussion auch von Dr. Joost Depuydt, bei dem ich mich sehr herzlich bedanken möchte.

<sup>2</sup> Zu den Ursachen und v.a. der ersten Hälfte des Achtzigjährigen Krieges vgl. Anton van der Lem, *Opstand! Der Aufstand in den Niederlanden: Egmonts und Oraniens Opposition, die Gründung der Republik und der Weg zum Westfälischen Frieden*, aus dem Niederländischen v. Klaus Jöken, Wagenbachs Tb., 259 (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1996; Erstausg. Utrecht – Antwerpen, 1995).



15 Jahre nach Ausbruch des 80jährigen Krieges, geboren — vollständig in die Zeit der Kriegswirren und der Vorbereitungen neuer politischer Strukturen in Europa fällt, geht die vorliegende Betrachtung einiger seiner Beiträge zur Darstellung der Habsburger von der historischen Situation aus.

Als Nicolaus Vernulaeus 1583 in der Grafschaft Luxemburg geboren wurde<sup>3</sup>, waren die Niederlande bereits in eine südliche, katholische und einen nördliche, protestantische Union zerfallen. Während die nördliche sich bald zur Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande ausrief und gegen das herrschende spanische Königshaus opponierte, hatte sich der Süden wieder völlig dem spanischen König Philipp II. ergeben, in dessen militärischen Diensten auch Vernulaeus' Vater stand. Als die Herrschaft in den südlichen, den Spanischen Niederlanden nach Philipps Tod an dessen Tochter Isabella Clara Eugenia und Erzherzog Albrecht von Österreich überging, studierte Vernulaeus in Trier und Köln. Im Jahr 1608 kam der in einer katholischen und königstreuen Umgebung aufgewachsene junge Mann auf Einladung des öffentlichen Lehrers für Beredsamkeit Jean-Baptiste Gramaye nach Leuven, um Rhetorik zu lehren. Im folgenden Jahr handelte Albrecht einen zwölfjährigen Waffenstillstand aus (1609-1621), eine Zeit des Friedens und der Blüte für die Niederlande sowie des (trotz anfänglichen Widerstandes gegen den Absoluten aus Köln)<sup>4</sup> raschen beruflichen Aufstiegs für Vernulaeus. Er folgte Gramaye 1611 als Lehrer für Eloquenz nach, begann und beendete erfolgreich ein Studium der Theologie und wurde 1619 Leiter des neu begründeten *Collegium Mylianium*. Vernulaeus war ein Kollege und Freund von Erycius Puteanus (Justus Lipsius' Nachfolger in Leuven)<sup>5</sup>, dem er knapp vor seinem Tod

<sup>3</sup> Die nachfolgenden Daten zu Vernulaeus' Leben und Werk richten sich nach der verdienstvollen Dissertation von Joost Depuydt, *Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583-1649): een bibliografische studie* (Diss. masch., Katholische Universität Leuven, 1991); Informationen ab dem 18. Jh. in *Biografisch archief van de Benelux (BAB)*, eine Kumulation von Einträgen aus 122 der wichtigsten biographischen Nachschlagewerke der Niederlande, Belgiens und Luxemburgs vom Ende des 16. Jh. bis zum Beginn des 20. Jh., bearb. v. Willi Gorzny u. Willemina van der Meer, Silber-Microfiche-Ed., Archives biographiques des pays du Benelux / Biographisches Archiv der Benelux-Länder (München u.a.: Saur, [s.a.]), 222-274.

<sup>4</sup> Depuydt, *Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583-1649)*, weist SS. 13-17 und S. 36 darauf hin, dass es bei Vernulaeus' Ernennung zum Professor für Eloquenz Probleme gab und dass er erst nach einigen Jahren und auf mehrmalige Anfrage hin zum Fakultätsrat zugelassen wurde. Depuydt schließt, dass man anfangs jemanden, der in Köln promoviert hatte, nicht unbedingt fördern wollte, dass sich Vernulaeus aber durch Fleiß und Können Anerkennung verschaffte.

<sup>5</sup> Zu Lipsius' (1547-1606), Puteanus' (1574-1646) und Vernulaeus' Bedeutung innerhalb der Geschichte der lateinischen und griechischen Philologie in den südlichen Niederlanden vgl. Dirk Sacré, 'Die Südlichen Niederlande nach 1575', Abschnitt III. in

als Lateinprofessor an dem von Erasmus von Rotterdam mitaufgebauten *Collegium Trilingue* nachfolgte (1646).<sup>6</sup> Drei Mal war er Leiter der Leuven-Universität, deren Geschichte und deren berühmte Studien- und Examinationsverordnungen er niederschrieb.<sup>7</sup>

Aus der literarischen Produktion des angesehenen Humanisten ragen seine Universitätsdramen heraus<sup>8</sup>, in denen er spätantike bis neuzeitliche Personen auf die Bühne stellte, vom römischen Kaiser Crispus (317-326) bis zum ermordeten kaiserlichen Heerführer Wallenstein.<sup>9</sup> Daneben sind vor allem eine Vielzahl von Reden und Erörterungen, teils von Vernulaeus' Studenten, erhalten, moralische, politische und wirtschaftliche *Institutiones*, sowie panegyrische Schriften für Habsburger Regenten. So verfasste Vernulaeus Lob- und Hochzeitsgedichte, *Panegyrici* und Grabreden für die Herrscher der Niederlande und die Kaiser seiner Zeit, Ferdinand II. und Ferdinand III.<sup>10</sup>

Diese zuletzt erwähnten epideiktischen Texte blicken auf einzelne Vertreter des Habsburger Hauses, sind aus den typischen Anlässen wie Regierungsantritt oder Tod entstanden und in ihrer Gestaltung, den verwendeten

'Niederlande und Belgien', in *Der Neue Pauly, Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 15/1 (2001), 1016-1036 (Sp. 1016-1029).

<sup>6</sup> Zur Einrichtung des *Collegium Trilingue* und seiner Bedeutung für die Entwicklung des Humanismus in den Alten Niederlanden vgl. Christian Lambert Heesakkers – Gilbert Tournoy, 'Die alten Niederlande bis 1575', Abschnitt I. in 'Niederlande und Belgien', in *Der Neue Pauly, Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, 15/1 (2001), 985-994 (Sp. 991 sowie die weiterführenden bibliographischen Angaben).

<sup>7</sup> *Academia Lovaniensis libri III. Eius origo, incrementum, forma, Magistratus, Facultates, privilegia, scholae, collegia, Viri illustres, res gestae* (Leuven: Dormalius, 1627).

<sup>8</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part I: History and diffusion of neo-latin literature*. 2<sup>nd</sup> entirely rewritten edn., *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 5 (Leuven: UP / Peeters Press, 1990), S. 151; Ders., 'Theatrum Belgo-Latinum. Het neolatijns toneel in de Nederlanden', *Mededelingen van de koninklijke academie voor wetenschappen, letteren en schone kunsten van België. Klasse der letteren*, 43 (1981), 69-114.

<sup>9</sup> Zur Tragödie *Fritlandus* (Wallenstein) vgl. Gustav A. Coligny, *Wallenstein: Drei zeitgenössische lateinische Dramen von Rhodius, Narssius, Vernulaeus*, hrsg. v. Johannes Bolte (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1933); Jean-Marie Rousseau – Henri Plard, *Un «Wallenstein» néo-latin: «Le duc de Friedland», «Fritlandus, Tragoedia» (1637) par Nicolaus Vernulaeus (Nicolas De Vernulz)*. Texte éd. par J.-M. Rousseau; trad. avec une préface par H. Plard (Brüssel: University Press, 1989); Maria Wolf, *Wallenstein als Dramenheld: literarische Gestaltungen von Vernulaeus bis Schiller* (Heidelberg: Diss., 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Z. B.: *Elogia oratoria Alberti Pii Belgarum Principis, Isabellae, Clarae, Eugeniae, Ambrosii Spinolae, Caroli Comitis Buquoii, Ioannis Comitis Tillii* (Leuven: Zegers, 1634); *Munus parentale piis manibus serenissimae Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae, Infantis Hispaniarum* (Leuven: Dormalius & Lipsius, 1634); *Laudatio funebris aeternae memoriae Isabellae Clarae Eugeniae, Infanti Hispaniarum, Archiduci Austriae etc. dicta* (Leuven: Dormalius, 1634); *Laudatio funebris augustissimi imperatoris Ferdinandi II. aeternae memoriae consecrata, ad Ferdinandum III. Imp.* (Leuven: Coppenius, 1637); *Panegyricus gratulatorius Ferdinando III., Romanorum Regi electo, et coronato scriptus* (Leuven: Coppenius, 1637); *Laudatio funebris Serenissimo et excelsae memoriae principi Ferdinando* (Leuven: Zegers, 1641).

Topoi und der Intention stark an ihre Genres gebunden.<sup>11</sup> Zudem wurde bei einem konkreten Anlass wie dem Todesfall eines Regenten eine Rede des Rhetorikprofessors und Hofgeschichtsschreibers — Vernulaeus wurde wahrscheinlich 1629 zum *Historiographus Regius* und vor 1640 zum *Historiographus Caesareus* ernannt<sup>12</sup> — wohl erwartet.

Joost Depuydt weist in seiner grundlegenden Arbeit über Vernulaeus' Leben und Werk darauf hin, dass sich Vernulaeus' Treue und Zuneigung zur Habsburger Dynastie nicht nur in den panegyrischen Werken zeigen, sondern in anderen, umfangreicheren Schriften zum Ausdruck kommen, die Depuydt als 'Verherrlichungswerke' zusammenfasst.<sup>13</sup> Einige dieser Schriften seien im Folgenden näher vorgestellt. Sie zeigen, dass Vernulaeus sich dazu berufen fühlte, ein idealisierendes Bild der Habsburger zu entwerfen. Es sind eigentümliche Genremischungen, die zu keinem bestimmten Anlass verfasst wurden und allgemein von der *gens Austriaca*, dem Haus Österreich, handeln. Die drei Werke, in denen Vernulaeus das Ziel, ein bestimmtes Bild der Herrscher und ihres Reiches zu malen, am auffälligsten verfolgt<sup>14</sup>, entstanden zwischen 1635 und seinem Tod — eine Zeit, in der sowohl in Europa überhaupt, als auch in den Niederlanden speziell die Kriege in ihren Endphasen wüteten, Spanien längst finanziell geschwächt war, aber an mehreren Fronten kämpfte und die südlichen Niederlande ein treu ergebenes, katholisches Herrschaftsgebiet waren. 1635 veröffentlichte Vernulaeus eine Verteidigungsrede, 1640 eine Darstellung der Tugenden der Habsburger und aus seinem Nachlass wurde 1651 eine *Historia Austriaca* ediert. Zusammen bilden diese Schriften ein Textcorpus von fast siebenhundert Seiten, deren Aufbau und literarische Gestaltung im Folgenden umriss- und beispielhaft vorgestellt werden soll. Ziel dieser Vorstellung ist, zu zeigen, welches Bild des Herrscherhauses Vernulaeus entwarf, welche literarischen Techniken er dazu benutzte und welche Art von Werken er auf diese Weise verfasste.

<sup>11</sup> Am Beispiel der Lobdichtung (v.a. Leichenreden) für Albert den Frommen demonstrieren dies Toon Van Houdt – Jan Papy, 'Eulogizing Rulers and the Rules of Eulogy: Neo-Latin Funeral Literature in Honour of the Archduke Albert (1621-1622)', *Eranos*, 95 (1997), 108-124.

<sup>12</sup> Zur schwierigen Datierung und zu den wahrscheinlich vor allem finanziellen Vorteilen dieser Titel vgl. Depuydt, *Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583-1649)*, SS. 30-32: 'Benoeming tot koninklijk en keizerlijk historiograaf'.

<sup>13</sup> Ebda. SS. 46-48 und S. 59.

<sup>14</sup> Nicht behandelt wird in der vorliegenden Besprechung die auch zu den Pro-Habsburg-Werken gehörende, 1628 in Leuven veröffentlichte kleine Schrift *Annus Austriacus seu ephemeris historica continens per singulos anni dies aliquid, quod in Serenissima Austriaca Familia accidit* – eine Art Kalender, der zu jedem Tag bemerkenswerte Taten und Ereignisse aus dem Haus Habsburg vermerkt.

### Die *Apologia*

Nach dem Tod Isabellas, der Frau des Friedensherrschers Albert, lief der spanische König Philipp IV. Gefahr, die katholischen südlichen Niederlande an den rebellierenden protestantischen Norden zu verlieren.<sup>15</sup> Er entsandte seinen Bruder Ferdinand, und dieser Kardinal und Erzbischof von Toledo war von 1634 bis 1641 Gouverneur der spanischen Niederlande. Dem jungen Regenten widmete Vernulaeus im Jahr 1635 seine rund 320 Seiten lange<sup>16</sup> und 17 Kapitel umfassende *Apologia pro augustissima, serenissima, et potentissima gente Austriaca, In qua illius Magnitudo, Imperium, Virtus adversus eius hoc tempore Aemulos asseritur*. Während von allen Seiten Feinde die Österreicher (Habsburger) bekämpften, fühle er sich als Untergebener und Geschichtsschreiber dazu verpflichtet, mit der Feder zu kämpfen, so erklärt er im Vorwort:

Dum tot undique Hostes, Serenissime Princeps Ferdinande, in Augustissimam Gentem vestram Austriacam arma movent, sumpsi calamum et stylum strinxī. Ita debui subditus, et Catholicae Maiestatis in hoc Belgio Historiographus. (*Apologia*, s.n. ii a)<sup>17</sup>

Die Formulierung *ita debui subditus*... erweckt den Eindruck, der Autor erfülle lediglich seine Pflicht. Dies ist rhetorische Technik. Wenn Vernulaeus im Folgenden erklärt, er habe nicht schmeicheln wollen (dies sei bei einem solchen Thema gar nicht möglich), er wüsste gar nicht, wie man schmeichle, und nicht Gefühle, sondern die Wahrheit hätten seine Feder geführt<sup>18</sup>, erkennen wir in diesem Vorwort das *exordium* einer Rede nach klassischem Vorbild mit einer an das Publikum gerichteten *captatio benevolentiae*: Der Redner sucht eine Stimmung zu erzeugen, die den Zuhörer

<sup>15</sup> Michael Erbe, *Die Habsburger 1493-1918: eine Dynastie im Reich und in Europa*, Urban-Tb., 454 (Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln: Kohlhammer, 2000), SS. 81-84.

<sup>16</sup> Bei einem Satzspiegel von 165 × 98 mm (nach Depuydt, *Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583-1649)*, S. 208) und ca. 25 Zeilen pro Seite.

<sup>17</sup> In allen besprochenen Textbeispielen wurde die Schreibung zu Gunsten der Lesbarkeit hier leicht verändert: In- und anlautendes u wurde als solches notiert, Kürzel wurden aufgelöst; die im Neulateinischen geläufigen Abweichungen von der klassischen Orthographie sowie unregelmäßige Groß- und Kleinschreibung wurden beibehalten. — Alle Textbeispiele aus der *Apologie* sind zitiert nach der *editio princeps*: *Nicolai Vernulaei Apologia pro augustissima, serenissima, et potentissima gente Austriaca, In qua illius Magnitudo, Imperium, Virtus adversus eius hoc tempore Aemulos asseritur* (Leuven: Simonis & Zegers, 1635).

<sup>18</sup> 'Neque adulari volui, nec debui in tanto Argumento, et, ut ingenue dicam, nescio. Veritatem ostendi, [...]. Illa mentem meam et calamum duxit; non Affectus, qui animum saepe transversum agit' (*Apologia*, s.n. ii r).

möglichst geneigt für das Folgende macht, wie Quintilian beschreibt.<sup>19</sup> Gerade im Falle einer folgenden Lobrede rät die klassische Rhetorik, diese im *exordium* als Pflicht darzustellen, so zum Beispiel die *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.<sup>20</sup>

Nachdem Vernulaeus so den Eindruck der Unvoreingenommenheit zu erwecken gesucht hat, beginnt die eigentliche *Apologia*: Einige Kapitel sind dem Anlass der Schrift, der Macht der Habsburger, der Berechtigung und der Ausdehnung dieser Macht gewidmet (cap. I-IV), etwa fünfzig Seiten handeln die Geschichte der einzelnen Provinzen und die Herrschaftsberechtigung über diese ab (cap. IV-VIII), und weitere 40 Seiten behandeln Konflikte mit den Franzosen (cap. IX-XI). In der zweiten Hälfte der Schrift, ab S. 160, widerlegt Vernulaeus Vorwürfe wie den der Gier auf Alleinherrschaft über Europa und den der Unterdrückung der Untertanen (cap. XII-XIV). Kapitel XV und XVI sind Streitereien um Kirchengüter und dem Konflikt mit den nördlichen Niederlanden gewidmet. Die Verteidigungsrede schließt mit Ausführungen über den Eifer der Habsburger, die katholische Religion zu bewahren.

Die sich wiederholenden Argumente, mit denen Vernulaeus die Macht der Österreicher (Habsburger) verteidigt, sind u.a.: Ihre Herrschaft sei gottgewollt<sup>21</sup>; die Habsburger seien der einzige Schutz gegen die Türkengefahr<sup>22</sup>, überhaupt die einzige Schutzmacht der katholischen Kirche<sup>23</sup>; die

<sup>19</sup> Quint., *inst.*, 4, 1, 5: 'Causa principii nulla alia est, quam ut auditorem, quo sit nobis in ceteris partibus accomodator, praeparemus' (Der Grund der Einleitung ist kein anderer, als den Zuhörer so vorzubereiten, dass er uns bei den übrigen Teilen der Rede geneigter sei).

<sup>20</sup> *Rhet. Her.*, 3, 6, 11: 'Principium sumitur aut ab nostra, aut ab eius de quo loquemur, aut ab eorum qui audient persona, aut ab re. [...] si laudabimus: aut officio facere, quod causa necessitudinis intercedat'.

<sup>21</sup> 'Meruit Austriacae Gentis virtus, ut tantam in terris potentiam obtineret; ita voluit Deus, ita decrevit, ita patitur. [...] Quis turbare aut evertere potentiam illam bello praesumat, quam in orbe constituit idem ille Deus [...] non ab hominibus, sed a Deo sunt Regna, et per eum Reges regnant' (*Apologia*, SS. 10-11); 'non in tantam tot Regnorum et Provinciarum amplitudinem sese armis aut violentia extendit [sc. Gens Austriaca], sed singulari praepotentis Dei favore' (*Apologia*, S. 160).

<sup>22</sup> 'Quid si vero etiam necessaria mundo Austriacae Gentis potentia est? Cum apud Turcas Otthomannicae Domus Imperium supra potentiam humanam fere sit, expediebat profecto, ut apud Christianos par illi potentia aliqua reperiretur. Atque haec est Austriacae Familiae potentia [...], ut [...] Otthomannorum Familiae sese opponeret' (*Apologia*, S. 12).

<sup>23</sup> 'Hi enim hoc tempore propemodum sunt soli, qui Religionis Catholicae tutelam suscipiunt, et Romanam Ecclesiam suo patrocinio complectuntur. Non illis opes sunt ad superbiam, sed ad Ecclesiae defensionem' (*Apologia*, S. 13); 'non desinent Principes Austriaci suarum opum iactura et vitae periculo Religionem catholicam ubique terrarum propagare' (*Apologia*, S. 294).

Ausdehnung des Reiches sei legitimen Erbschaften und Verwandtschaften zu verdanken<sup>24</sup>, daher hätten sie einen gesetzlich gesicherten Anspruch auf ihre Gebiete<sup>25</sup>; zudem sei ihr Anspruch ethisch-moralisch gesichert, da sie sich in allen Tugenden auszeichneten.<sup>26</sup>

In den Kapiteln über die Provinzen in Deutschland, Belgien, Spanien, Italien und in der Neuen Welt sehen wir Herrscher, die geschickte Heiratspolitik betreiben oder denen herrscherlose Gebiete einfach zufallen und deren Herrschaft immer gesetzlich gesichert ist. Dabei wird stets die Eintracht und Einheit der Habsburger betont. Dennoch ist der Stil dieser geschichtlichen Kapitel — im Gegensatz zu den verteidigenden und rühmenden Abschnitten am Anfang und Ende der Schrift — nicht auffällig panegyrisch. Die Beschreibung der Abläufe ist nüchtern; die

<sup>24</sup> 'Non violenta usurpatione, sed haereditate vel affinitate in tantam regionum latitudinem haec augustissima Gens sese diffuderit' (*Apologia*, S. 10); 'Cum autem Ludovicus Rex ad Mohacium oppidum contra Solymannum infeliciter pugnans a Turcis caesus esset anno Regnorum suorum undecimo, ac nullos ipse liberos procreasset, Ferdinandus Austriacus utrumque Regnum ex foederis et matrimonii lure adeptus est' (*Apologia*, S. 55); 'Belgium, quod septemdecim Provinciis hoc tempore continetur, matrimonii et successionis haereditariae lure ad Austriacos Principes pervenit' (*Apologia*, S. 60); 'Silentium indicare sibi iam illi possent et deberent, qui Austriacae Gentis Provinciarum alienarum usurpationem affingunt. Non crevit illa ad istud Imperii sui fastigium aliena rapiendo, sed iustissimas haereditates adeundo' (*Apologia*, S. 160).

<sup>25</sup> 'Iam vero si nihil est in Austriaci Imperii amplitudine, quod non haereditate legitima vel affinitate adierunt, quaenam, obsecro, iura, ut de suis regionibus deturbentur, concedunt? Certam ratamque bonorum suorum possessionem unicuique leges asserunt, et grassator est, qui invadit, et latro, qui quicquam decerpit. [...] Hac legum severitate hominum societas constat [...]. Enimvero quod civi adimere nefas est, eripere Regibus non licet. Una Iustitia est, unum Ius, una Aequitas' (*Apologia*, S. 15); 'Inter eas [sc. leges] fuit haec una. "Ferdinando Archiduci, et eius posteris Austriae Archiducibus Ius in Wirtembergam integrum maneto." Ita adhuc hodie Austriaci merito se Duces Wirtembergicos appellant' (*Apologia*, S. 60); 'Nemo dicit tum illum [i.e. Ferdinandum Secundum] orbis Imperium ambivisse, cum ereptam sibi contra Ius Bohemiam, Moraviam, Silesiam, Deo conatus eius adiuvante, recuperavit' (*Apologia*, SS. 180-181).

<sup>26</sup> 'Sunt Catholici, iusti, pii Principes Austriaci, qui in Franciae, Angliae, Daniae, aliorumque Regnorum Coronas nullum sibi ius esse sciunt, et cum pacem cum omnibus habeant, nunquam illam, nisi ultro lacessiti, turbabunt' (*Apologia*, S. 19); 'Amplius est illis iustitia excellere, quam Imperio' (*Apologia*, S. 21); 'Maximus hic [i.e. Carolus V.], gloriosissimus, et Christianissimus Monarcha, cum regnasset annos quadraginta, et Romanum Imperium, ad quod decimo nono aetatis anno evectus fuerat, annis triginta sex administrasset, rebus supra invidiam gestis clarissimus, Imperium fratri sui Ferdinando, Regna autem sua et Principatus omnes filio Philippo reliquit' (*Apologia*, SS. 76-77); [über ein Zeichen, das Maximilian I. setzte:] 'Insigne prorsus exemplum, quo successores suos admonebat, ut in summo fortunae fastigio mortalitatis suae nunquam obliviscerentur' (*Apologia*, S. 168); 'Albertus IV. Archidux Austriae ita Religioni Christianae deditus fuit, ut publice in sacris aedibus psallere cum Sacerdotibus summa pietate non erubesceret' (*Apologia*, S. 294).

pro-habsburgische Tendenz ist darin zu erkennen, dass Ereignisse zu Gunsten der Habsburger verlaufen. Oft ging Vernulaeus selektiv vor und schenkte eben nur den günstigen Abläufen Beachtung — darauf sei später noch einmal zurückgekommen. Als repräsentatives Beispiel diene eine Passage aus der Beschreibung der Habsburger Provinzen in Deutschland: Wie Kärnten an die Habsburger kam:

Austriae adiuncta Carinthia est per Ottonem Hasburgicum Alberti filium, qui Stiriae Ducatum post Patris mortem obtinuerat. Cum enim Henricus Carinthiae Dux ac Bohemiae Rex unicam moriens filiam haeredemque Margaretam facie insigniter deformem reliquisset, eaque nullos ex primo coniugio liberos suscepisset, Carinthiam ad Imperium devolutam Ludovicus Bavarus Caesar Ottoni Hasburgico, ut liberis suis Austriacos vicinos hac amoris significatione devinciret, concessit, eidemque Carniolam, quaeque inde dependent loca, Alberto eius patri iam pridem permissa, confirmavit. (*Apologia*, S. 51)

Kärnten wurde durch Alberts Sohn Otto von Habsburg, der nach dem Tod seines Vaters die Steiermark innegehabt hatte, an Österreich angeschlossen. Denn als Heinrich, der Herzog von Kärnten und König von Böhmen, bei seinem Tod als einzige Tochter und Erbin Margarethe, die auffällig hässlich war, hinterlassen hatte und diese aus ihrer ersten Ehe keine Kinder empfangen hatte, gestand König Ludwig der Bayer Otto von Habsburg Kärnten als an das Reich zurückgefallen zu, um die österreichischen Nachbarn durch dieses Zeichen der Liebe für seine Kinder zu gewinnen, und für denselben bestätigte er [die Herrschaft über] Carniola [i.e. die Untersteiermark] und die Gebiete, die davon abhingen und die schon längst dessen Vater Albert anvertraut worden waren.

Deutlich panegyrisch sind dagegen die argumentierenden Kapitel am Beginn und am Ende der Apologie, in denen die Habsburger Macht verteidigt wird. Hier schreibt Vernulaeus den Herrschern u.a. typische Tugenden wie *pietas* und *iustitia* zu, und hier verwendet er eine Standardtechnik der Panegyrik, nämlich das *exemplum*. Schon in der klassischen lateinischen Panegyrik bot man *exempla*, Beispiele aus der antiken Geschichte oder Mythologie, um den dargestellten Herrscher hervorzuheben.<sup>27</sup> So leiht sich Vernulaeus aus Cuspinians Kaiserviten<sup>28</sup> ein dem Kaiser Augustus zugeschriebenes

<sup>27</sup> Michael Mause, *Die Darstellung des Kaisers in der lateinischen Panegyrik*, Paligenesia, 50 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994), S. 24 und Reg. 'exemplum'.

<sup>28</sup> Die Kaiserviten wurden posthum herausgegeben: *Ioannis Cuspiniani viri clarissimi, poetae et medici, ac divi Maximiliani Augusti Oratoris, de Caesaribus atque Imperatoribus Romanis opus insigne* ([Straßburg: Mylius] 1540). Zum bedeutenden Humanisten Johannes Cuspinianus, eigentlich J. Spießheimer (1473-1529), nach dem Tod von Konrad Celtis Professor der Dichtkunst in Wien, vgl. Hans Ankiewicz-Kleehoven, *Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian: Gelehrter und Diplomat zur Zeit Kaiser Maximilians I.* (Graz – Köln: Böhlau Nachf., 1959).

Zitat, das hier die Fürsorge der bescheidenen Habsburger für ihre Untertanen unterstreichen soll:

Sciunt iactantis esse ingenii, ut Augustus Caesar aiebat, ob triumphalem pompae superbiam et lauream corollam civium vitam ac securitatem velle periclitari. (*Apologia*, S. 19)

Sie wissen, dass es Zeichen einer prahlenden Naturanlage ist, wie Kaiser Augustus sagte, wegen des triumphalen Stolzes [!] auf einen Umzug und wegen einer Lorbeerkrone das Leben und die Sicherheit der Bürger in Gefahr bringen zu wollen.

Eine Quellenangabe bietet Vernulaeus nicht. Cuspinian verweist auf Sueton, und liest man dort nach, so stellt sich heraus, dass des Kaisers 'Worte' in dieser Form nicht überliefert werden. Cuspinian fasst vielmehr einen Absatz zusammen, in dem von Augustus' gerechtfertigter Kriegführung und seinen Geiselnahmen die Rede ist.<sup>29</sup> Für Vernulaeus ist die Herkunft (oder gar die historische Richtigkeit) des Ausspruchs offenbar nicht von Bedeutung. Er gibt sich damit zufrieden, auf der Suche nach einem passenden *exemplum* Stoff gefunden zu haben, mit dem eine Passage der *Apologia* panegyrisch verfeinert werden kann.

Vernulaeus variiert die Technik des *exemplum* auch, indem er sich bietende mögliche Vergleichsbeispiele der Gegenseite vorwegnimmt, nämlich Völker bzw. Herrscher der Antike, die gefürchtet und zu fürchten waren:

Fuerint timendi olim aliis Romani, formidandus Alexander magnus, terribiles et Assyrii et Persae; conferri cum iis Austriaci non debent, qui quemadmodum Christianissimi sunt, ita Iuris et aequitatis observantissimi, et ab iniuriis inferendis alienissimi. (*Apologia*, SS. 20-21)

<sup>29</sup> Cuspinian, *Caesares* (eingesehene Ausgabe: Frankfurt: Marnius & Erben Aubrius, 1601), S. 7: 'Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit: iactantis ingenii esse affirmans, ob triumphalis pompae superbiam et lauream corollam civium vitas ac securitatem periclitari. Qua virtute modestiae effecit, ut Persae obsides offerrent, creandique regis arbitrium permitterent'. Suet., *Aug.*, 21: 'Nec ulli genti sine iustis et necessariis causis bellum intulit, tantumque afuit a cupiditate quoquo modo imperium vel bellicam gloriam augendi, ut quorundam barbarorum principes in aede Martis Ultoris iurare coegerit mansuros se in fide ac pace quam peterent, a quibusdam vero novum genus obsidum, feminas, exigere temptaverit, quod neglegere marum pignora sentiebat; et tamen potestatem semper omnibus fecit, quotiens vellent obsides recipiendi. Neque aut crebrius aut perfidiosius rebellantis graviore umquam ultus est poena, quam ut captivos sub lege venundaret, ne in vicina regione servirent neve intra tricensimum annum liberarentur. Qua virtutis moderationisque fama Indos etiam ac Scythas auditu modo cognitos pellexit ad amicitiam suam populi que Romani ultro per legatos petendam. Parthi quoque et Armeniam vindicanti facile cesserunt et signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, reposcenti reddiderunt obsidesque insuper optulerunt, denique pluribus quondam de regno concitantibus, non nisi ab ipso electum probaverunt'.



Einst mussten die anderen die Römer fürchten, einst war Alexander der Große zu fürchten, und die schrecklichen Assyrer und Perser; mit diesen dürfen die Österreicher (Habsburger) nicht verglichen werden; so wie sie höchst christlich sind, so wahren sie auch Recht und Billigkeit sehr und sind dem Zufügen von Unrecht höchst abgeneigt.

Mehrmals erwähnt Vernulaeus solche *exempla* der Habsburg-Gegner — auch am Beginn des zweiten Kapitels (über die Macht des österreichischen Geschlechts)<sup>30</sup>; bisweilen erweckt er den Eindruck, tatsächlich aus Gegenschriften zu zitieren. Als Habsburg-Verehrer scheut er sich damit nicht, Gegenargumente aufzugreifen, um sie ins Lächerliche zu ziehen oder durch ausschweifenden Lobpreis verblassen zu lassen. Als Schriftsteller signalisiert Vernulaeus geschickt, dass diese nachteiligen *exempla* eben nur literarische Technik sind. Vernulaeus nennt die Gegner nur selten namentlich. Meist spricht er von 'Autoren' und von 'Büchern' oder 'falschen Anklagen'.<sup>31</sup> Die wenigen namentlichen Erwähnungen bestätigen die Vermutung, dass diese 'Bücher' unter Nutzung derselben panegyrischen Technik für andere Herrscherhäuser geschrieben wurden. Im letzten Kapitel führt Vernulaeus zwei Schriftsteller an, die den spanischen Habsburgern vorwürfen, nur unter dem Vorwand der Religion Kriege zu

<sup>30</sup> 'Id agendum ne rerum omnium ius, ac potestas ad unam aliquam familiam perveniat. [...] Addunt et autoritates et exempla. Perseus Philippi filius, Macedonum rex id agendum Rhodiis esse dicebat, ne omnium rerum potestas ad unum populum Romanum perveniret. Quippe regnum unum occupatum gradus est ad aliud, et finem ambitio regum nescit, cum successu prospero gaudet. Hanc ob causam Constantinopolitani olim Imperatores omnem navarunt operam, ut Siciliae regnum a Neapolitano disiungeretur, ne formidanda aliis unius potestas esset. Aetoli cum auxilium ab Antiocho peterent, ut author est Livius, monuerunt, ad fidem Maiestatemque regiam pertinere, socios Aetolos iuvare, ne iis extinctis in Asiam Romani totis viribus irruerent. Plane Principes alienae potentiae incrementum non ferunt, et quae supra aliorum Fortunam est, suspecta est. Ideo Cosmus Mediceus Princeps Florentinus, quantum potuit, ne Ducatus Mediolanensis ad Venetos perveniret, laboravit' (*Apologia*, SS. 4-5).

<sup>31</sup> 'Gentis Austriacae Maiestatem magnitudinemque multi hoc tempore non ferunt; eius gloriae plurimi invident. In eam voce, vel scripto debacchari, hoc est illis Oratorem esse' (*Apologia* [S.1]); 'Restat ut ex animis quorundam timorem, ex mentibus suspicionem tollamus. Unus est hic timor, ne Austriaci rerum omnium in Europa potestatem sibi vindicent' (*Apologia*, SS. 18-19); 'Invidere Austriacis potentiam suam et Imperii Maiestatem eorum Aemulis est parum; erumpit ulterius invidia et calumnias eructat. [...] pleni sunt calumniis istis male feriatorum quorundam ingeniorum libri, et ut scripsisse non sit satis, eas in vulgus spargunt' (*Apologia*, S. 46); 'In multorum manibus et oculis sunt libri illi, qui nuper lucem aspexerunt, quorum Authores dum ambiunt calumniando famam, etiam scribendo Austriacam extinguere gloriam conantur' (*Apologia*, S. 161); 'Dolere vehementer soleo quoties Authorum eiusmodi libros in manus assumo, in quibus gloriosissimorum Principum famam video tam audacter, nec minus falso, lacerari' (*Apologia*, S. 162).

führen: Balzac und Du Ferrier.<sup>32</sup> Dabei handelt es sich um Jean Louis Guez de Balzac (1595-1654), unter anderem Verfasser des Elogium *Le Prince* auf Ludwig XIII. (1631), und Jérémie du Ferrier (1576-1626), den königlichen Geschichtsschreiber und Autor des König Ludwig XIII. gewidmeten, antiprotestantischen *Le catholique d'état* (1625).<sup>33</sup> Beide Autoren haben für das französische Königshaus eine literarische Funktion, die jener des Vernulaeus für das Haus Habsburg ähnelt. Die Angabe der beiden und die Tatsache, dass einige Kapitel der *Apologia* an die Franzosen gerichtet sind (cap. IX-XI)<sup>34</sup>, lassen vermuten, dass sich Vernulaeus durch eine Schrift eines französischen Autors zur *Apologia pro augustissima, serenissima, et potentissima gente Austriaca* aufgefordert fühlte.

Geschichte vor allem als Quelle für *exempla* zu sehen, sie nicht als Prozess, sondern als Fülle isolierter Leistungen zu betrachten, ist nicht nur ein Phänomen der Panegyrik<sup>35</sup>, sondern auch ein Merkmal der humanistischen Geschichtsschreibung. Obwohl die Periodisierung, die Einteilung in Antike, Mittelalter und Neuzeit, auf die Renaissance zurückgeht, sah man die Gegenwart weniger als Ergebnis eines Prozesses, denn als eine Zeit, die sich von der Vergangenheit unterschied.<sup>36</sup> Man nutzte die Darstellung vergangener Ereignisse vor allem zu belehrenden Zwecken, konzentrierte sich auf neue Inhalte und vermischte Geschichtsschreibung mit anderen Genera, wie Biographie und Panegyrik.<sup>37</sup> Vernulaeus bot

<sup>32</sup> 'Audet affirmare Balzacus Hispaniae Regem non Religionis causa adversus Haereticos arma movere, sed politica ratione; nec eos aggredi, ut ad Religionem Catholicam, et in Ecclesiae sinum reducat, sed ut ea, quae possident, occupet. Alius Du Ferrier in suo Catholico Politico sumpta a Caesare in Protestantibus et Sectaribus arma solum Religionis praetextum habere dicit, re vera autem unum eorum finem esse, Romanum Imperium Genti Austriacae haereditarium reddere' (*Apologia*, S. 293).

<sup>33</sup> Jean Louis Guez de Balzac, *Le prince* (Paris: Bray – Roccolet – Sonnius, 1631); Jérémie du Ferrier, *Le catholique d'estat, ou discours politique des alliances du roi très-chrestien contre les calomnies des ennemis de son estat* (Paris: Bouillerot, 1625).

<sup>34</sup> Cap. IX: 'Responsio ad praetensum Ius Francorum in quasdam Principum Austriae Provincias'. Cap. X: 'Leges pacis saepius inter Hispanos et Francos initae, ex quibus constat Francos suo in quasdam Austriae Provincias Iuri cecidisse'. Cap. XI: 'Francorum nationes, quibus foedera inter suos et Hispaniae Reges inita, irrita esse contendunt, ad illas responsio'.

<sup>35</sup> Werner Portmann, *Geschichte in der spätantiken Panegyrik*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe III: Geschichte und ihre Hilfswissenschaften, Bd. 363 (Frankfurt, Main u.a.: Lang, 1988), SS. 205-222.

<sup>36</sup> 'Das Geschichtsinteresse der Renaissance', in Felix Gilbert, Guicciardini, Machiavelli und die Geschichtsschreibung der italienischen Renaissance, mit einer Einleitung v. H. R. Guggisberg, übers. v. M. Fienbork u. F. Hausmann, Kleine kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek, 29 (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1991, Erstausgabe Princeton N. J., 1965), SS. 15-31.

<sup>37</sup> Ulrich Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung. Die Vorgeschichte des Historismus* (München: Beck, 1991).

sich, da er pauschal über das Haus Habsburg schrieb, ein weites geschichtliches Feld, mit dem er selektiv umging. So berichtet er im 12. Kapitel, um zu beweisen, dass Habsburger nicht machtgierig seien, davon, wie Venedig nach langen Konflikten Kaiser Maximilian I. um Frieden und Unterstützung gegen die Franzosen bat. Am Beginn der Beschreibung des Vorfalls werden Maximilians eigene Konflikte mit Venedig angedeutet:

Certe tum, cum Venetos ad ultimas angustias adduxit, sternere sibi ad Italiae Imperium viam potuit, quo occupato facile Provincias alias ad sibi parendum compulisset. (*Apologia*, SS. 164-165)

Sicherlich hätte er sich, als er die Venezianer in höchste Bedrängnis führte, den Weg zur Herrschaft über Italien ebnen können; durch die Besetzung Venedigs hätte er die anderen Provinzen leicht gezwungen, ihm zu gehorchen.

Dass es Maximilian nicht gelang, Venedig zu bezwingen, wird nicht gesagt. Statt dessen gibt Vernulaeus, der hier Material aus Francesco Guicciardinis (1483-1540) Geschichte Italiens entnimmt, die unterwürfige Rede eines Gesandten vor Maximilian wieder und beschreibt dessen Reaktion:

Quid Maximilianus? Inducias primum aliquas cum iis fecit, pacem deinde concessit, et nonnulla loca, quae adempta illis fuerant, restituit. Perire tam nobilem Rempublicam, quae insigne Italiae decus est, non voluit. (*Apologia*, S. 167)

Was machte Maximilian? Zuerst vereinbarte er mit ihnen einen Waffenstillstand, hierauf gewährte er Frieden und erstattete ihnen einige Orte zurück, die man ihnen weggenommen hatte. Er wollte nicht, dass eine so edle Republik, die eine auffallende Zierde Italiens ist, untergehe.

Unklar bleibt hier, dass Venedig ein Spielball zwischen Frankreich und dem Kaiserreich war und dass Maximilian sehr wohl daran interessiert war, Macht über die Stadtrepublik zu gewinnen; unerwähnt bleibt die Peinlichkeit, dass gerade die Venezianer Maximilians Kaiserkrönung in Rom verhinderten, indem sie ihm die Durchreise verweigerten.<sup>38</sup>

Exemplarisch werden schließlich im Schlusskapitel Taten und Aussprüche von Habsburger Fürsten aufgelistet. Sie betonen den Eifer in Ausübung, Bewahrung und Verbreitung der katholischen Religion, eng verwandt mit der *pietas*, die sowohl nach antiker als auch nach humanistischer Tradition einen Topos in der Beschreibung eines guten Herrschers bildet sowie

<sup>38</sup> Christina Lutter, *Politische Kommunikation an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit: die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen der Republik Venedig und Maximilian I. (1495-1508)*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 34 (Wien: Oldenbourg, 1998).

als katholische Tugend gilt.<sup>39</sup> Angesichts der eines Fürstenspiegels würdigen Darstellungsweise verwundert es kaum, dass der Titel des Kapitels (*De Zelo Austriacorum pro Catholica Religione retinenda*) und viele inhaltliche Elemente in einem tatsächlichen Fürstenspiegel Entsprechungen haben: Vernulaeus' *Virtutes*, die im Folgenden besprochen werden, beginnen mit dem Kapitel *De zelo fidei et Religionis Catholicae*, und einige der darin beschriebenen Taten, Haltungen und Aussprüche finden sich schon im Schlusskapitel der *Apologia*.<sup>40</sup>

Die *Apologia* ist eine Mischung aus Geschichtsschreibung, Panegyrik und Fürstenspiegel. Durch typisch humanistische Nutzung rhetorischer, vor allem panegyrischer Techniken nach dem Modell der klassischen Antike und einen selektiven Umgang mit geschichtlichen Ereignissen schafft Vernulaeus in diesem Werk das Bild eines Herrscherhauses, das aus frommen, hilfsbereiten, geradezu friedfertigen und untereinander einigen Fürsten besteht. Dieses Idealbild soll zweifelsohne nicht nur Feinde,

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. Mause, *Die Darstellung des Kaisers*, SS. 103-104; SS. 145-147; Ludwig Schrader, 'Der Herrscher nach Erasmus von Rotterdam', in *Der Herrscher: Leitbild und Abbild in Mittelalter und Renaissance*, hrsg. v. Forschungsinstitut für Mittelalter und Renaissance und Hans Hecker, *Studia humaniora*, 13 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1990), SS. 179-201.

<sup>40</sup> Drei Beispiele (von vielen) für die inhaltlichen bis hin zu wörtlichen Entsprechungen, die ein Benutzen derselben Quellen verraten (die Beispiele aus den *Virtutes* sind nach der *editio princeps* zitiert, siehe folgende Anm.; zu den Quellen siehe im Text den folgenden Abschnitt über die *Virtutes*): (1) 'Albertus IV. Archidux Austriae ita Religioni Christianae deditus fuit, ut publice in sacris aedibus psallere cum Sacerdotibus summa pietate non erubesceret' (*Apologia*, S. 294); 'Albertus IV. Archidux Austriae, nisi fallor, suo in pectore integrum Christianae Religionis amorem complectebatur. Sed erumpebat quandoque et in sacris Divorum Aedibus, cum Sacerdotum choro publice psallebat' (*Virtutes*, S. 11) (2) 'Maximilianus autem Primus ex eadem Austriaca Gente Caesar cum ex hac vita sibi migrandum esse videret, nepotibus suis Carolo V. et Ferdinando I. mandavit, ut Maiorum vestigiis insistentes Religionem avitam Catholicamque adversus omnes Religionis et publici status perturbatores constanti animo, ac cum vitae etiam periculo tuerentur. Et cum id temporis Lutherus primum exoriretur, eius insaniam et ingenium saepe detestabatur, asserebatque, quid si vivere diutius eum divina Maiestas permetteret, non frustra male sanus homo Germaniam sibi perturbandam desumeret' (*Apologia*, S. 295); 'Maximilianus I. Imperator [...] "Renuntiate", inquit, "Carolo et Ferdinando Nepotibus meis, ut maiorum insistentes vestigiis Catholicam Religionem a Germanis hactenus cultam, adversus novorum dogmatum Auctores Sectatoresque cum vitae etiam periculo defendant." [...] Unde non raro exorientis tum primum in Germania Martini Lutheri insanum turbulentumque ingenium detestabatur, addebatque, quod si sibi diuturniorem Deus vitam largiretur, non frustra male sanus iste homo Germaniam vesania sua perturbandam desumeret' (*Virtutes*, S. 2) (3) 'Philippum Secundum Hispaniae Regem non tantum vere Christianum, sed Ecclesiae Catholicae columnam, Bonorum omnium parentem, Christiani nominis protectorem Catholici omnes appellarunt' (*Apologia*, S. 297); 'Philippus II. Hispaniarum et Indiarum Rex [...] vulgo "Ecclesiae Columna, Bonorum Parens, Christiani nominis Protector" appellabatur' (*Virtutes*, SS. 9-10).

sondern auch die Krieg führenden Habsburger und den Widmungsträger Ferdinand, den Regenten der Niederlande, belehren. Während die belehrende Funktion in der *Apologia* aus dem Inhalt zu erschließen ist, spricht Vernulaeus sie in der folgenden Schrift über das österreichische Geschlecht deutlich an.

### Die *Virtutes*

1640, als die Habsburger im schwedisch-französischen Krieg in Mitteleuropa von zwei Seiten bedrängt wurden und die Spanier Portugal verloren und mit einem Aufstand in Katalonien zu kämpfen hatten, veröffentlichte Vernulaeus die *Virtutum Augustissimae gentis Austriacae libri tres*<sup>41</sup>, kurz *Virtutes*. Er widmete sie regierenden Habsburgern und ihren zu erwartenden Nachfolgern, nämlich Kaiser Ferdinand III., dem spanischen König Philipp IV., Ferdinand, dem Gouverneur der Niederlande, Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm, der den Oberbefehl über die kaiserlichen Truppen führte, Balthasar Karl, dem Prinzen von Spanien (der zu früh sterben sollte, um tatsächlich den Thron zu besteigen), und Ferdinand Franz, dem Erstgeborenen des Kaisers (der kurz nach seiner Krönung zum König sterben und nie Kaiser werden sollte). Ihnen sollen die Tugenden ihrer Vorfahren beschrieben werden. Ausdrücklich betont Vernulaeus im Vorwort die exemplarische Funktion der vorgeführten Habsburger.<sup>42</sup>

Das 254 Seiten umfassende Werk<sup>43</sup> teilt sich in drei Büchern mit je zehn, analog aufgebauten Kapiteln. Jedes Kapitel behandelt eine Tugend, die durch Handlungen, Haltungen oder Aussprüche von sechs bis zehn Kaisern, Königen oder Erzherzögen illustriert wird. Auf den Titel und eine Angabe der beispielhaften Regenten folgt jeweils eine den Wert der betreffenden Tugend betonende Einleitung, an die sich die Anekdoten schließen. Jedes Beispiel wird mit einem moralischen *Monitum* abgeschlossen. Der Tugendkanon umfasst — und in dieser Deutung treten Überschneidungen auf — stoische und katholische Tugenden, platonische Kardinaltugenden,

<sup>41</sup> Nicolai Vernulaei Caesarei Regiique Historiographi, et publici Eloquentiae Professoris Lovanii Virtutum Augustissimae gentis Austriacae libri tres. Solis Caesarum, Regum, Principumque Austriacorum exemplis adornati. Una cum Monitis Ethicis Politicisque (Leuven: Zegers, 1640).

<sup>42</sup> *Virtutes*, s.n. ii r: 'Vos igitur Maiorum Vestrorum Virtutes, et quae domi ad omnem gloriam exempla habetis, benigno oculo aspiciate'.

<sup>43</sup> Bei einem Satzspiegel von 160×110mm (nach Depuydt, *Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583-1649)*, S. 222) u. ca. 25 Zeilen pro Seite.

klassisch panegyrische topische Herrscherideale und humanistische Bildungsideale, kurz: alle nur möglichen Charakteristika eines idealen Herrschers. Das erste Buch ist dabei vor allem christlichen und humanistischen Idealen gewidmet, wie Frömmigkeit, Glauben, Eloquenz und Begabung: In Zeiten von Glaubenskriegen muss ein derartiger Katalog mit konfessionellen Idealen beginnen; und Fürsten zu Gelehrsamkeit anzuregen, war ein vorrangiges humanistisches Anliegen.<sup>44</sup> Das zweite Buch nennt platonische Kardinaltugenden und klassische Topoi, wie Gerechtigkeit, Klugheit, Milde und Tapferkeit. Das letzte Buch beginnt mit humanistischen Bildungsidealen und führt über den Umgang mit Krieg und Frieden sowie Äußerlichkeiten (wie Kleidung und Freizeitbeschäftigung) zum Umgang mit dem Tod: Äußerlichkeiten gehörten schon in der antiken Panegyrik zum Arsenal der zu besprechenden Themen<sup>45</sup>; der Todesgedanke war seit dem römischen Stoizismus im europäischen Wertesystem verankert.<sup>46</sup>

Die drei Bücher *Virtutes* stellen einen humanistischen Fürstenspiegel dar. Ohne auf dessen Entwicklung seit dem Mittelalter hier im Detail einzugehen, sei darauf hingewiesen, dass dieser in den humanistischen Niederlanden von Größen wie Erasmus und Lipsius in verschiedener Form gepflegt wurde. Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* erschien 1516, Lipsius' *Politica* 1589, seine *Monita et exempla politica* 1605, und deren Fortsetzung *Monita et exempla politica de re militari* (1605) ist handschriftlich erhalten.<sup>47</sup>

Zu dem von Vernulaeus benutzten Textmaterial (er gibt die Quellen in Marginalien an) gehören allerdings weniger theoretisch angelegte Fürstenspiegel, als vielmehr Geschichtswerke, Biographien und Lobreden, aus denen er jeweils Passendes schöpfte. So verwendete er für Beispiele zu

<sup>44</sup> Zur humanistischen 'Fürstenerziehung' vgl. Wilhelm Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat: Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters*, Studien u. Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, 3 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1982), SS. 341-371. Den bibliographischen Hinweis verdanke ich Van Houdt – Papy, 'Eulogizing Rulers and the Rules of Eulogy', Anm. 47.

<sup>45</sup> Mause, *Die Darstellung des Kaisers*, SS. 135-162.

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. Günter Abel, *Stoizismus und frühe Neuzeit: zur Entstehungsgeschichte modernen Denkens im Felde von Ethik und Politik* (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1978).

<sup>47</sup> Jozef IJsewijn – Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. Part 2: Literary, linguistic, philological and editorial questions*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven: University Press, 1998), S. 312; Schrader, 'Der Herrscher nach Erasmus von Rotterdam'; Van Houdt – Papy, 'Eulogizing Rulers and the Rules of Eulogy', S. 120; Jan Papy, 'An Unpublished Dialogue by Justus Lipsius on Military Prudence and the Causes of War: the *Monita et exempla politica de re militari* (1605)', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 65 (2003), 135-148.

Kaiser Maximilian I. dessen Biographie aus Pontus Heuterus' *Rerum Belgicarum libri quindecim* (1598)<sup>48</sup>; Heuterus bot auch Material über die spanischen Könige Philipp I. und Philipp II. sowie Kaiser Karl V., für dessen Tugenden auch die fünf Bücher *De vita Caroli quinti Imperatoris* (1596) des Zenocarus Beispiele lieferten<sup>49</sup>; bis zu Karl V. reichen auch die *Annales* (1592) von Gerardus de Roo, die bei Rudolph I. einsetzen und Vernulaeus u.a. Beispiele für diesen, dessen Sohn Albert I. sowie Friedrich III. und Erzherzog Albert IV. gaben<sup>50</sup>; eine historiographische Quelle zu den Fürsten zwischen 1500 und 1566 war der *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum* von Laurentius Surius (1566)<sup>51</sup>; zu den verwendeten Lobschriften gehören Grabreden, zum Beispiel für Ferdinand II. und Albert den Frommen, und längere Werke, wie die drei Bücher des Antonio de la Torre über den Tod von Philipp II. (lateinische Übersetzung 1609)<sup>52</sup>; um durch den Verweis auf Habsburger sämtlicher Reichsteile ein möglichst umfassendes Idealbild zu präsentieren, inkludierte Vernulaeus auch Anekdoten über den böhmisch-ungarischen König Ladislaus Postumus, und verwendete dafür die livianischen *Rerum Ungaricarum decades* des Antonius Bonfinius<sup>53</sup>; Fürstenspiegel benutzte Vernulaeus weniger als

<sup>48</sup> Heuterus ist die latinisierte Namensform von de Huyter. — *Ponti Heuteri Delfii, Praepositi Arnhemensis, Rerum Belgicarum libri quindecim, quibus describuntur pace belloque gesta a principibus Austriacis in Belgio, nempe Maxaemiliano primo Caesare, Philippo primo Castellae Rege, Carolo quinto Caesare, Philippo secundo Hispaniarum Rege* (Antwerpen: Martinus Nutius, 1598).

<sup>49</sup> Zenocarus ist die latinisierte Namensform von Snouckaert, i.e. Willem Snouckaert van Schauwenburg. — *De vita Caroli Quinti imperatoris, caesaris, vere augusti, libri quinque Guilielmo Zenocaro a Scauwenburgo ... auctore* (Antwerpen: Iansenius, 1596).

<sup>50</sup> *Annales rerum belli domique ab Austriacis Habsburgicae gentis Principibus, a Rudolpho primo, usque ad Carolum V. gestarum: ex optimis quibusque cum typo cussis tum manuscriptis auctoribus, publicis item ac privatis rerum monumentis, summo studio conquisiti, et in libros XII. per Gerardum de Roo, serenissimi Austriae Archiducis Ferdinandi etc. olim bibliothecarium congesti, et Conradi Decii a Weydenberg... editi* (Innsbruck: Agricola, 1592). — Zu de Roo siehe auch unten Anm. 70.

<sup>51</sup> Laurentius Surius ist die latinisierte Namensform von Laurenz Sur. — *Commentarius brevis rerum in orbe gestarum, ab anno Salutis millesimo quingentesimo, usque ad annum LXVI. Ex optimis quibusque scriptoribus congestus per F. Laurentium Surium Carthusianum* (Köln: Erben Quentel & Calenius, 1566).

<sup>52</sup> *De felici excessu Philippi II Austriaci Hispaniarum regis libri III. Scripsit Hispanice Antonius Cervera Turrianus... vertit Latine... Franciscus Guillimannus* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Lang, 1609). — Die spanische Vorlage entstand zwischen 1598 und 1609; Vernulaeus kann das Original oder die Übersetzung vorgelegen sein.

<sup>53</sup> Der Italiener Antonio Bonfini (1427-1503) war Geschichtsschreiber am ungarischen Hof. Sein Geschichtswerk wurde posthum ediert und erweitert: *Antoni Bonfini Rerum Ungaricarum decades tres, nunc demum industria Martini Brenneri... in lucem aeditae* (Basel: Winter, 1543). *Rerum Ungaricarum decades quatuor* (Basel: Oporinus, 1568); usw.

erwartet, zu ihnen gehören die Bücher über die Tugenden von Kaiser Ferdinand II. von Guilielmus Lamormainus (1638)<sup>54</sup> und der christlich-moralische, dem jungen spanischen König Philipp IV. gewidmete *Politico-Christianus* des Jesuiten Carolus Scribanus (1624).<sup>55</sup>

Die Liste der Quellen könnte fortgesetzt werden; wichtiger erscheint aber im vorliegenden Zusammenhang, auf Vernulaeus' Umgang mit ihnen einzugehen. Das Ergebnis ist erwartungsgemäß tendenziös und selektiv: Er verwendet die oben genannten und weitere Schriften als Sammelsurium von beispielhaften Ereignissen, aus denen er passende Anekdoten herausgreift und oft sehr wörtlich übernimmt. Nur selten werden zu einer exemplarischen Erzählung mehrere Quellen genannt, und wenn, dann stehen diese ihrerseits in Beziehung zueinander (So bieten natürlich mehrere verwendete Grabreden für Albert den Frommen dem literarischen Genre gemäß die gleichen Topoi). Es geht Vernulaeus auch nicht darum, geschichtliche Ereignisse oder gar Abläufe, in denen Herrscher durch besonders tugendhaftes Verhalten auffielen, darzustellen. Er übernimmt Episoden, ohne deren Vor- und Nachgeschichte zu behandeln. Besonders deutlich wird dies, wenn er aus einer Quelle mehrere Beispiele zu einer Tugend eines Herrschers bezieht, wie bisweilen aus Gerardus de Roo und Pontus Heuterus. Ein Beispiel aus dem ersten Kapitel (über die Tugend 'Eifer im Glauben und in der katholischen Religion') verdeutliche dies: Vernulaeus berichtet über den gläubigen Friedrich III.; bei seiner Krönungsreise sei dieser in Rom wohlwollend empfangen worden; bei einem weiteren Rombesuch habe er in der ersten Weihnachtsmesse das Evangelium vorgetragen und später politische Pläne mit dem Papst [Nikolaus V.] besprochen:

Anno quarti supra decimum saeculi quinquagesimo secundo cum Romam venisset, prima illi cura fuit ad Pontificis pedes sese abiicere; tum Divorum delubra lipsanaeque invisere. Demum XVI. Calend. Aprilis Pontifex in Divi Petri Aede sacris operatus Fredericum Caesarem et Eleonoram Christiano ritu coniugii vinculo copulavit. Tertio post die eundem Romanorum Imperatorem solemni ritu inunxit, et Imperii insignia adiecit. Ambos Roma inter faustas acclamationes "Augustos" salutavit; nec alia gestientis tunc populi vox fuit, quam, "Frederico Pacifico, a Deo coronato Imperatori vita et victoria".

<sup>54</sup> Guilielmus Lamormainus [Wilhelm Lamormaini], *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum imperatoris virtutes* (Wien: Gelbhaar, 1638). – Zu Lamormaini siehe auch unten Anm. 71.

<sup>55</sup> *Caroli Scribani Politico-Christianus, Philippo IV. Hispaniarum Regi Catholico DD* (Antwerpen: Martinus Nutius, 1624). – Zum *Politico-Christianus* als 'anti-Machiavellian treatise' vgl. Van Houdt – Papy, 'Eulogizing Rulers and the Rules of Eulogy', S. 123.



Idem cum post sex annos ineunte Novembri in Italiam iter suscepisset, Romam pridie Christi Natalis appulit. Nocte sequente, quae Christianis est sacra, cum Pontifex ad aras sacrificaret, Evangelium de Augusti Caesaris edicto publice decantavit. [...] deque expeditione in Turcas suscipienda, ac de Hungariae Bohemiaeque Regnis consilia cum summo Antistite communicavit. (*Virtutes*, SS. 5-6)

Die Quelle, Gerardus de Roo, berichtet — mit neunzig Seiten Abstand zwischen den beiden Romreisen! — Folgendes über dieselben Ereignisse:

Sequentes aliquot dies Caesar, delubris, divum templis, et urbis terrarum olim dominae reliquiis visendis, insumpsit. Ad decimum sextum Cal. Aprilis Pontifex in D. Petri aede sacris operatus, Fridericum Caesarem et Leonoram, adhibito solempni ritu, solitisque cerimoniis, matrimoniali vinculo coniugavit, beneque ipsis ac ipsorum posteritati ominatus est. Tertio post die (quam dominicam Laetare vocant) Caesar de more unctus, et in Rom. Imperatorem consecratus, coronam et alia Rom. Imperii insignia accepit, acclamante populo Romano: "Friderico pacifico a Deo coronato Imp. vita et victoria". (*Annales*, S. 205)

Sub initium Novembr. Caesar res in Austria satis iam quietas, et Mathiae ob foedus fidendum ratus, suscepto in Italiam itinere, in ante diem natalis domini nostri Romam venit, ubi ea nocte, sacra faciente pontifice, evangelium de edicto Caesaris Augusti decantasse dicitur [...]. Itineris huius causa votum esse vulgo ferebatur, erant qui confirmationem successionis in Hungariae et Boëmia regna petiisse dicerent, nec absimile vero est, prudentissimum Imperatorem, consilia sua, ex autoritate pontificis, instituire voluisse. De expeditione in Turcam et bello Boëmico actum esse nonnulli meminere. (*Annales*, S. 295)<sup>56</sup>

Auch De Roo betont die Frömmigkeit des Kaisers, allerdings nur als Detail innerhalb einer chronologischen Beschreibung der Tätigkeiten Friedrichs. Vernulaeus folgt De Roos Wortlaut eng, teilweise wörtlich. Die 90 Seiten, die in den *Annales* zwischen den beiden Rombesuchen liegen, überbrückt er kurzerhand mit *post sex annos*. De Roo erwähnt Friedrichs Vortragen des Evangeliums nebenbei; dass der Kaiser Politisches mit dem Papst besprochen habe, kennzeichnet er als Gerücht (*vulgo ferebatur, erant qui... dicerent, nec absimile vero est...*). Vernulaeus greift das Vortragen des Evangeliums heraus und präsentiert es als Beispiel für tiefe Gläubigkeit; das Besprechen der politischen Pläne mit dem Papst stellt er als Tatsache dar. Vernulaeus unterstreicht so das Vertrauen des Kaisers zum Kirchenoberhaupt, und damit wiederum seine Frömmigkeit.

<sup>56</sup> Beide Passagen zitiert nach der *editio princeps*, s. Anm. 50.

De Roo illustriert hier den Charakter des Kaisers; Vernulaeus illustriert eine Tugend mit Hilfe von Begebenheiten aus dem Leben des Kaisers.

Beispielhaft im Umgang mit dem Tod ist laut Vernulaeus u.a. Kaiser Karl V. Das entsprechende *exemplum* bezieht er aus Surius' *Commentarius*.<sup>57</sup> Bei Surius nehmen die Geschehnisse vor Karls Tod mehrere Seiten ein. Über dessen Todesahnung und Tod berichtet er:

Die 21. Septembris, cum iam aliquot dies acutissima febre tertiana laborasset, e vivis feliciter excessit piissimus et celeberrimus Princeps Carolus V. Romanorum Imperator potentissimus. Ante mortem in illa sua optata solitudine dies ac noctes precibus ad Deum fundendis consumebat, mundo se iam, immo et Deo deinceps in vita hac inutilem dicebat: itaque cupiebat liberari mortali corpusculo, ut in aeterna vita Deum perpetim laudare posset. Cum esset in precibus ardentior, saepe et valde pie pro Ecclesiae concordia Deum orabat, inquit, "In manus tuas Domine tradidi Ecclesiam tuam." [...] Ante mortem post sacram unctionem, licet iam ante corpus Domini accepisset, iterum illud sibi dari petiit, dicens, "In me manes, ego in te maneam." Sic mortuus est piissimus et sempiterna memoria dignus Princeps Carolus V. de quo ob totius Ecclesiae aedificationem hoc loco visum est brevem historiam annectere, ut pro multis et maximis eius in Ecclesiam beneficiis, hanc qualemcunque illi impendamus grati animi significationem, et cognoscat posteritas omnis, qualem nostra aetas, alioqui longe calamitiosissima ob haeresum et novorum dogmatum prodigiosam fertilitatem, habuerit Imperatorem. (*Commentarius*, SS. 572-573)

Vernulaeus kürzt im entsprechenden Beispiel in *Virtutes* 3,10:

Vixit in ista solitudine biennio nondum integro, quo tempore dies paene totos noctesque fundendis ad Deum precibus insumebat, saepiusque; "Mundo se iam, imo et Deo in hac mortali vita inutilem deinceps esse", dicebat. Cumque sacra Synaxi fere quotidie reficeretur, tum postquam imminente morte sacrae unctionis Sacramentum suscepit, iterum sibi Sacrosanctum Christi Corpus dari vehementer expetiit, recepitque et ultimam propemodum vocem in haec verba composuit, "In me manes, o Christe, et ego in te maneam." (*Virtutes*, S. 243)

Die deutlich panegyrische Passage des Surius (obiger Textausschnitt ist zudem gekürzt) war für Vernulaeus' Intention zu ausführlich und lobte zu deutlich einen Kaiser. Vernulaeus kürzt, denn in den *Virtutes* soll Kaiser Karl V. ein Beispiel unter vielen liefern. Er soll begreiflich machen, wie ein tugendhafter Fürst mit dem Tod umgehe; dabei soll er nicht von den übrigen Habsburgern abstecken, sondern ebenso wie sie eine Tugend illustrieren.

<sup>57</sup> S.o. Anm. 51; das Textbeispiel ist nach der *editio princeps* zitiert.

Die Habsburger Kaiser, Könige und Erzherzöge werden in Vernulaeus' *Virtutes* zu Instrumenten der Darstellung von Tugenden. Mit diesen Instrumenten baut Vernulaeus einen Fürstenspiegel für die Widmungsträger, nämlich die machthabenden Habsburger und ihre Nachfolger. Zugleich zeichnet er ein Bild des Habsburger Geschlechts, wie wir es schon in der *Apologia* kennen gelernt haben: das Bild einer Großfamilie frommer, milder, weiser, in allen Belangen des öffentlichen und privaten Lebens sich auszeichnender und maßhaltender Persönlichkeiten. Die *Virtutes* führen nicht nur den unmittelbar Angesprochenen ideale Eigenschaften eines Herrschers vor Augen, sondern stellen jedem Leser ein ideales Herrscher Geschlecht vor — und dies inmitten der Schlusswehen des Dreißigjährigen und des Achtzigjährigen Krieges, als man vielerorts sicherlich kriegsmüde war. Sie zeigen ein Herrscher Geschlecht, das überlegt und zutiefst fromm handelt, das keine Kriege aus Machtgier führt, das sich über Generationen und Provinzgrenzen hinweg gleichmäßig tugendhaft auszeichnet und trotz der Teilung in eine österreichische und eine spanische Linie eine Einheit bildet, und zwar eine familiär-schützende, vertrauenswürdige Einheit.

### Die *Historia Austriaca*

Vernulaeus' Vorhaben, das Habsburger Geschlecht als schutzbietende, einige Familie darzustellen, kulminierte in seiner posthum veröffentlichten *Historia Austriaca*.<sup>58</sup> Vernulaeus verwendet in der *Apologia* und den *Virtutes* konsequent *Austriaci* für die Habsburger und *gens Austriaca* für das Habsburger Geschlecht / die Habsburger Dynastie<sup>59</sup>; *domus* steht in den betrachteten Schriften meist ohne Adjektiv und meint die Familie der

<sup>58</sup> *Editio princeps: Nicolai Vernulaei Historiographi Caesarei, Regiique, et Profess. publici Lovanii, Historia Austriaca, gentis Augustissimae, Serenissimae ac Potentissimae Archiduces, Reges, Imperatores breviter complexa. Nunc primum typis edita* (Leuven: Nempaeus, 1651).

<sup>59</sup> Beispiele: *Apologia*: 'Apologia pro augustissima, serenissima, et potentissima gente Austriaca' (Titel); 'bellum adversus Austriacos necessarium esse omnes proclamant' (S. 10); 'De Monarchiae totius Europae cupiditate, quae Austriacis affingitur' (S. 160); (2) *Virtutes*: 'Augustissimae Gentis Austriacae Potentia non sane sine invidia est, sed Virtutes supra invidiam sunt' (Widmungsbrief); 'Certissima, ut virtutum aliarum, ita huius quoque exempla Austriaci dederunt' (S. 75); 'Semper vero foecunda Austriacorum pectora fuerunt, tanquam sapientiae domicilia, ex quibus quae dicta aliquando prodierint, quasi quaedam sapientiae documenta, videamus' (S. 173).

Habsburger, das 'Haus Österreich'.<sup>60</sup> Als das ursprünglich aus der Schweiz stammende Adelsgeschlecht der Habsburger im 13. Jahrhundert begann, Österreich zu regieren und es mehr und mehr zu seinem Stammland zu machen, war Österreich / *Austria* das Gebiet der Herzogtümer ob und nieder der Enns (das heutige Ober- und Niederösterreich). In der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts ging der Name 'Österreich' auf das Herrscher-geschlecht über, ab dem 15. Jahrhundert war 'Haus Österreich', lateinisch *domus Austriae*, spanisch *casa de Austria*, eine geläufige Bezeichnung für die gesamte Dynastie und das Herrschaftsgebiet der Habsburger.<sup>61</sup> In der neulateinischen Literatur ist die Verwendung von *Austriaci*, *gens Austriaca* usw., wie sie bei Vernulaeus begegnet, die übliche — trotzdem sei hier besonders darauf verwiesen, da sie für das dritte zu besprechende, den Habsburgern gewidmete Werk Bedeutung hat: Denn eine *Historia Austriaca* müsste folgerichtig eine Geschichte der Habsburgerdynastie sein.

Doch diese Geschichte beginnt mit einer Beschreibung des Gebietes 'Österreich' (cap. I)<sup>62</sup> und seiner ersten Bewohner (cap. II), woran sich ein Kapitel über die Babenberger Markgrafen schließt (cap. III), bevor über die Babenberger Herzöge (cap. IV) und den Aufruhr nach dem Tod Friedrichs des Streitbaren (cap. V) zu den Habsburgern übergegangen wird (cap. VI). Das siebte Kapitel bespricht die Abfolge der Habsburger Kaiser, die 'Erzherzöge von Österreich' waren, das letzte die spanischen Habsburger Könige Philipp II. bis Philipp IV. Tatsächlich stellt Vernulaeus' *Historia Austriaca* zunächst eine *Historia Austriae*, eine Geschichte des Kernlandes Österreich, dar und geht dann über zu einer Geschichte der Habsburger einschließlich der karolingischen Linie. Vernulaeus zeichnet in seiner Verwendung die Entwicklung der Bezeichnungen *Austria* und *Austriacus* nach, ohne auf die Begriffe explizit einzugehen: Das von ihm anfangs beschriebene Gebiet *Austria* ist die spätere Provinz Österreich des Habsburgerreiches; sowohl waren die Babenberger Adelen

<sup>60</sup> Beispiele: *Apologia*: 'Paulo post ubi [...] supremam Imperii dignitatem sua in Domo obtinuit, et tot Provinciarum accessione potentiam aliquam ostendit, hostes armatos experta est' (S. 2); 'Adeoque qui Principem unum ex hac Domo lacescit, omnium potentiam irritat, et tracta hac catena singulorum in se vires attrahit' (S. 7); *Virtutes*: 'Vos igitur Maiorum Vestrorum Virtutes, et quae domi ad omnem gloriam exempla habetis, benigno oculo aspice' (Widmungsbrief).

<sup>61</sup> Detailliert zur hier nur angedeuteten Entwicklung der Begriffsverwendung vgl. Heinz-Dieter Heimann, *Die Habsburger: Dynastie und Kaiserreiche*, C.H. Beck Wissen in der Beck'schen Reihe, 2154 (München: Beck, 2001), SS. 30-35; Karl-Friedrich Krieger, *Die Habsburger im Mittelalter: Von Rudolf I. bis Friedrich III.*, Urban-Tb., 452 (Stuttgart – Berlin – Köln: Kohlhammer, 1994), SS. 128-146.

<sup>62</sup> S.u. im Anhang das Inhaltsverzeichnis der *Historia Austriaca*.

Markgrafen und Herzöge von Österreich, als auch die Habsburger Erzherzöge von Österreich, und wenn er in den letzten Kapiteln nicht die 'österreichische' und die 'spanische' Linie betont, sondern beide als 'von Österreich' bezeichnet, wobei die karolingische Linie in Spanien regiere, hält er sich an die im 15. Jahrhundert üblich gewordene Begriffsverwendung zur Betonung der dynastischen Einheit des Habsburger.

Der Titel des Werkes, *Historia Austriaca*, muss also doppeldeutig verstanden werden: als Geschichte der Region Österreich bis zur Machtübernahme der Habsburger und als Geschichte des Habsburgergeschlechts ab seiner Herrschaft über Österreich. Vernulaeus kombiniert also eine nicht vollendete *Historia Austriae* mit einer ebenso unvollständigen *Historia Austriacorum* — letztere hat allerdings deutlich Übergewicht. Auf die Frage, warum die Habsburgerbiographien mit einer Geschichte der Region Österreich kombiniert werden, soll eine Antwort gesucht werden. Zuvor seien Überlegungen zum Text und seinen Quellen angestellt.

Eine Textanalyse entlarvt die *Historia Austriaca* als Kompilation. Es ist ein bekanntes Phänomen des Renaissance-Humanismus, dass seine Geschichtsschreibung noch ein Stiefkind der Literatur und Wissenschaften war. So weist Felix Gilbert darauf hin, dass die Materialsuche oft von minderen Angestellten des Hofes erledigt wurde und dass offizielle Historiographen dann die Teile zusammensetzten. Er betont außerdem, dass die historiographischen Werke der Humanisten für gewöhnlich weder ihre berühmtesten noch ihre besten sind.<sup>63</sup> Andererseits wurde Geschichtsschreibung erst in dieser Zeit zu einem Umgehen mit Fakten; das mittelalterliche christlich-theologische Konzept von Geschichte wurde durch ein didaktisches abgelöst, statt *historia divina* erachtete man *historia humana* als den Inhalt von Geschichtsschreibung. Dies ist die Zeit, in der Listen von Dutzenden bis hin zu Hunderten Quellen auftauchen, wie wir sie in Geschichtswerken der Renaissance und des Barock finden.<sup>64</sup> Historiographen durchforsteten alles von mittelalterlichen Quellen, Urkunden, Annalen, *Chronica* bis hin zu zeitgenössischen Schriften und entnahmen, was immer sie für ihr neues Werk brauchten.

Vernulaeus machte sich nicht die Mühe, alle ihm zugängliche Information etwa zu den Babenbergern zusammenzutragen, geschweige denn Urkunden, Annalen und Chroniken zu prüfen und neu zu interpretieren.

<sup>63</sup> Gilbert, *Guicciardini, Machiavelli und die Geschichtsschreibung*, S. 16 und 21.

<sup>64</sup> Diese Entwicklung wird zum Beispiel dargestellt von Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung*, bes. SS. 44-66 und SS. 88-96.

Zwar schreibt er mit einer Intention — nämlich die Habsburgerdynastie positiv darzustellen —, doch dafür genügen ihm wenige Quellen, die er beinahe wörtlich übernimmt, kürzt und kombiniert. Seine Kunst liegt in der Zusammenstellung der Informationen, die ein Buch nicht nur über, sondern für die Habsburger Herrscher ergibt.

Für die ersten beiden Kapitel, über Österreich und seine ersten Bewohner (S. 1-5), bezog Vernulaeus Material von einem Schriftsteller, der schon als Quelle für die *Virtutes* Erwähnung fand: Pontus Heuterus. Die *Rerum Belgicarum libri quindecim* (1598)<sup>65</sup> dieses habsburgtreuen Geschichtsschreibers bieten Biographien von Maximilian I., Philipp I., Karl V. und Philipp II. Den Viten geht eine kurze Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Habsburger (*De Habsburgicorum ac Austriacorum principum origine, liber singularis*) voran, die auch Abschnitte über Österreich beinhaltet. Daraus exzerpierte Vernulaeus Stoff für einen weniger detaillierten Text mit wörtlichen Übereinstimmungen. Folgende Passage über den natürlichen Reichtum Österreichs diene als Beispiel:

Vernulaeus, *Historia Austriaca*, S. 2<sup>66</sup>:

In ea vinum generosum, frumenta ac legumina omnis generis; ligna, pisces, maiora minoraque pecora; ac denique tanta rerum paene omnium abundantia, ut vicinis provinciis large suppeditet, suos incolas divites efficiat. [...] Nec immerito quidam Austriam alterum Adami, primi hominum conditoris, hortum appellant.

‘De Habsburgicorum ac Austriacorum principum origine, liber singularis’, in Heuterus, *Rerum Belgicarum libri* (Antwerpen, 1598), S. 35:

Crescit in Austria vinum generosum, frumenta, ac legumina omnis generis, abundat ligno, piscibus varii generis, quos flumina ac stagna nutriunt, magnoque numero incolis suppeditantur ad saturitatem. Maioris minorisque pecoris, lactis, casei, ac butyri, nec non et mellis infinita est copia: volatilium ac quadrupedum, humanae necessitati, exercitio, ac luxui servientium tanta est abundantia ac varietas, ut hic alterum Adami Hortum merito statuere possis. Non enim in Comitatu Tyrolis metalla praestantissima, Principi singulis annis trecenta aureorum nummum millia pendunt, desunt. Adde quod tantarum rerum ultra quam credi posset affluentia abundantes, ingentem rerum omnium copiam vicinis Moravis, Bohemis, Slesiis, Bavaris, ac aliis divendunt, indeque ditissimi fiunt, magnasque opes cumulant, unde nonnumquam animis elati, ac factionibus dediti, calamitates sibi ipsis non exiguas peperere, lascivienti ac petulcae felicitati subinde poenas dantes.

<sup>65</sup> S.o. Anm. 48.

<sup>66</sup> Alle Textbeispiele zur *Historia Austriaca* sind nach der *editio princeps* (Anm. 58) zitiert.

Mit dieser *laus Austriae* inkludiert Vernulaeus einen seit der Antike gepflegten und in Renaissance und Barock beliebten Topos, nämlich das Lob eines Ortes<sup>67</sup> in seine kaum dreiseitige Beschreibung Österreichs. Seine tendenziöse, die 'Österreicher' (Habsburger) preisende Geschichte sollte also mit einem Lobpreis auf deren eponymes Land beginnen.

Eine weitere Quelle, ja eine der Hauptquellen für die 'Österreichische Geschichte' war eine tatsächliche Geschichte des Erzherzogtums Österreich: die *Austria* des Johannes Cuspinianus, nach dessen Tod erstmals 1553 veröffentlicht.<sup>68</sup> Dieses nicht vollendete Werk behandelt Österreich im eigentlichen Sinn des Wortes in historischer und geographischer Hinsicht. Die *Austria cum omnibus eiusdem Marchionibus, Ducibus, Archiducibus, ac rebus praeclare ad haec usque tempora ab iisdem gestis*<sup>69</sup> enthält im ersten Teil Biographien der Babenberger. Ab dem Übergang des Herzogtums Österreich in die Familie der Habsburger begnügt sich Cuspinian damit, die Habsburger katalogartig aufzuzählen (hat er die Habsburgischen Könige und Kaiser doch schon in seinem Werk *Caesares* ausführlich behandelt, dessen *editio princeps* posthum 1540 erschien). Der zweite Teil umfasst eine Beschreibung des Gebietes Österreich, vor allem in geographischer Hinsicht. Während diese Beschreibung für Vernulaeus' Geschichtswerk bei weitem zu detailliert war (er war letztendlich nicht daran interessiert, ein Buch über das Gebiet Österreich zu schreiben), passten Cuspinians Babenberger-Biographien eher zu seinem Vorhaben. Er kürzte und übernahm sie kurzerhand — zum Teil mit Fehlern. Als Beispiel diene die Vita Heinrichs I., des zweiten Babenberger Markgrafen. Praktisch jede Formulierung, jedes Wort in Vernulaeus' Text hat seine Entsprechung bei Cuspinian:

<sup>67</sup> F. Witek fasst zusammen: 'Das Genos der *Laudes locorum*, im Besonderen der *Laudes urbium*, ist alt. So war es in der Epik ebenso wie im Drama üblich, die Herkunft und Heimatstadt der Helden mit schmückenden Beiwörtern zu preisen. Später gehörte das Lob von Personen und Orten zur epideiktischen Beredsamkeit, dem *genus demonstrativum*, und folgte einem festen Schema, das sich von Quintilians *Institutio oratoria* herleitet.' — Franz Witek, 'Aristeion Carinthiae Claudiforum (1605): Urban Paumgartner und seine Vorbilder', in *The Role of Latin in Early Modern Europe: texts and contexts*, hrsg. v. G. Petersmann und V. Oberparleiter, Grazer Beiträge Suppl., 9 (Salzburg – Horn: Berger, 2005), SS. 53-64 (Zitat S. 58, siehe auch die dortigen bibliographischen Angaben).

<sup>68</sup> Zur *Austria* vgl. Ankwicz-Kleehoven, *Der Wiener Humanist Johannes Cuspinian*, SS. 245-250, zum literarischen Nachlass SS. 265-292.

<sup>69</sup> *Editio princeps* Basel 1553; eingesehene Ausgabe: *Austria Ioannis Cuspiniani cum omnibus eiusdem Marchionibus, Ducibus, Archiducibus, ac rebus praeclare ad haec usque tempora ab iisdem gestis* (Frankfurt: Marnius & Aubrius, 1601).

Vernulaeus, *Historia Austriaca*, SS. 7-8:

HENRICUS I. Marchio Austriae secundus, cognomento 'Rebellis' appellatus, quod obedire Imperio Romano recusaret, donec eum Henricus Secundus Caesar ad obedientiam praestandam redegit. Uxorem habuit Swenhildem Nobilissimae stirpis matronam, **ex qua Albertum successorem suum, et Ernestum Sueviae Ducem suscepit.** Fuit vir iustus, severus et religiosus. Eius tempore Divus Colomannus, ex sanguine Regum Hiberniae, dum in terram Sanctam contenderet, **Ripensi in oppido** martyrio affectus est, cuius corpus, cum Henricus Marchio intellexisset octodecim mensibus ex arbore suspensum mansisse incorruptum, ac pari temporis spatio in terra conditum nequaquam tabefactum, iussit effodi, et in Arcem suam Melcanam transferri, splendidoque et eleganti sepulchro condecorari, ubi a vicinis incolis magna religione colitur. Caput tamen eius in Alba Regali traditur adservari. Obiit Henricus Marchio immatura morte, **cum praefuisset Austriae annis triginta quinque**, sepultus cum uxore apud parentes in Arce Melcana.

Cuspinianus, *Austria* (Frankfurt: Marnius & Aubrius, 1601), SS. 10-11:

Heinricus primus eius nominis, Marchio Austriae II. filius primogenitus Leopoldi Illustris Marchionis Austriae, ex ducibus Suevorum, et successor, ac Richardis coniugis, cognomento dictus est Rebellis, quod imperio Romano obedire recusaret diu. Nam civilia bella, ut sic dixerim, totum pene obruerant imperium: quibus adhaesit Marchio ille, quoad Heinricus Imperator II. sanctus, et Hungarorum Apostolus, ad obedientiam hunc redegit, et obtemperare imperio coegit: Princeps alioqui iustus et severus, religionique deditus. Sub quo divus Colomannus, ex sanguine regum Scotiae, dum terram sanctam quaereret, in has delatus terras, **in oppidulo ripensi**, quod a truncis arborum in Danubium per inundationem crebram collapsis nomen sortitur **Stockeraw** (quasi dicas terram truncorum, Asturis olim appellatum inuerso vocabulo) martyrium passus est. Et cum Marchio corpus sancti viri in arbore anno toto et sex mensibus suspensum inaudisset illaesum, et terrae traditum pari temporis spacio non tabefieri, iussit effodi, et Melicum cum summa veneratione transferri. quod a Meginardo Halberstadensi episcopo factum fertur, anno humanae incarnationis M.XIII. quum Henricus secundus II. Imperator Romae eodem anno a Benedicto VIII. inungeretur. Sed adhuc hodie in templo Melicensi, splendido et eleganti sepulchro cernitur sepultus martyr ille, qui a vicinis incolis pie ac religiose quotannis aditur, et solita veneratione pro auxilio imploratur. [...] Caput D. Colomanni ferunt in Alba Regali adservatum, quod illic adhuc veneratur. **Cum autem Henricus Marchio triginta quinque annos Marchiam hanc Austriae rexisset**, immatura morte obiit, anno a nato IESV M.XVIII. in Melico cum coniuge sua sepultus. Alii scribunt M.LXXVI. hunc obiisse: sed falso. Habuit autem uxorem Svenhildin, nobilissimam matronam: **de qua genuit duos filios, Albertum Marchionem, successorem suum in Austria, et Ernestum dictum seniore ducem Sueviae.**



Fettgedruckte Passagen zeigen übernommene und neue Fehler: Heinrich I. starb 1018, nach einer Regierungszeit von 24 Jahren, nicht 35, wie beide Texte behaupten. Der Nachfolger Albert war nicht, wie beide Autoren angeben, Heinrichs Sohn, sondern sein Bruder. Der erwähnte Heilige, Koloman, starb nicht in der Stadt 'Ripensi(s)', wie Vernulaeus annimmt, sondern in Stockerau, einem 'am Ufer [der Donau] gelegenen' Städtchen (*in oppidulo ripensi*), wie Cuspinian berichtet. – Kapitel III und IV der *Historia Austriaca* sind auf diese Weise erstellte 'Exzerpte' und geben bisweilen auch Cuspinians Fehler (v.a. Datierungsfehler) wieder.

Die ersten beiden Kapitel der *Historia Austriaca* sind also hauptsächlich von dem belgischen Geschichtsschreiber Heuterus übernommen, Kapitel III und IV von dem Wiener Humanisten Cuspinianus, Kapitel V (*De tumultu post Frederici Ducis ultimi mortem in Austria pro successionem excitato*) ist wiederum aus dem Werk des Heuterus exzerpiert und beschließt die Geschichte Österreichs vor der Regierungsübernahme durch die Habsburger.

Die hauptsächliche Quelle für Kapitel VI, über die Habsburger Erzherzöge, war das Werk eines niederländischen Schriftstellers, der Tirol zu seiner Wahlheimat erkoren hatte, nämlich Gerardus de Roos *Annales rerum belli domique ab Austriacis Habsburgicae gentis principibus ... libri duodecim*<sup>70</sup>, ebenfalls schon als Quelle für die *Virtutes* erwähnt. Aus dem dritten und vierten Buch dieser Annalen entnahm Vernulaeus Stoff für sein Kapitel VI ('De Ducibus seu Archiducibus Austriae Habsburgicis'), wobei er diese Quelle ebenso unkritisch kopierte wie Pontus Heuterus und Cuspinian. Weil Vernulaeus mit de Roo einen blumigeren Quelltext

<sup>70</sup> Gerard de Roo wurde in den heutigen Niederlanden geboren und wanderte nach Tirol aus, um eine Anstellung als Musiker am Hof von dem als Kunstmäzen berühmten Erzherzog Ferdinand II. anzutreten. Nach mehreren Jahren als Sänger übernahm er die Stelle eines Bibliothekars, machte sich Ferdinands umfassende Bibliothek zu Nutzen und verlor seiner Dankbarkeit gegenüber den Habsburgern durch das Werk *Annales rerum belli domique ab Austriacis Habsburgicae gentis principibus ... libri duodecim* Ausdruck. Die *Annales* wurden von Ferdinands Sekretär Conrad Decius (Diezen) korrigiert, erweitert und 1592 posthum in Innsbruck herausgegeben. Tatsächlich muss Decius wohl eher als Mitautor denn nur als Herausgeber erachtet werden. — Vgl. Anna Coreth, *Österreichische Geschichtsschreibung in der Barockzeit (1620-1740)*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs, 37 (Wien: Holzhausens Nfg., 1950), SS. 50-51; zu de Roos literarischem Schaffen siehe immer noch Max Straganz, 'Gerard von Roos österreichische Annalen untersucht nach ihren Quellen und ihrem Werte', *Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols und Vorarlbergs*, 4 (1907), 272-306; zu de Roos Tätigkeit als Hofmusiker vgl. Peter Tschmuck, 'The Court's System of Incentives and the Socio-Economic Status of Court Musicians in the Late 16<sup>th</sup> Century', *Journal of Cultural Economics*, 25 (2001), 47-62.

gewählt hatte, sind seine Biographien dieser Habsburger auch in einem blumigeren Stil verfasst als die der Babenberger.

Ab Kapitel VII, also ab den Habsburger Kaisern, ist das Erzherzogtum Österreich nicht mehr von speziellem Interesse. Nun ist Vernulaeus endgültig von einer 'Geschichte Österreichs' zu einer 'Geschichte der Österreicher' übergegangen. Diese Biographien sind deutlich länger, reich an Anekdoten und offensichtlich panegyrisch. Der Tod des Kaisers wird meist in der Mitte der Vita erwähnt und ist gefolgt von *exempla* und Zitate, die des Regenten Tugenden, oft seine *pietas*, illustrieren. Einige dieser Anekdoten und *exempla* finden sich auch in bereits erwähnten Werken: in den *Virtutes* und der *Apologia*. Die Quellen sind Pontus Heuterus' *Rerum Belgicarum libri*, de Roos *Annales* sowie panegyrische Texte auf einzelne Kaiser, wie Lamormainis *Ferdinandi II. Romanorum imperatoris virtutes* (1638), womit Vernulaeus einen weiteren klar tendenziösen Quelltext verwendete.<sup>71</sup>

Eine weitere Quelle für die Habsburgerbiographien war wiederum ein Werk des Wiener Humanisten Johannes Cuspinianus, nämlich seine (bereits als Quelltext für die *Apologia* erwähnten) Kaiserviten *De Caesaribus atque imperatoribus Romanis opus insigne*, posthum veröffentlicht 1540.<sup>72</sup> Eine Passage aus der Biographie Friedrichs des Schönen möge zeigen, dass Vernulaeus mit Cuspinians *Caesares* so wie mit anderen Quellen umging, d.h. dass er kürzte, Teile übergang und das, was er übernahm, wörtlich kopierte. Der Habsburger Friedrich der Schöne wurde 1314 zum römisch-deutschen König gewählt — ebenso wie der Wittelsbacher Ludwig von Bayern.<sup>73</sup> Nach jahrelangen Streitigkeiten wurde Friedrich im Jahr 1322 für drei Jahre von Ludwig gefangen genommen. Zwischen seiner Freilassung und seinem Tod 1330 (von beidem erzählt der folgende Textausschnitt) lagen fünf Jahre, in denen Friedrich in Konflikt mit seinem Bruder Otto geriet und sich aus der Regierung zurückzog. Während Cuspinian über diese Begebenheiten berichtet, überspringt Vernulaeus sie<sup>74</sup>:

<sup>71</sup> Der Jesuit Lamormaini war Kaiser Ferdinands II. Beichtvater und übte wahrscheinlich großen Einfluss auf den Kaiser aus. In Lamormainis sehr erfolgreicher Schrift über Ferdinands Tugenden (Wien 1638) wird 'der ideale Fürst in der Gestalt des frommen Kaisers geschildert' — so Anna Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca. Österreichische Frömmigkeit im Barock*, 2. Ausg., Österreich Archiv (Wien: Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, 1982), S. 14.

<sup>72</sup> S.o. Anm. 28.

<sup>73</sup> Vgl. Gerhard Hartmann – Karl Rudolf Schnith, *Die Kaiser. 1200 Jahre europäische Geschichte* (Augsburg: Weltbild, 2003; Lizenzausg. der Ausg. Wien, 1996), SS. 399–404.

<sup>74</sup> Der entsprechende Quelltext in Cuspinians *Caesares*, Ausgabe Frankfurt: Marnius & Aubrius, 1601, SS. 372–373 lautet (fettgedruckte Passagen zeigen Parallelen an): '**Reductus igitur in Austriam Fridericus** cum magno exercitu Viennam venit: demissa **barba**

Reversus in Austriam Fredericus, barba adhuc horridus et squalore obsitus, magna ab universo populo laetitia susceptus fuit. Contabescere deinde paulatim coepit, nec diu vixit. Tandem dysenteria solutus obiit in Arce Austriae Gutenstein anno M.CCC.XXX XIII. Ianuarii, sepultus regia pompa Maurbaci. Uxor Viennae apud Franciscanos marmoreum sepulchrum habet. (*Historia Austriaca*, S. 30)

Zusammenfassend kann man feststellen: Vernulaeus begnügte sich mit einigen wenigen Quellen, aus denen er Teile exzerpierte und kompilierte. Meist kürzte er die Quelltexte; was er übernahm, das kopierte er beinahe Wort für Wort, ohne Details zu überprüfen. Die verwendeten Werke sind vor allem solche, die Geschichte in Form von Biographien präsentieren — eine im 16. Jahrhundert gebräuchliche Art von Geschichtsschreibung, zu der die *Historia Austriaca* selbst gehört. Vernulaeus benutzte nur Werke von katholischen Pro-Habsburg-Autoren: Heuterus war ein katholischer Royalist, Cuspinian ein Diplomat im Dienste Maximilians I., von dem er zum *poeta laureatus* gekrönt worden war, und De Roo verdankte seine Karriere dem Habsburger Ferdinand II. von Tirol — um nur einige Beispiele zu nennen.

Hinsichtlich Inhalt und Stil kann man zusammenfassen: Ein Viertel des Buches beschreibt Österreich und die Babenberger, drei Viertel sind Biographien der Habsburger gewidmet. Der Stil letzterer Biographien

**horridus, et squalore obsitus**, qui pulchritudine et corporis elegantia alios omnes suae aetatis Principes superabat: cum **magna laetitia ab universo populo susceptus**, qui de liberatione domini gaudebat. Rex autem Hungariae Carolus et Ioannes Boemiae, una cum duce Austriae Ottone, fratre Friderici, aegre ferentes Fridericum se regem appellare, conspiracyne ineunt, Austriam rapinis et incendiis devastant. Munitiones Veldspurg, Robenspurg, Ulrichskirchen Egenburgamque expugnant. Otto dehinc monasterium Novimontis in Austria extruxit, et Annam filiam regis Boemiae uxorem ducit: quia prima Elizabeth paulo ante erat mortua. Congregato in Suevia exercitu, terrorem Ludovico Bavaro incutit, qui ei insignes civitates oppignorat. Sed revocatus a fratre Alberto, licet libenter Boemiam occupasset, a suis deceptus, passus est cladem, et paulo post mortem obiit: relicta omni Austria, Styria, ac Carinthia, quae ducibus Austriae a Ludovico erat concessa, contra Boemiae regem Johannem, Alberto fratri (corporis quidem debilis, sed animi prudentissimi) dicto Contracto. Hic autem Fridericus ob perpressas adversitates, **paulatim incepit contabescere**, paucosque annos post liberationem vivere. Fertur enim quod nobilis quaedam mulier cui maritus erat nomine Fridericus (miles alioqui impiger) quem ut indesinenter Rex amaret, poculum amatorium inscio Regi offert: quo exhausto, viribus primum coepit deficere, dehinc invalescente morbo, corpus computruit. **Tandem dysenteria resolutus**, animam exhalavit **in arce Austriae**, cui Gutenstain nomen est, anno salutis trigesimo post millesimum trecentiesimum, **tredecima Ianuarii**, regia pompa in monasterio **Mawerbachio** Carthusiensis ordinis Austriae, quod ipse fundavit, honorifice **sepultus**. [...] Relicta autem Friderici vidua Elizabeth, **Viennae est apud fratres Minores sepulta marmoreo sepulchro**, haud longe a Blana Rudolphi regis Boemiae coniuge.’

unterscheidet sich von jenem der Babenberger Viten. Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Habsburger sind reich an Anekdoten zur Illustration von Tugenden und bieten fromme Zitate — kurz: sie sind panegyrischer als die eher sachlich erzählten Babenberger Viten. Offensichtlich versucht Vernulaeus mit der *Historia Austriaca* wiederum das Bild einer tugendhaften und friedlichen Herrscherfamilie zu malen, das uns bereits aus der *Apologia* und den *Virtutes* bekannt ist.

Wahrscheinlich blieb die *Historia Austriaca* unvollendet. Während die Biographie des regierenden Kaisers Ferdinand III. mit dem Wunsch schließt, Gott möge ihm zu einem glücklichen Ausgang des Krieges verhelfen, endet die Vita von Philipp IV. etwas abrupt mit dem Anordnen von Umzügen in Spanien nach der Zerstörung der Stadt Tienen in Belgien (1635). Vernulaeus erwähnt auch die Trennung Portugals von Spanien sowie den Aufstand der Katalanen (beides 1640) und nennt als Kinder Philipps IV. Balthasar Karl und eine Tochter<sup>75</sup>, bei der es sich um Maria Theresia, die spätere Frau Ludwigs XIV., handeln muss. Daraus ist zu schließen, dass Vernulaeus die Arbeit an der *Historia Austriaca* vor März 1646, als der Thronfolger Balthasar Karl starb, abbrach. Nicolaus Vernulaeus starb zu Beginn des Jahres 1649, und gerade innerhalb einer Betrachtung seiner die Habsburger verherrlichenden Werke ist es zu bedauern, dass der Westfälische Friede, der auch eine deutliche Entkräftung der Habsburger Macht mit sich brachte, in diesem Werk keinen Widerhall gefunden hat.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>75</sup> *Historia Austriaca*, S. 100: 'Huic decem annis post Elisabetha Henrici IV. Franciae Regis filia desponsata fuit. [...] Filium unum habet Carolum Balthasarum, et filiam unam' — Mit seiner ersten Frau Isabella von Bourbon hatte Philipp IV. acht Kinder, von denen sechs kurz nach der Geburt, noch vor 1640, starben. Balthasar Karl lebte von 1629 bis 1646 und Maria Theresia von 1638 bis 1683.

<sup>76</sup> Zur Machtschmälerung der Habsburger (der Kaiser verlor die Oberhoheit im Deutschen Reich, die Fürsten waren im Alleinbesitz der Herrschergewalt) vgl. Erbe, *Die Habsburger 1493-1918*, SS. 107-110. — In einem weiteren aus dem Nachlass herausgegebenen Werk Vernulaeus' findet der Westfälische Friede Erwähnung, und zwar in der *Epitome historiarum ab orbe condito ad haec usque tempora per monarchias quatuor deducta* (Leuven: Sassenus & Nempaeus, 1654). Dabei handelt es sich um ein in Biographien angelegtes, den vier Weltmonarchien folgendes Geschichtswerk. In der letzten Biographiengruppe, jener der Habsburgerkaiser, verwendet Vernulaeus eigenes Material aus der *Historia Austriaca*: Die Biographien von Maximilian I., Karl V., Ferdinand I., Maximilian II., Rudolph II., Matthias I. und Ferdinand II. sind größtenteils Exzerpte aus der *Historia Austriaca*. Nur die letzte Vita, über Ferdinand III., weicht deutlich ab: Während in der *Historia Austriaca* ausführlich Streitigkeiten und Kämpfe des Dreißigjährigen Krieges geschildert werden und der Hoffnung auf Frieden Ausdruck gegeben wird, hat die Vita Friedrichs III. in der *Epitome* außer den Krönungsdaten praktisch nur den Westfälischen Frieden zum Inhalt. Wie bei Vernulaeus' Sympathie für die Habsburger zu erwarten, stellt

Die *Historia Austriaca* ist die einzige von Vernulaeus' deklarierten Pro-Habsburg-Schriften, die sich selbst als Geschichtswerk präsentiert. Doch warum kombiniert Vernulaeus die Habsburgergeschichte mit einer Geschichte der Region Österreich? Zudem scheint der Autor eher ein Kompilator denn ein origineller Geschichtsschreiber zu sein. Hat er — provokant formuliert — überhaupt sinnvoll kompiliert? Vernulaeus war sich der Möglichkeiten von Geschichtsschreibung durchaus bewusst. Denn gerade in der Kombination einer Geschichte Österreichs mit der Geschichte des 'Hauses Österreich' liegt sein Kunstgriff: Er lässt die 'Österreicher' ihren Namen aus einem lobenswerten kleinen Gebiet beziehen, das zunächst von Markgrafen und Herzögen eines Geschlechtes regiert wurde, die Beinamen wie *Pius* und *Catholicus* trugen und über die es noch nicht so viel Verherrlichendes zu berichten gibt wie dann über die Habsburger. Über dieses kleine Gebiet erwarben die Habsburger rechtmäßig ihren Herrschaftsanspruch und dehnten diesen in der Folge über große Teile Europas aus — bis hin nach Spanien, wo die karolingische Linie der frommen, tugendhaften 'Österreicher' herrscht.

### Exkurs: *Methodus legendi historias et in iis proficiendi*

Die *Historia Austriaca* wurde 1651 von dem Herausgeber und Drucker Hieronymus Nempaeus ediert.<sup>77</sup> Drei Jahre später, im Jahr 1654, druckte Nempaeus ein weiteres Werk aus Vernulaeus' historiographischem Nachlass: die *Epitome historiarum ab orbe condito*.<sup>78</sup> Ihr geht eine kurze, im vorliegenden Zusammenhang hochinteressante Abhandlung voraus: die *Methodus legendi historias et in iis proficiendi*. Wenn auch kaum zehn Seiten lang, so beweist diese *Methodus* doch, dass sich Vernulaeus mit

er Ferdinand als strahlenden Friedensbringer dar; die Nachteile dieses Vertrages für die Habsburger Regenten bleiben unerwähnt: 'Invictissimus hic et gloriosissimus Princeps, spem, quam de se, vivente adhuc optimo patre, concitaverat, post mortem eius non solum implevit, verum etiam superavit: patria omnino prudentia, generositate et felicitate quassatum tot annorum bello Imperium sustentans et fovens, donec tandem pax omnium Germanorum votis expetita illud plane recrearet. Conventa haec subscriptaque fuit Monasterii in Westphalia inter Caesarem et Status Imperii cum Galliae et Sueciae coronis, Anno M.DC.XLVIII. IX. Cal. Novembris. Deus, qui est aeterna pax, illam perpetuam faciat, et diuturnum optatissimi Principis Ferdinandi III. Imperium' (Schluss der *Epitome*, Leuven 1654, S. 305).

<sup>77</sup> Er verkaufte nach Vernulaeus' Tod dessen Bibliothek, vgl. Depuydt, *Nicolaus Vernulaeus (1583-1649)*, S. 35.

<sup>78</sup> *Nicolai Vernulaei historiographi regii, Epitome historiarum ab orbe condito ad haec usque tempora per monarchias quatuor deducta* (Leuven: Sassenus & Nempaeus, 1654). — Siehe auch Anm. 76.

den Aufgaben und Möglichkeiten von Geschichtsschreibung aus-einandergesetzt hatte. Die *Methodus* könnte ein Leitfaden für Studenten gewesen sein oder nur Notizen darstellen, die sich der Autor machte, während er die berühmteste *Methodus* über Historiographie las — nämlich Jean Bodins richtungsweisende und für die Zeit maßgebliche *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (1566).<sup>79</sup>

Vernulaeus' *Methodus* ist eine kurze Abhandlung über Charakter und Typen von Geschichtsschreibung, mit einer Anleitung dazu, auf welche Weise man sich am besten mit ihr vertraut mache. Sie gipfelt in Anregungen, wie man sich der Unparteilichkeit eines Geschichtsschreibers versichere. Die *Methodus* wirkt großteils wie ein Exzerpt aus Jean Bodin.<sup>80</sup> In einem Punkt aber unterscheiden sich die beiden Leitfäden grundlegend: Bodin polemisiert offen gegen die mittelalterliche christliche Theorie der vier Weltmonarchien, die in Renaissance und Barock immer noch von vielen akzeptiert wurde. Für besonders absurd hielt er

<sup>79</sup> Jean Bodin war ein französischer Jurist und Staatstheoretiker. Zehn Jahre vor der Veröffentlichung seines wichtigsten Werkes, *Les six livres de la République* (1576, lat. 1586), legte er mit seiner *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* die Basis für Historismus und Geschichtsphilosophie. Er fasste die Theorie der Geschichtsschreibung des Renaissance-Humanismus zusammen und leitete über zur Geschichtsschreibung der Aufklärung. — Vgl. Franz Martin Wimmer, *Geschichte der Geschichtsphilosophie*, Teil 3: Geschichtstheorie des christlichen Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit: Augustinus und Bodin (VO, Universität Wien, 2004), in: <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/Franz.Martin.Wimmer/vo04.html> sowie Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung*, Reg. 'Bodin, Jean'.

<sup>80</sup> So definiert Vernulaeus Geschichte mit Ciceros Worten als *vitae magistra* (Cic., *de orat.*, 2, 9, 36; *Nicolai Vernulaei ... Epitome historiarum*, S. 1), unterscheidet wie Bodin drei Typen von Geschichte, *historia divina*, *historia naturalis* und *historia humana*, und erklärt Schriftsteller, die sich mit letzterer beschäftigen, zu Geschichtsschreibern: 'Humana est, quae res hominum publicas aut privatas variasque rerumpublicarum formas, imperia, regnaque comprehendit: huius scriptores sunt ii, quos proprie historicos appellamus' (*Nicolai Vernulaei ... Epitome historiarum*, S. 2). Zu den Arten von Geschichtsschreibung zählt Vernulaeus Genealogie, Geographie und Topographie. Weiters stellt er wie Bodin fest, dass Geschichte für alle, die eine politische Laufbahn einschlagen wollen, von hohem Interesse sei. Vernulaeus listet auf, die Geschichtswerke welcher Völker und Länder zu lesen seien, und beschließt seine Liste wie Bodin mit der Neuen Welt. Hinsichtlich der Glaubwürdigkeit eines Geschichtsschreibers empfiehlt Vernulaeus dem Leser, sich über Charakter und Talent des Autors zu informieren: 'Prudens ergo lector dabit operam, ut historici mores et ingenium plane intelligat, priusquam de historia sententiam ferat' (*Nicolai Vernulaei ... Epitome historiarum*, S. 6); — eine nach Bodin modellierte Aussage, die hier, im Zusammenhang der tendenziösen Geschichtsschreibung, umso bedenkenswerter erscheint. — Zu den entsprechenden Stellen bei Bodin vgl. Muhlack, *Geschichtswissenschaft im Humanismus und in der Aufklärung*, SS. 45, 69, 71, 76-79, 92, 153; zur Nachwirkung des Cicero-Zitates (aus *De oratore*) in der italienischen Renaissance s. ebda. SS. 44-66 und Rüdiger Landfester, *Historia magistra vitae: Untersuchungen zur humanistischen Geschichtstheorie des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Genf: Droz, 1972).

das Konzept der vierten Monarchie mit der Idee, das Habsburger Reich sei auf Grund von *translatio imperii* ein Erbe des antiken Römischen Reiches. Vernulaeus, begierig, die lange Tradition der Habsburger aufzuzeigen und ihre Macht zu rechtfertigen, geht auf diesen revolutionären Gedanken nicht ein. Als praktische Antwort jedoch verfasste er ein auf der Theorie der Weltmonarchien basierendes Geschichtswerk: Es ist das umfangreiche Buch, mit dem zusammen die *Methodus* posthum veröffentlicht wurde, die *Epitome historiarum ab orbe condito ad haec usque tempora per monarchias quatuor deducta* (1654).

*Methodoi* und *Institutiones* über Geschichte und Geschichtsschreibung waren im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert häufig. Vernulaeus' *Methodus* mit ihrer Kürze und ihrer engen Anlehnung an Bodin ist sicher kein außergewöhnlich origineller Leitfaden innerhalb dieser Tradition.<sup>81</sup> Dennoch zeichnet diese kurze Schrift ihren Verfasser als einen Schriftsteller aus, der sich über Inhalte und Formen von Geschichtsschreibung Gedanken machte und sich des Problems der historiographischen Objektivität bewusst war.

## Schluss

Aus der gezielten Nutzung tendenziöser Quellen, aus dem selektiven Umgang mit diesen und aus den theoretischen Aussagen in der *Methodus legendi historias et in iis proficiendi* muss der Schluss gezogen werden, dass Vernulaeus die vorgestellten Schriften ganz bewusst als tendenziöse Genremischungen gestaltete. Er mag kein origineller Schriftsteller gewesen sein, insofern als er mehr kompilierte als kreativ verfasste, doch als Kompilator war er umso origineller. Seine *Apologia* präsentiert die

<sup>81</sup> Einige Beispiele für geschichtstheoretische Werke des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Sperone Speroni, *Dialogo della Istoria* (Vinegia, 1542); Francesco Robortello, *De historica facultate disputatio* (Florenz, 1548); Sebastián Fox Morcillo, *De historiae institutione, Dialogus* (Antwerpen, 1557); Jean Bodin, *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (Paris, 1566); Giovanni Antonio Viperano, *De scribenda historia liber* (Antwerpen, 1569); Uberto Foglietta, *De ratione scribendae historiae* (Rom, 1574); Reinerus Reineccius, *Methodus legendi cognoscendique historiam tam sacram quam profanam* (Helmstadt, 1583); Joannes-Jacobus Beurer, *Synopsis historiarum et methodus nova...* (Hanau, 1594); Antonio Possevino, *Apparatus ad omnium gentium historiam... et methodus ad geographiam tradendam* (Venedig, 1597); Johann Heinrich Hottinger, *Methodus legendi historias Helveticas* (Tiguri, 1654). — Zu Texten aus dem 16. Jh. vgl. *Theoretiker humanistischer Geschichtsschreibung. Nachdruck exemplarischer Texte aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, hrsg. v. Eckhard Kessler, mit einer Einleitung, analytischer Inhaltsübersicht, Bibliographie und Indices, Humanistische Bibliothek, Abhandlungen und Texte, Reihe II: Texte, Bd. 4 (München: Fink, 1971).

Geschichte der Habsburger Provinzen, umgeben von einem panegyrischen Rahmen, um den Machtanspruch der Habsburger zu rechtfertigen und zu verteidigen. Die *Virtutes* geben *exempla*, meist aus Pro-Habsburg-Geschichtswerken entnommen, um ein ideales Bild einer tugendhaften Herrscherfamilie zu malen — sowohl für die Augen der Habsburger als auch ihrer Gegner. Die *Historia Austriaca* schließlich, deren Material ebenfalls aus habsburgfreundlichen Geschichtswerken bezogen ist, vermischt zwei geschichtliche Inhalte — 'Österreich' und 'die Österreicher' —, um den Eindruck von gerechtfertigt stetig wachsender Macht zu erzeugen.

Schon Hieronymus Nempaeus, der Herausgeber der *Historia Austriaca*, brachte die drei Schriften miteinander in Zusammenhang. In seinem Widmungsbrief an Franziscus Ioannes de Robles, den damaligen Kanzler der Universität Leuven, sowie Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm, seit 1647 Gouverneur von Belgien, teilt er das Werk des Verstorbenen in Kategorien ein. Die einzigen Titel, die er dabei erwähnt, sind uns gut bekannt:

Sed neque recentioris aevi Historiam intactam reliquit. [...] D. Vernulaeus, APOLOGIAM scripsit PRO AUGUSTISS. GENTE AUSTRIACA, qua illius Magnitudo, Imperium, Virtus, adversus eius hoc tempore aemulos adseritur, deque VIRTUTIBUS eiusdem Gentis. Sed et HISTORIAM reliquit AUSTRIACAM, ut a morte extaret monumentum, quo affectum suum in eamdem Potentiss. Familiam ostenderet.

Nempaeus betrachtete also die *Apologia*, die *Virtutes* und die *Historia Austriaca* als eine homogene Gruppe von Pro-Habsburg-Schriften, die sich mit neuerer Geschichte (*recentioris aevi Historiam*) befassten. Dies ist vor allem hinsichtlich der *Virtutes* eine bemerkenswerte Aussage, die wohl daher rührt, dass viel Material für diesen Fürstenspiegel, wie oben gezeigt wurde, aus biographischen und genealogischen Geschichtswerken stammt.

Anna Coreth nennt Vernulaeus auf Grund seiner tendenziösen Werke einen der ersten Vertreter einer ganzen Serie von Pro-Habsburg-Schriftstellern, die mit dem Ziel schrieben, ein bestimmtes dynastisches Konzept abzubilden. Coreth prägte für dieses Konzept den Begriff der *pietas Austriaca*<sup>82</sup>. Diese *pietas* ist sozusagen die Habsburger Ausprägung eines Herrscherideals, das seinen Ursprung in der Antike hat. Sie ist ein Leitmotiv in Ruhmeswerken für die Habsburger, wie sie Vernulaeus, der oben

<sup>82</sup> Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, bes. SS. 13-14.



erwähnte Wilhelm Lamormaini, weiters Didaco Tafuri, Johann Ludwig Schönleben und Adalbert Czerwenka verfasst haben, um die wichtigsten Autoren auf diesem Gebiet zu nennen.<sup>83</sup>

Coreth ist es auch, die darauf hinweist, dass Vernulaeus' Ruhmesliteratur weiterlebte, indem sie in ein Bändchen inkludiert wurde, erschienen in Leuven 1665 und in gekürzter Fassung in Wien 1699<sup>84</sup>: Unter dem Pseudonym *Phosphorus Austriacus* veröffentlichte ein anonymes Leuveners Schriftsteller 1665 die Abhandlung *De Gente Austriaca libri tres, In quibus Gentis illius prima origo, magnitudo, imperium, ac virtus asseritur, et probatur*.<sup>85</sup> Im Widmungsbrief spricht er von der Notwendigkeit, die in die Türkenkriege verwickelten Habsburger mit der Feder zu verteidigen und bedient sich dabei Vernulaeus' Formulierungen vom Beginn der *Apologia*.<sup>86</sup> Hinter den drei Büchern verbergen sich die Werke uns bekannter Autoren: Teil I, 'De Habsburgicorum atque Austriacorum Principum origine ac successione, deducta ab Anno Christi CCCCXVII. ad usque eiusdem annum MDCLXIV', ist Pontus Heuterus' *De Habsburgicorum ac Austriacorum origine ... ad usque eiusdem annum MDXCIX* (1599) mit einer Erweiterung; Teil II, 'De Magnitudine, potentiaque Gentis Austriacae, ac iure, quo provincias suas obtinent', ist Vernulaeus' *Apologia*; Teil III, 'De Virtutibus, heroicisque actis Gentis Austriacae', ist eine Auswahl aus Vernulaeus' *Virtutes*. Phosphorus

<sup>83</sup> Vgl. Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*; weitere Motive im Zusammenhang mit der Verehrung der Habsburger, allerdings ohne näher auf Vernulaeus einzugehen, bespricht Marie Tanner, *The Last Descendant of Aeneas. The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor* (New Haven – London: Yale UP, 1993).

<sup>84</sup> Einen Zusammenhang erkennt Coreth schon 1950 (Coreth, *Österreichische Geschichtsschreibung*, S. 67); später bietet sie den wertvollen Hinweis, dass Vernulaeus tatsächlich kopiert wurde, erweckt aber den Eindruck, dass der Band den Titel *Phosphorus Austriacus* trage, nur Vernulaeus aufgreife und dass die beiden Ausgaben deckungsgleich seien: Coreth, *Pietas Austriaca*, S. 13.; Dies., 'Historiographie in der Zeit des Barock', in *Welt des Barock*, hrsg. v. R. Feuchtmüller u. E. Kovács (Wien – Freiburg – Basel: Herder, 1986), SS. 186-203 (S. 196).

<sup>85</sup> Außer dem Pseudonym, das für 'Österreichischer Lichtbringer' im Sinn von 'Verbreiter des Ruhms des Hauses Österreich' steht, unterschreibt sich der Verfasser je einmal mit G. C. B. S. T. L. P. A. C. T. S. H. und G. G. B. P. A. C. S. T. H. (jeweils am Ende von Widmungen). – 1665 ging die Herrschaft von Philipp IV. zu Ende; dennoch widmete der Anonymus seinen Traktat Philipp IV., sowie Kaiser Leopold I. und Philipp Prosper. Letzterer, einst spanischer Thronfolger und damit künftiger Regent der spanischen Niederlande, war 1661 im Kindesalter verstorben. Vielleicht hat Phosphorus Teile des Traktats vor dessen Tod zusammengestellt.

<sup>86</sup> Zum Zeitpunkt des Erscheinens des Traktats spielte sich (v.a. auf Kreta) der 6. Venezianische Türkenkrieg ab (1645-1669); in Österreich war soeben der 4. Österreichische Türkenkrieg (1663-1664) zu Ende gegangen.

verschleiert, dass er kopierte und kompilierte, aber er verheimlicht es nicht.<sup>87</sup> Dem Traktat stellt er Vernulaeus' *Methodus legendi historias, et in iis proficiendi* voran. Den Appendix bildet eine Belehrung über die Pflichten von Adeligen und Hofangehörigen.

In der Kaiserstadt Wien gab man den Traktat des Phosphorus im Jahr 1699 als eine Gabe zur Graduierung neu heraus.<sup>88</sup> Die Wiener Ausgabe enthält Vernulaeus' *Methodus* sowie Teil I und II des Leuener Werkes (Heuterus' *De Habsburgicorum ... origine* und Vernulaeus' *Apologia*). Auf Teil III, den Appendix und viele Zwischenüberschriften verzichtete man — das Geschenk für die Neo-Doctores ist platzsparend gedruckt. Auch diese Ausgabe erschien zu einer politisch brisanten Zeit: Im Jänner 1699 brachte der Friede von Karlowitz das Ende des fünften Österreichischen Türkenkrieges und machte Österreichs Ausdehnung nach Osten möglich<sup>89</sup>. Die Habsburger wurden zu einer wieder stärkeren Herrschaftsmacht — ein Anlass, zu dem man auch Schriften ihres treu ergebenen *Historiographus* Vernulaeus aufleben ließ.

Die *Historia Austriaca* wurde von *Phosphorus Austriacus* nicht inkludiert — aus einem offensichtlichen Grund: Die Kapitel über Österreich und die Babenberger waren für geballten Habsburger-Preis nicht geeignet. Wenn man Coreth auch völlig darin zustimmen muss, dass einige von Vernulaeus' Werken, einschließlich der *Historia Austriaca*, die *pietas Austriaca* darstellen, so ist dies dennoch nicht ihr einziges Merkmal. Vernulaeus verpackte sein Habsburgerlob als historisch-politisch-panegyrische Verteidigungsschrift, als Fürstenspiegel und schließlich als ein Geschichtswerk, das sich bei genauerer Betrachtung als eine tendenziöse Kompilation herausstellt. Er kopierte und kompilierte eifrig — und nicht

<sup>87</sup> So bezeichnet er sich in einem Brief an den Leser am Beginn des Werkes selbst als Kompilator (S. 2), weist gegen Ende des zweiten Teils auf Vernulaeus hin (S. 337) — und nennt diesen wie einige von dessen Quellen (die in den *Virtutes* in Marginalien angegeben sind und leicht aufgelistet werden können) am Beginn des dritten Teils, der aus den *Virtutes* zusammengestellt ist: 'Cum autem Doctissimus Nic. Vernul. Historiog. Regius, Cuspin., Ger. De Roo, Heut. alique complures, quos cito, rerum Austriacarum profundi scrutatores, materiam hanc copiosius ac solidius tractarint, agnoscet benignus lector, me pleraque ab iis mutuasse, quaeque hic desiderari possunt, apud eosdem auctores, latius reperiri' (SS. 355-356). Die Späte und noch dazu abgekürzte Angabe der Quellen macht deren Identifikation freilich schwierig.

<sup>88</sup> Der betreffende Verleiher der Doktorwürde war Caspar Glabotsnig (unter ihm als Autor ist die gekürzte Wiener Version des Phosphorus Austriacus irrtümlich in manchen Katalogen verzeichnet): *Phosphori Austriaci Sive Compendiosae Historiae de Augustissimae domus Austriacae Origine, Magnitudine, et Potentia, libri duo*, Promotore R.P. Casparo Glabotsnig e Soc. Jesu (Wien: Schlegel, 1699).

<sup>89</sup> Vgl. Erbe, *Die Habsburger 1493-1918*, SS. 119-123.

nur sein umfassendes Werk, sondern auch die *Methodus legendi historias* lassen vermuten, dass dieser vielseitige Schriftsteller nicht einfach mit geschichtlichen Inhalten, sondern auch völlig bewusst mit literarischen Genres spielte.

Universität Salzburg  
FB Altertumswissenschaften / Klassische Philologie  
und Wirkungsgeschichte der Antike  
Residenzplatz 1/I, 5010 Salzburg, Austria  
veronika.oberparleiter@sbg.ac.at

**Anhang: Inhaltsverzeichnis der *Historia Austriaca***

Diese Inhaltsübersicht findet sich nicht in der *editio princeps* (1651), sondern wurde für die vorliegende Besprechung erstellt. Die Überschriften ohne Einzug sind Überschriften in der Ausgabe Leuven 1651; die links eingezogenen Überschriften wurden Anfängen von Absätzen entnommen; die Daten der Regierungszeiten wurden zur Orientierung hinzugefügt.

**NICOLAI VERNVLAEI HISTORIA AVSTRIACA**

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Mauro AGOSTO

D. CIRILLO, *ENTOMOLOGIAE NEAPOLITANAE SPECIMEN  
PRIMUM*, PRAEFATIO: ANALISI DELLA STRUTTURA  
ARGOMENTATIVA<sup>1</sup>

**1. Retorica e scienza nel XVIII secolo**

‘Nichts ist [daher] irreführender, als die Aufklärung des 18. Jahrhunderts generell als eine Epoche des Niedergangs der Rhetorik zu beschreiben’.<sup>2</sup> Con queste parole G. Ueding conclude un suo esame del panorama storico relativo alla fortuna della retorica nel XVIII secolo, che vide la nascita di un rinnovato interesse per la retorica antica non in opposizione, ma in collaborazione con la filosofia e la scienza. Il razionalismo illuminista, nella ricerca di uno stile proprio, dominato da chiarezza e proprietà, incontrò un’efficace soluzione nella *perspicuitas* e nell’*aptum* che la retorica antica aveva canonizzato come virtù principi del discorso colto scorgendone la fonte innanzitutto nel corretto e limpido uso della lingua (*latinitas*).<sup>3</sup> L’idea di una retorica filosofica, elaborata nel 1724 da Johann Andreas Fabricius<sup>4</sup> (1696-1769), reagendo agli eccessi arguti del Seicento, aveva indicato come compito della retorica il reperimento di idee idonee e la loro organizzazione ordinata (*inventio* e *dispositio* della trattatistica classica) perché nella mente del ricevente possa riprodursi la stessa catena di pensieri intesa dall’emittente allo scopo di assicurare la felicità del genere umano e l’instaurarsi di rapporti graditi al suo interno:

<sup>1</sup> Desidero vivamente ringraziare il prof. Pellegrino Fimiani, professore ordinario di Entomologia Agraria presso l’Università degli Studi della Basilicata, nonché appassionato cultore di Umanità, per aver attirato la mia attenzione sugli scritti di Domenico Cirillo, invitandomi ripetutamente a trattarne gli aspetti letterari.

<sup>2</sup> G. Ueding, *Moderne Rhetorik. Von der Aufklärung bis zur Gegenwart* (München: Beck, 2000), pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cic., *de or.*, 2, 56.

<sup>4</sup> *Philosophische Oratorie. Das ist: Vernünfftige Anleitung zur gelehrten und galanten Beredsamkeit*, (Leipzig 1724, rist. Kronberg im Taunus: Scriptor, 1974), p. 2, §1.

(Oratorie ist die Geschicklichkeit) in solcher Ordnung mit solcher Art seine Gedanken vorzustellen, daß in denen, die unsere Worte hören oder lesen, eben die Gedanken und Regungen entstehen, die wir ihnen beibringen wollen, damit die Glückseligkeit des menschlichen Geschlechts befördert und der Umgang unter ihnen angenehm gemacht werde.

Diversi anni prima e in maniera del tutto indipendente, nel Regno di Napoli Giambattista Vico aveva difeso il valore della topica, della ricerca dei mezzi razionali o affettivi capaci di persuadere, nell'orazione *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* pronunciata nel 1708. Nel capitolo 3<sup>5</sup>, in particolare, criticando gli esiti della scienza cartesiana puramente critica, difende la funzione della topica quale strumento indispensabile, benché non da solo sufficiente, dell'investigazione del reale, precedente alla critica e da questa non sostituibile.

Coerente con tutte le qualità del discorso indicate dai teorici del XVIII secolo appare la *Praefatio* con la quale Domenico Cirillo introdusse la sua opera *Entomologiae neapolitanae specimen primum* stampata a Napoli nel 1787. La composizione della *Praefatio* è rigorosa nella ricerca della *perspicuitas*, della chiarezza, a tutti i livelli: nella relazione delle parti tra sé e con il tutto, nella collocazione delle idee (*res*), degli elementi linguistici (*verba*), dei procedimenti espressivi (*figurae*), adoperati del resto con elegante sobrietà dall'autore. Proprio questa sobrietà d'altro canto è la nota dominante dell'*aptum*, la nota più personale e legata all'occasione di uno scritto<sup>6</sup>, consistente nell'adeguatezza delle soluzioni espressive per rispetto all'emittente, al ricevente, all'argomento, alle circostanze. Cirillo, che pure non nasconde il giustificato orgoglio di chi per primo nella sua patria ha dato impulso a un'importante campo d'investigazione scientifica, mettendo al corrente i suoi concittadini dei progressi raggiunti nel resto d'Europa, appare sempre sorvegliato nel riconoscere i meriti di chi l'ha preceduto, nel presentare la mente sublime di Linneo, nel confessare i propri debiti nei confronti del giovane Nicodemo. Fedele a quella funzione sociale che, per esempio, il Fabricius aveva riconosciuto a un'oratoria filosofica, Cirillo non trascura il fine primario della sua *Praefatio*, dichiarato verso l'epilogo: far conoscere l'entomologia e suscitare la passione per essa presso i suoi concittadini, per impedire che, in Europa tutta

<sup>5</sup> Io. Bapt. a Vico, *De nostri temporis studiorum ratione* (Neapoli: typis Felicis Mosca, a. MDCCIX), ed. F. Nicolini, in *Opere di Giambattista Vico*, Scrittori d'Italia (Bari: Laterza, 1914), I, 69-121. L'orazione a stampa costituisce un rimaneggiamento ampliato della versione recitata, andata perduta.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cic., *de or.*, 3, 210-212.

infiammata d'interesse per questa scienza, solo il Regno di Napoli rimanga isolato e inerte. La coscienza, infine, di rivolgersi non solo ai *Clarissimi Viri et de Historia naturali optime meriti* ricordati in conclusione, ma anche al Sovrano e agli altri uomini dotti, ma non specialmente versati nell'entomologia, lo induce a usare un latino sempre corretto (*Latinitas*), egualmente distante dal tecnicismo pedantesco come dalla solennità celebrativa, chiaro e piacevole (*genus medium*). La struttura del brano si regge principalmente su una giudiziosa scelta degli argomenti e della loro collocazione, come ben si addice ad un prosatore scientifico, lucido e misurato.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. Un approccio retorico al testo

Tra i vari metodi con cui è possibile stabilire un approccio al testo, abbiamo qui privilegiato, per le ragioni esposte, una lettura retorica, intesa cioè a illustrare gli 'elementi argomentativi e oratori'<sup>8</sup> dello scritto in esame, per mostrarne l'origine e l'interna coerenza.<sup>9</sup>

## 3. La divisione interna del testo

La *Praefatio* di Cirillo può analizzarsi come testo retorico, se come tale intendiamo un discorso 'che mira a persuadere'.<sup>10</sup> In esso, infatti, l'autore

<sup>7</sup> La scelta di analizzare la struttura dell'*inventio-dispositio* non presuppone una svalutazione dell'*elocutio* cirilliana; questa, anzi, aderendo alle esigenze strutturali della pagina, senza mutarsi mai in puro ornamento, riescea diventare efficace strumento persuasivo e, per mezzo soprattutto delle immagini vivide, trasmette il reale amplificandolo o sminuendolo, giungendo in qualche caso a oggettivarlo in una sorta di emblema allusivo.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. O. Reboul, *Introduzione alla retorica* (Bologna: il Mulino 1996), p. 179.

<sup>9</sup> La prefazione, appartenente al terzo tipo di trascendenza testuale, denominata da G. Genette (*Palinsesti. La letteratura al secondo grado* (Torino: Einaudi, 1997), pp. 3-4) *paratestualità*, rappresenta una sede 'sensibile' di uno scritto ed è dotata di un suo statuto analizzabile autonomamente. Questo statuto risulta ancora più marcato nelle prefazioni latine ad opere scientifiche, eredi di una lunga tradizione che, per le opere dell'antichità, si trova dettagliatamente studiata in C. Santini – N. Scivoletto (a cura di), *Prefazioni, Prologhi, Proemi di opere tecnico-scientifiche latine*, 2 voll. (Roma: Herder), I (1990), II (1992); la chiave di lettura prescelta dagli autori dei diversi saggi è quella retorica e poggia su una considerazione preliminare scaturita dall'osservazione dei materiali studiati: se è vero che, a differenza dell'autore di letteratura d'arte, l'autore tecnico non ha libertà di avvicinare il lettore con una rigogliosa invenzione fantastica, è tuttavia evidente negli scrittori delle prefazioni tecnico-scientifiche latine l'aspirazione a 'dare alle premesse giustificative del loro lavoro uno "statuto retorico" [...] quasi a mettere a profitto la sua (*scil.* della retorica) razionalità organizzativa' (Santini – Scivoletto, *Prefazioni*, p. VIII).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Reboul, *R retorica*, p. 18.



intende evidentemente persuadere il lettore dell'importanza della scienza entomologica, accreditare se stesso come ricercatore e cultore di essa, ottenere il munifico aiuto del Sovrano. Ciascuno di questi contenuti argomentativi forma approssimativamente una delle tre sezioni classiche di un discorso retorico: *exordium*, *narratio*, *peroratio*.<sup>11</sup> Manca la dimostrazione, di norma divisa in prove a favore della propria tesi (*confirmatio*) e confutazione della tesi avversa (*refutatio*): questo dato strutturale non è casuale, bensì è coerente con il genere retorico *demonstrativum personarum* (celebrativo di persone) che, da qui come da altri elementi della pagina, si rivela chiaramente. Infatti questa specie di *genus demonstrativum* per lo più è priva di discussione delle prove.<sup>12</sup> Nella *praefatio* anche l'esaltazione della storia naturale e la richiesta di aiuto al Sovrano ruotano idealmente attorno alla calorosa esposizione che delle proprie imprese e subordinatamente di quelle dei suoi avi l'autore compie, ponendo gli stessi risultati conseguiti a fondamento delle altre due unità argomentative.

#### 4. L'*exordium*

In funzione di prologo possiamo considerare la sezione compresa tra l'*incipit* e la fine del quarto periodo ('fructus suppeditavit'). Nella trattatistica retorica classica tre sono i fini che l'oratore deve conseguire nell'esordio: la *benevolentia* ossia il consenso, l'*attentio*, la *docilitas* ossia la disponibilità a comprendere l'argomento.<sup>13</sup> La teoria antica dell'esordio, consegnata in diversi trattati composti tra il I a.C. e il IV d.C., elenca numerosi *loci* specifici proemiali adatti al conseguimento dei tre fini precipui<sup>14</sup>; essi paiono in buona misura noti a Cirillo, che sembra farne uso nella *Praefatio*.<sup>15</sup>

Il primo periodo è derivato da un luogo *a circumstantiis* (Quint., *inst.*, 5, 10, 104): la storia naturale del Regno di Napoli rimane ancora avvolta

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Reboul, *Retorica*, p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. p. es. la chiarissima esposizione che del genere offre P. Mosellanus, *Tabulae de schematibus et tropis in Erasmi Roterodami libellum de duplici copia* (Londini: ex typographia Ioannis Kyngstoni, 1577), nella sezione *Demonstrativum personarum*: 'contentione fere hoc genus caret'.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cic., *inv.*, 1, 15, 20: 'Exordium est oratio animum auditoris idonee comparans ad reliquam orationem; quod eveniet si benevolum, attentum, docilem confecerit'.

<sup>14</sup> Cf., tra altri, l'importante studio di T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964).

<sup>15</sup> L'evidenza testuale non può da sola superare l'ambito di una semplice ipotesi della quale nello spazio ristretto di questo scritto si può mostrare la verisimiglianza, ma che necessita di una conferma storica da ricercare nello studio della formazione letteraria di Cirillo, attraverso l'investigazione sui suoi maestri, sulle fonti, sui programmi didattici.

nel mistero per i suoi stessi cultori. Fin dall'inizio Cirillo persegue lo scopo della *docilitas* attraverso un dettato molto limpido: infatti immediatamente, e senza alcun tono piglio didascalico, dichiara l'oggetto della sua opera: 'historiam naturalem Regni Neapolitani'. Il fine della *attentio* è, invece, raggiunto attraverso l'uso di un *locus* classico dell'esordio: *rerum magnitudo vel novitas* (cf. *Rhet. Her.*, 1, 4, 7), che consiste nel dichiarare la straordinaria importanza o l'assoluta novità dell'argomento trattato. L'autore infatti precisa: 'a nemine usque adhuc illustratam'. Notevole nella proposizione successiva il ricorso alle figure (*figurarum usus*: cf. Quint., *inst.*, 4, 1, 57; 70); si tratta di una strategia connessa spesso con un'ironia sottile che tenta di conquistare l'attenzione del lettore. Cirillo, parlando della condizione degli studi scientifici nella sua età, usa infatti una vivace similitudine (*similitudo*: Quint., *inst.*, 4, 1, 70): 'tamquam Thesaurum profundis Terrae visceribus absconditum densisque tenebris involutum'. Alla fine di questo primo periodo è, infine, evidente la sfumatura elegantemente pungente con cui l'autore suggerisce il candore scientifico con cui alla Natura guardano i contemporanei; anche la scelta delle parole è molto appropriata grazie all'effetto di *evidentia* che crea: i cultori della scienza *contemplantur* ossia guardano fissamente con smarrita meraviglia.<sup>16</sup> Bisogna intendere che in queste parole non è contenuta un'accusa contro l'indolenza dei contemporanei, ai quali anzi Cirillo riconosce il merito della *contemplatio*, dell'osservazione. Cirillo intende piuttosto far preciso riferimento alla condizione oggettivamente prescientifica, pre-linneana, di una simile osservazione, non ancora dotata degli strumenti teorici idonei a fugare il mistero che pare avvolgere la Natura. Che si tratti, poi, di uno stato pre-linneano si comprende da un vivace elogio che di Linneo dettò lo stesso Cirillo per porlo nel suo giardino botanico; l'epigrafe scomparve insieme a una statua di Linneo 'distrutta con la devastazione dei drammatici giorni del "ripurgo"'.<sup>17</sup> Il testo dell'epigrafe ci è conservato nell'ultima pagina dei *Discorsi accademici* (Napoli, 1799) del Cirillo; essa celebra in latino l'anima sapientissima di Carlo Linneo, 'terris divinitus impertitam, ut naturae universa arcana declararet, patefaceret, illustraret'. Linneo squarciò il velo di mistero che avvolgeva la Natura e che ancora,

<sup>16</sup> Il verbo *contemplari*, al di fuori del lessico filosofico, dove, soprattutto grazie a Cicerone assume il significato di 'considerare attentamente', indica l'azione propria di chi guarda smarrito e sconcertato; cf. Plaut., *Poen.*, 1128: 'mirari noli neque me contemplarier' ('Smettila di starmi a contemplare tutto sconcertato' – trad. E. Paratore, Roma 1978).

<sup>17</sup> 'Domenico Cirillo e l'entomologia nel Settecento', in P. Fimiani, *Domenico Cirillo scienziato e martire della Repubblica Napoletana*, Istituto di Studi Atellani (Frattamaggiore, 2000), pp. 13-43 (p. 23).

però, si frapponeva tra essa e gli studiosi contemporanei di Cirillo. L'esordio, dunque, introduce e amplifica un caratteristico *topos* delle prefazioni tecnico-scientifiche, quello dell'*ars*, che, guidata dalla *ratio*, organizza in un sistema coerente e razionale le nozioni acquisite attraverso la lunga e molteplice esperienza.<sup>18</sup>

In questo piccolo esordio il fine della *benevolentia*, canonico nei prologhi, non compare distintamente, ma si stende come un motivo ripetuto per tutto il brano. La struttura argomentativa adoperata corrisponde al *locus*: *rem suam extollere, adversarii deprimere* (cf. *Rhet. Her.*, 1, 5, 8); essa appartiene ai *loci a rebus ad causam pertinentibus* e consiste nell'amplificare la propria causa mostrando la debolezza di quella dell'avversario. Dopo questo primo periodo, contentente la *propositio* ossia l'idea centrale del ritardo degli studi naturalistici napoletani, seguono il secondo e il terzo periodo con funzione argomentativa. Come rispondendo a una possibile obiezione, Cirillo descrive la preziosa attività pionieristica di uomini come Fabio Colonna<sup>19</sup> e Ferrante Imperato.<sup>20</sup> 'Plantas rariores, Mollusca et Testacea aliquot, ac paucissima insecta' studiò il Colonna; osservazioni mineralogiche condusse l'Imperato ('Egregia quaedam, additis nonnullis etiam observatis mineralogicis praestitit Incomparabilis Imperati').

<sup>18</sup> Cf. C. Santini – N. Scivoletto, *Praefazioni*, p. VIII: 'molti motivi, divenuti ormai topici [...], quali quell' dell'*ars* guidata dalla *ratio* che organizza teleologicamente le nozioni acquisite attraverso l'esperienza, dell'*ars* generata dal bisogno, dell'utilità sociale dell'*ars*, della possibilità di insegnare l'*ars*, senza trascurare, inoltre, la pretesa, percepibile in qualche autore, di attribuire un primato all'*ars* da lui professata in conseguenza di una scala gerarchica stabilita fra le discipline'. Come vedremo alcuni di questi motivi ricorrono nella prefazione di Cirillo, che da una parte rivendica il valore sociale dello studio entomologico, capace di mettere il Regno di Napoli al passo col progresso scientifico del resto d'Europa, dall'altro, attraverso il ricordo del discepolo Nicodemo, suggerisce la possibilità di trasmettere il patrimonio delle conoscenze entomologiche, istituendo una tradizione scientifica destinata a sopravvivere all'autore quale possesso dell'intera comunità civile. Questo motivo introduce l'ultima parte della prefazione, che contiene la dedica al Sovrano e la richiesta di un suo generoso contributo per realizzare l'impresa.

<sup>19</sup> Nato a Napoli nel 1567 e morto nella stessa città nel 1650, F. Colonna, insigne botanico e tra i primi Accademici dei Lincei, fu autore di importanti lavori scientifici in latino e, uno tra i primissimi, osservò gli insetti al microscopio (Cf. C. Conci, 'Repertorio delle biografie e bibliografie degli scrittori e cultori di Entomologia', *Memorie della Società Entomologica Italiana*, 48 (1975), 815-1069 (p. 881).

<sup>20</sup> Nato a Napoli forse nel 1540 e morto nel 1625, F. Imperato fu importante speziale e naturalista, corrispondente di P.A. Mattioli e di U. Aldovrandi. Compose un famoso erbario secco in più volumi; entrato in possesso di D. Cirillo, solo un volume scampò alla distruzione del 1799 ed è ora conservato nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, alla quale lo donò nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento il suo ultimo possessore privato, C. Minieri Riccio (cf. Annamaria Ciarallo, 'L'Erbario di Ferrante Imperato', *Museologia Scientifica*, III/3-4 (1986), 187-213).

Attraverso un'utile enumerazione, che è essenzialmente uno dei mezzi dell'*amplificatio verborum*, Cirillo ha cura anche di sollecitare nuovamente la *docilitas* dei lettori; infatti, per rendere chiaro al lettore quale sia l'oggetto della scienze naturali, nel corso del discorso ha cura di enumerarne le categorie interessate: 'plantas, mollusca, testacea, insecta, mineralogia'. Il quarto periodo, che conclude idealmente questo esordio, è, almeno nella sua caratteristica più appariscente, costruito secondo uno dei motivi classici della *conquestio*: *comparatio superioris beatitudinis cum quae nunc est miseria* (Cic., *inv.*, 1, 106), il confronto tra lo splendore passato della scienza botanica e la miseria della condizione attuale. A ben guardare, però, la struttura argomentativa parrebbe più sottile e profonda. L'intero periodo è costruito secondo la figura detta *anticlimax*: l'evoluzione della botanica è infatti descritta attraverso tre momenti che costituiscono una gradazione decrescente, dal sommo splendore iniziale agli 'abortivos profecto fructus' finali. L'ironia sottilmente celata in questo periodo sembra ulteriormente amplificata dall'altisonante inizio della frase segnato da un'allitterazione: 'Summo Splendore'.<sup>21</sup> La successione decrescente sembra ricalcare un argomento *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* ('sequenza, dunque conseguenza').<sup>22</sup> In definitiva, sembra voler allusivamente significare Cirillo, il deplorabile stato presente non dipende tanto dalla trascuratezza dei moderni (che anzi prima era stata esclusa), quanto piuttosto rappresenta la logica conseguenza di una scienza che, sebbene nata con tanto impegno e dedizione, tuttavia, essendo pre-linneana, non ebbe in sé gli strumenti adeguati per favorire un luminoso progresso delle conoscenze. Proprio questo sarà il tema principale della seconda sezione della *Praefatio*, nella quale Cirillo, dopo una non breve parentesi eziologica, attribuirà a sé il merito di aver fatto conoscere Linneo ai suoi concittadini.

## 5. La *narratio*

Subito dopo inizia una parte dedicata all'illustrazione delle cause che diedero origine alla propria impresa<sup>23</sup> e all'esposizione dei propri meriti nell'ambito

<sup>21</sup> Sull'allitterazione come gioco fonico riconducibile all'ironia cf. J.B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Stilistica Latina*, a cura di A. Traina (Bologna: Pàtron, 2002), pp. 46 e 47.

<sup>22</sup> Reboul, *Rhetorica*, p. 211.

<sup>23</sup> Anche questo è un *locus* consueto delle prefazioni latine tecnico-scientifiche, nelle quali si avverte viva la preoccupazione di 'giustificare la propria iniziativa, che è insieme un tentativo di magnificare l'*ars* professata' (Santini – Scivoletto, *Prefazioni*, p. VII).

delle scienze naturali, in particolare della botanica e dell'entomologia, ricordando, tra l'altro, il rapporto erudito che lo legò a Linneo. Per una lunga sezione il discorso segue lo schema del *genus demonstrativum*. In particolare fin dall'inizio, per evitare di attirare su di sé l'antipatia (*invidiam suscipere*: Cic., *inv.*, 1, 4) del lettore a causa di una lode di sé troppo aperta, attenua la sua affermazione esaltando innanzitutto meriti dei propri parenti e antenati. Anche in questo caso il raggiungimento della *perspicuitas* insieme ad una generale efficacia comunicativa è assicurata dal principio dell'enumerazione. L'attività scientifica dei suoi antenati viene infatti presentata attraverso i principali momenti: 'observationes botanicae, hortulus, Florae fundamenta, reliquias Imperati'. Evidentemente per tenere un giusto mezzo Cirillo, pur adducendo le lodi dei suoi avi, ha cura di attenuarle per non offuscare la propria fama. Per questo acquista un particolare valore enfatico l'avverbio restrittivo nel sintagma 'botanicas tantum' come pure più avanti l'uso del diminutivo 'hortulum condiderunt'. A proposito dell'Erbario di Imperato, inoltre, è estremamente interessante notare come una speciale enfasi riposi sulla parola *reliquias*, che implicitamente rinnova il biasimo precedentemente espresso nei confronti della condizione presente e di coloro, che hanno lasciato andare in rovina abbandonandolo a 'tineae, blattae, lepismae' il prezioso Erbario imperatiano.<sup>24</sup> Un procedimento per duplice antitesi serve a sollevare per un momento il tono dello scritto attraverso una sfumatura di pathos moderato. Evidentemente c'è una forte opposizione tra l'aggettivo 'stupendas' e il sostantivo 'reliquias': poco oltre ricorre ancora la figura dell'antitesi con cui Cirillo getta un'aura di eroismo sui propri antenati che riportarono quanto rimaneva dell'*hortus* imperatiano 'e tenebris in lucem'. Un tocco di particolare ricercatezza rappresenta in questa sezione l'uso di terminologia tecnica, opportunamente evidenziata nella stampa grazie all'uso del tondo (mentre l'intera praefatio è stampata in corsivo): 'Tineis, Blattis et Lepismis saccharinis'. Dopo questa opportuna *extenuatio*, l'autore applica a sé il *genus demonstrativum* seguendo anche nella successione compositiva i *loci* classici: *natura, maiores, habitus, facta* (cf. Cic., *inv.*,

<sup>24</sup> Le vicende dell'erbario si legarono in parte con quelle della famiglia del suo stesso compositore, F. Imperato: 'Alla sua morte il figlio Francesco lo ebbe in eredità, insieme al Museo, conservandolo e ampliandolo. Questi, a sua volta, non ebbe discendenti che si occupassero di scienze naturali e pertanto il patrimonio andò disperso. Erano tuttavia in quei tempi a Napoli famosi cultori come Niccolò e Sante Cirillo, che acquistarono nove volumi dell'erbario Imperato per arricchire le loro collezioni naturalistiche, poi ereditate dal ben più noto nipote Domenico Cirillo' (Ciarallo, 'L'Erbario', 187).

1, 34-43), ulteriormente divisibili cronologicamente in: 'pueritia, ubi de ingenio dicitur et educatione, adolescentia, ubi studia considerantur, iuventus, ubi res publicae aut privatim gestae considerantur, senectus'.<sup>25</sup> Cirillo narra, infatti, che l'ardore naturale (*a natura acceptum*) fu notevolmente accresciuto dall'imitazione (che getta luce sul buon *habitus*, sulla disposizione interiore a imparare e imitare del giovane) dei *domestica exempla* (motivo dei *maiores*), che hanno la funzione di garantire implicitamente della qualità della formazione del giovane (secondo la funzione del motivo del *victus*, comprendente il titolo 'cuius arbitrato sit educatus': cf. Cic., *inv.*, 1, 35). Segue la descrizione dei *facta egregia* realizzati in gioventù: 'Peregrinationes adhuc iuvenis suscepi'. In questa sezione Cirillo non trascura di sollecitare il consenso del lettore illustrando i propri meriti scientifici (è il motivo della lode *ex meritis* su cui cf. Cic., *part.*, 8, 28). L'argomento ripetutamente adoperato è quello del *princeps atque inventor*; Cirillo, infatti, rivendica a sé il merito di essere stato il primo ad aver fatto conoscere ai Napoletani le teorie del sistema sessuale, il primo a comprendere il nesso tra botanica ed entomologia, il primo a mandare insetti napoletani a Linneo. A conclusione di questa sezione la *fides* del discorso viene confermata attraverso un procedimento estrinseco (*testimonium viri illustris*) ossia una testimonianza di un terzo.<sup>26</sup> Con grande orgoglio Cirillo ricorda la menzione d'onore che lo stesso Linneo gli riservò ripetutamente nella sua opera più famosa: 'uti Vir Cl. testatur in Systemate Naturali, multis in locis'. Conforme ai topoi del *genus demonstrativum* è presente anche la lode del luogo in cui l'autore visse e lavorò ('in Regione') che consente all'autore un'opportuna attenuazione ('fere'), per non suscitare l'avversione del lettore: 'ab omnibus fere Entomologicis haudquaquam perlustrata'. L'elegante sezione viene a conclusione attraverso uno studiato trikolon, i cui tre verbi, *per partitionem*, riassumono i principali compiti del naturalista:

multa detexi,  
rariora adnotavi,  
pulchiora descripsi.

Gran parte della struttura persuasiva di questa sezione è giocata sull'*ethos*, sul carattere che l'oratore deve dimostrare di avere per essere creduto,

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Mosellanus, *Tabulae*, p. 35.

<sup>26</sup> Su questo tipo di testimonianze si veda: J. Krekelberg – E. Remy, *Les formes typiques de liaison et d'argumentation dans l'éloquence latine* (rivisto da A. Maniet) (Namur: Wesmael – Charlier, 1967), pp. 96-98.

stimato, seguito. In particolare egli deve dimostrare intelligenza e virtù e ispirare benevolenza<sup>27</sup>, ciò che Cirillo fa illustrando le sue doti naturali, il carattere che gli ha fatto sviluppare i doni di natura e moderando opportunamente la lode di sé con l'attribuire ai suoi maggiori e all'opera scientifica elaborata da Linneo una parte non piccola del merito. Anche l'espressione verbale contribuisce efficacemente a persuadere; degna di particolare nota è la chiusa: 'semperque novis Florae divitiis onustus redii'. In essa, all'enfasi del *semper* si accompagna l'efficace perifrasi metaforica 'Florae divitiis', con personificazione della flora, che ben prepara e accompagna la figura dell'ipotiposi in 'onustus redii', che quasi pone innanzi agli occhi l'immagine del giovane che lieto torna curvo sotto il peso delle ingenti ricchezze conquistate.

## 6. La *peroratio*

Gli ultimi due periodi della *narratio* hanno la delicata funzione di introdurre la perorazione finale, favorendo l'emergere di un nuovo tema, quello della richiesta, che di fatto rappresenta il fondamento dell'intera *Praefatio* alla quale conferisce unità. Solo l'ultima parte della pagina cirilliana rivela chiaramente che lo scritto appartiene al *genus deliberativum* e che tutto quel che precede (la lode degli antenati, la *conquestio* per l'affievolirsi dell'interesse scientifico presso i contemporanei, la presentazione della propria opera)<sup>28</sup> tendeva a dimostrare il valore della scienza botanica, nella speranza di persuadere il Sovrano a farsi protettore e fautore della ricerca naturalistica napoletana.

Aderendo alla precettistica classica, Cirillo parte da una stringata *enumeratio*, con la quale 'res disperse et diffuse dictae [...] unum sub aspectum subiciuntur' (Cic., *inv.*, 1, 98); con una sola immagine riassume le fatiche di gioventù esposte in precedenza: 'Susceptos in ipso iuven-tutis flore labores'. L'immagine viene amplificata<sup>29</sup> attraverso due luoghi tipici del pathos: il primo rientra tra i *loci* della *conquestio* e si fonda sul

<sup>27</sup> Cf. R. Barthes, *La retorica antica* (Milano: Bompiani, 1993), p. 87.

<sup>28</sup> Nel genere deliberativo vengono spesso impiegati *loci* specifici del genere dimostrativo (cf. Cic., *de orat.*, 2, 85, 349: 'his locis et laudandi et vituperandi saepe nobis est utendum in omni genere causarum'), posto che uno dei cardini della *oratio deliberativa* consiste nel dimostrare che l'oggetto della proposta contiene in grado non comune *et honestum et utilitatem* (cf. Cic., *inv.*, 2, 156).

<sup>29</sup> Si tratta della successione canonica delle parti dell'elogio: *enumeratio*, *amplificatio*; cf. L. Pernot, *La Rhétorique dans l'Antiquité* (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 2000), p. 289.

confronto tra la gradevolezza del passato e l'asprezza del tempo presente<sup>30</sup>: 'a quibus me Clinicae gravissimae occupationes avocaverant'. In senso proprio la contrapposizione è, forse, iperbolica, dato che la condizione presente a cui allude Cirillo fu, di fatto, per molti aspetti invidiabile: già professore di patologia medica all'Università di Napoli, egli ottenne in seguito la Cattedra di Clinica e Ostetricia presso l'Ospedale degli Incurabili; scienziato ammirato per la sua cultura anche in ambito internazionale<sup>31</sup>, ebbe l'onore di servire la Corona come medico di Corte, pur con tutti gli innegabili *incommoda* derivanti dalla sua alta posizione e dallo zelo posto dal Nostro in ogni attività a lui affidata.<sup>32</sup> Il gusto raffinato di Cirillo si vede allora nella felice scelta di porre come in secondo piano il *locus* iperbolico, espresso attraverso una subordinata partecipiale; esso, tuttavia svolge splendidamente il suo compito di dare la misura della passione per lo studio della natura che infiammò la giovinezza dell'autore, tanto che la gloria presente non riuscì a cancellarne la nostalgia.

Il secondo *locus* impiegato da Cirillo si fonda sull'amicizia: quando le gravi occupazioni del presente allontanarono progressivamente l'autore dallo studio della Natura, l'unico aiuto gli venne dal suo discepolo devoto e amico oramai consolidato Nicodemo. Questi condusse approfondite ricerche per tutto il territorio campano fornendo fedelmente all'antico maestro i risultati conseguiti: 'continuavit amicissimus et diligentissimus Nicodemus'. Solo questo permise a Cirillo di non abbandonare del tutto la sua antica passione. Propriamente questo luogo amplifica il valore dello studio della Natura intrapreso da Cirillo, 'ab auctoritate, cum commemoramus, quantae curae res ea fuerit iis, quorum auctoritas gravissima esse debeat' (Cic., *inv.*, 1, 101). Poiché, inoltre, l'efficacia di questo luogo dipende essenzialmente dall'*auctoritas* della persona ricordata, Cirillo ha cura di amplificare adeguatamente la figura di Nicodemo, non solo con i due evidenti superlativi: 'amicissimus et diligentissimus', ma anche *per distributionem* elencando i tre ambiti in cui si esplicò l'attività di Nicodemo, che (amplificazione per comparazione) non fu in essa secondo a nessuno: 'in colligendis, distinguendis, atque illustrandis rebus naturalibus, nemini

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Cic., *inv.*, 1, 106: 'Conquestio est oratio auditorum misericordiam captans'; tra i suoi luoghi comuni c'è quello (*ibid.*, 107): 'per quem quibus in bonis fuerint et nunc quibus in malis sint, ostenditur'.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. B. Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli*, a cura di G. Galasso (Milano: Adelphi, 1992), p. 270.

<sup>32</sup> Su Cirillo medico cf.: Anna Maria Ciarallo, *Domenico Cirillo, Medico e naturalista martire del '99* (Napoli: Procaccini, 1992); Ead., *Domenico Cirillo. Un medico nella bufera* (Firenze: l'autore Libri, 1992).



secundus'.<sup>33</sup> All'alto sentimento d'amicizia descritto segue, sempre unita all'esaltazione delle qualità ('doctissimis') e delle azioni ('indefessis laboribus') di Nicodemo, una magistrale dell'*ethos* dell'autore; con grande discrezione Cirillo pone innanzi al lettore la propria nobiltà d'animo, che si manifesta nel profondo senso di gratitudine con cui riconosce la gran parte avuta da Nicodemo nella costituzione e nell'ampliamento del proprio patrimonio entomologico. La virtù della riconoscenza assume una dimensione ancora maggiore in quanto espressa da un uomo più anziano e ben più famoso verso un antico discepolo (quindi di grado inferiore), molto più giovane, molto meno famoso. Tale nobiltà d'animo viene amplificata dall'altra virtù, la sincerità<sup>34</sup>, tanto più apprezzabile in quanto per nulla turbata, ma anzi lieta di mostrarsi riconoscente verso una persona per certi aspetti di rango meno elevato; molto felicemente Cirillo colloca in posizione di rilievo, alla fine del periodo le parole: 'laetus fateor'.

Conclusa la parte *in rebus* (cf. Cic., *part.*, 52) della perorazione, gradualmente Cirillo introduce il tema della richiesta. Egli, procedendo con molta cautela, prende le mosse dal *locus* dell'*utilitas*, applicato alla propria opera già pubblicata: 'Laborum nostrorum specimen evulgare, operae pretium duxi'. Secondo la precettistica ciceroniana, l'utile si giudica dai frutti (cf. Cic., *inv.*, 2, 157: 'propter fructum [...] petendum') e questi, dai quali si traggono gli argomenti per confermare il luogo dell'utilità, si dividono in frutti posti 'in corpore' e frutti 'in extrariis rebus' (cf. Cic., *inv.*, 2, 168); tra questi ultimi viene enumerata la 'urbis egregia exornatio atque amplitudo' (Cic., *inv.*, 2, 168), che è proprio l'argomento impiegato

<sup>33</sup> Ancora una volta, servendosi della scomposizione di un concetto complesso, Cirillo con molto garbo presenta le tre attività principali del naturalista: *colligere, distinguere, illustrare*. Analogia di contenuto e di forma espressiva richiamano alla memoria, inevitabilmente, il trikolon con cui, poco sopra l'autore aveva presentato i tre momenti della propria attività di ricerca. Dal confronto mi pare che possa dedursi che in Nicodemo Cirillo additi il modello del botanico 'di seconda generazione', per così dire; di sé Cirillo aveva dato l'immagine, in un certo senso, del pioniere, impegnato nella scoperta ('detexi'), nella raccolta di appunti ('adnotavi'), come in assenza di un quadro di riferimento interpretativo già costituito, nella descrizione ('descripsi'), risultato conseguente al vaglio razionale della mole di dati empiricamente scorti e appuntati (del resto *describere* indica anche l'atto del 'dividere in classi (di censo)' del classificare); l'immagine di Nicodemo, invece, pare procedere secondo metodi consolidati: al *detegere* subentra il *colligere*, denotante più l'acribia di chi sa che cosa e dove cercare che non l'eccezionalità di una scoperta inattesa; all'*adnotare* si sostituisce il *distinguere*, che pare presupporre una tassonomia precostituita; all'esposizione originale, infine, connaturata al *describere*, succede l'*illustrare*, che non è ignoto al latino classico nel senso di far conoscere scoperte altrui (cf. Lucr., 1, 136-137: 'Graiorum obscura reperta l'illustrare Latinis versibus').

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Reboul, *Retorica*, p. 69.

da Cirillo, che così giustifica l'*utilitas*: 'ne dum Entomologiae ardore tota flagrare videtur Europa, Insecta Neapolitana, quae ex parte Africae littora, saepissimeque remotiores etiam Terrae suppeditarunt, in sylvis, montibus agrisque palustribus delitescerent'. Lo studio condotto da Cirillo viene presentato come un eccellente servizio reso alla città di Napoli, per metterla al passo con l'Europa, valorizzandone la naturale grandezza, l'*amplitudo*, che, definita da Cicerone (*inv.*, 2, 166) come 'aliquarum copiarum magna abundantia', consiste per Napoli nella straordinaria abbondanza di insetti provenienti da ogni più esotica regione. Degna di nota è anche la collocazione, per così dire, grafica che Napoli, nell'aggettivo *Neapolitana*, assume, posta al mezzo tra l'Europa da un lato e gli 'Africae littora', con le 'remotiores Terrae', dall'altro. Inscindibilmente legato al *locus* dell'*utilitas*, in questo periodo cirilliano compare un altro luogo tipico del genere deliberativo, la *turpitudine*, rappresentata qui dall'*ignavia* (cf. Cic., *inv.*, 2, 165); l'opera di Cirillo si propone il duplice compito di dare lustro alla città di Napoli e di liberarla dall'onta di sperperare i suoi tesori, lasciandoli nascosti in luoghi inaccessibili e inospitali. Ancora una volta l'elevatezza dello stile cirilliano traspare dall'amplificazione del concetto (i luoghi tipici della ricerca entomologica) *per divisionem*, espressa attraverso tre immagini di chiara evidenza (figura dell'*enargeia/evidentia*), disposte in un *trikolon* costruito secondo la legge dei *kola* crescenti e concluso da una clausola trocheo + cretico ('delitescerent'):

in sylvis,  
in montibus  
agrisque palustribus delitescerent.

La sezione finale della pagina si avvia verso la richiesta, dignitosissima e priva di adulazione, di un aiuto economico da parte del Sovrano con l'impiego di un *locus a minore ad maius*: se questo primo *specimen*, curato in proprio dall'autore, con l'aiuto delle sue sole capacità anche artistiche<sup>35</sup> ('Tabulas ipse summo studio delineare, et insecta propriis coloribus ornare studui') e grazie alla collaborazione di Angelo De Clener, incisore dell'epoca, è stato un risultato per nulla disprezzabile anche sul piano estetico, che cosa sarà possibile produrre se un generoso contributo regio interverrà a sostenere la pubblicazione del materiale che ancora rimane?

<sup>35</sup> Su ciò cf. Fimiani, 'Cirillo', p. 22: 'Lo zio (di Cirillo) Santolo era un noto artista napoletano dell'epoca, allievo del Solimena, e avrà sicuramente trasmesso al giovane nipote tecniche e gusto artistico'.

Tabulas ipse summo studio delineare, et insecta propriis coloribus ornare studui. Imagines insectorum a me delineatas sculpsit diligentissimus Clener. De specimine tantum, maiori qua fieri potuit elegantia, artisque splendore absoluto, in praesentia agitur, verum si Regis munificentissimi, cui opus inscribi debebat, patrocinium accesserit, si Cl. Viri et de Historia naturali optime meriti, aliquam scientiae utilitatem procurari posse existimabunt, pulcherrima quae supersunt in sequentibus speciminibus, propediem lucem videbunt.

Nel rivolgersi indirettamente a Sua Maestà, obliquamente Cirillo insinua la promessa della dedica delle future opere al Sovrano, al pari di quella già edita. In effetti la frase: 'cui opus inscribi debebat', riferita al primo *specimen* del 1787, dovrebbe significare in latino che l'opera 'avrebbe dovuto esser dedicata', sottintendendo che ciò non sia avvenuto.<sup>36</sup> L'opera, almeno nelle copie a noi pervenute<sup>37</sup> reca una estesa dedica latina a Ferdinando IV accompagnata dal blasone del Sovrano, inciso dal Clener. Pare quindi che la frase di Cirillo debba intendersi come se dicesse: 'cui, sicut decuit, opus inscriptum est'. Accanto al Sovrano viene ricordato il mondo scientifico napoletano, al quale, forse più per dovere che per *captatio benevolentiae*, viene affidato il giudizio sull'opera da finanziare. La conclusione della pagina riassume in poche parole quasi tutti i *telikà kephalaia*<sup>38</sup> ossia le qualità in base alle quali nel genere deliberativo si giudicava dell'opportunità o meno di intraprendere un'azione. I luoghi principali sono l'*honestum* e l'*utile* (cf. Cic., *inv.*, 2, 157). Tra i beni che costituiscono l'*honestum* Cicerone (*inv.*, 2, 162) elenca anche la *scientia*. Proprio questo nome Cirillo pone accanto all'*utilitas*, attenuando inoltre opportunamente l'espressione: 'aliquam scientiae utilitatem'. Tra le parti di cui si compone l'*utile*, infine, Quintiliano (*inst.*, 3, 8, 27) pone il *facile*, il *magnum*, il *iucundum*. Anche questa ripartizione appare impiegata da Cirillo, il quale, dopo aver fatto intravedere quale grande ('magnum') opera avrebbe potuto esser prodotta con il sostegno del Sovrano, ricorda la bellezza estrema ('pulcherrima') dei reperti in suo possesso e, indirettamente, ma in maniera chiara, fa comprendere la facilità di pubblicarle ('propediem lucem videbunt') in breve tempo, trattandosi di materiale già posseduto e rimasto escluso dal primo *specimen*.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. A. Ronconi, *Il verbo latino. Problemi di sintassi storica* (Firenze; Le Monnier, 1959), pp. 69-73.

<sup>37</sup> 'Una copia del volume è conservata presso la biblioteca del Dipartimento di Biologia Vegetale dell'Università di Napoli [...]. Un'altra copia del volume [...] è conservata presso la Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli. [...] Altre copie sono custodite nel prestigioso *British Museum of Natural History* di Londra' (Fimiani, 'Cirillo', p. 16-17).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Pernot, *Rhétorique*, p. 292.

## 7. Conclusione

Il testo della *Praefatio* cirilliana meritava, a mio avviso, di essere presentato quale testimonianza di quel prezioso sodalizio tra passione scientifica e raffinato gusto letterario, che insieme al fervido impegno sociale caratterizzò tanta parte dell'Illuminismo napoletano di fine '700. Questa pagina, però, ha anche indubbi pregi letterari, sorretta da una limpida cultura classica e attraversata, non di rado, da una fine e distaccata ironia. Nella scrittura cirilliana si apprezza un classico equilibrio alimentato da una coscienza retorica garbata e rispettosa del limite, sicché lo stile si adatta all'oggetto con naturalezza e, seguendo sperimentate tradizioni retoriche, l'*ornatus* contribuisce alla definizione del significato senza tuttavia accumularsi indiscriminatamente sulla scrittura. Fine indagatore e classificatore esperto, anche come scrittore Cirillo dimostra egregie qualità non tanto in una narrazione ariosa e distesa, quanto nelle brevi linee di vividi schizzi, ove l'intenzione figurativa riesce non di rado a dipingere delle figure emblematiche, come quella degli studiosi che affiggono le loro menti nella contemplazione del misterioso tesoro della Natura, o dei resti dell'Erbario imperatiano sottratto a tarme blatte e lepisme, o ancora del pioniere della ricerca, che al ritorno dai suoi viaggi torna sempre vittorioso, carico di Tesori naturalistici, o, infine, degli insetti, nascosti nell'oscurità di selve, monti, campi paludosi.

## Appendix prima:

D. Cirilli, *Entomologiae neapolitanae specimen primum* (Neapoli, 1787)

## Praefatio

Historiam naturalem Regni Neapolitani, a nemine usque adhuc illustratam, tanquam Thesaurum profundis Terrae visceribus absconditum densisque tenebris involutum, huius scientiae cultores contemplantur. Plantas rariores, Mollusca et Testacea aliquot, ac paucissima insecta descripsit pretiosisque figuris ornavit

5 Immortalis Columna. Egregia quaedam, additis nonnullis etiam observatis mineralogicis praestitit Incomparabilis Imperati. Summo splendore inchoatum opus, obscuro progressu exceptum, nostra aetate abortivos profecto fructus suppeditavit. Multos sane post annos maiores mei Botanicas tantum observationes instituerunt; Hortulum privatum, patriis praesertim plantis refertum condiderunt; Florae

10 Neapolitanae fundamenta posuerunt; stupendas Herbarii Imperatiani reliquias, *Tineis*, *Blattis* et *Lepismis* saccharinis abreptas, e tenebris in lucem vindicaverunt. Domestica magnorum virorum exempla, Botanicum primo ardorem a natura acceptum incredibili vehementia excitarunt. Peregrinationes ideo intra Patriam, adhuc iuvenis suscepi; semperque novis Florae divitiis ornatus redii. Sexualis

15 systematis doctrinas primus Neapolitanis proposui; primusque nexum inter Botanicas, et Entomologicas observationes animadverti. Linnaeanos Insectorum characteres civibus meis penitus ignotos declarare conatus sum. Insecta Neapolitana primus Linnaeo misi, uti Vir Cl. testatur in *Systemate Naturali*, variis in locis. Hinc in uberrima, opulentissimaque provincia, in nostra Regione ab omnibus fere

20 Entomologicis haudquaquam perlustrata multa detexi, rariora adnotavi, pulchriora descripsi. Susceptos in ipso iuventutis flore labores, a quibus me Clinicae gravissimae occupationes avocaverant continuavit amicissimus et diligentissimus Nicodemus, in colligendis, distinguendis, atque illustrandis rebus naturalibus, nemini secundus. Doctissimi iuvenis indefessis laboribus nostram Insectorum

25 suppellectilem locupletatam fuisse, laetus fateor. Laborum nostrorum specimen evulgare, operae pretium duxi; ne dum Entomologiae ardore tota flagrare videretur Europa, Insecta Neapolitana, quae ex parte Africae littora, saepissimeque remotiores etiam Terrae suppeditarunt, in sylvis, montibus agrisque palustribus delitescerent. Tabulas ipse summo studio delineare, et insecta propriis coloribus

30 ornare studui. Imagines insectorum a me delineatas sculpsit diligentissimus Clenner. De specimine tantum, maiori qua fieri potuit elegantia, artisque splendore absoluto, in praesentia agitur, verum si Regis munificentissimi, cui opus inscribi debebat, patrocinium accesserit, si Cl. Viri et de Historia naturali optime meriti, aliquam scientiae utilitatem procurari posse existimabunt, pulcherrima quae

35 supersunt in sequentibus specimenibus, propediem lucem videbunt.

**Appendix secunda: inscriptio**

CAROLI LINNAEI  
 ANIMAM SAPIENTISSIMAM  
 TERRIS DIVINITUS IMPERTITAM  
 UT  
 NATURAE UNIVERSA ARCANA  
 DECLARARET PATEFACERET  
 ILLUSTRARET  
 POSTEA  
 PER DEPHLOGISTICATAM  
 AETHEREAM REGIONEM  
 OBVOLITANTEM  
 NE QUID RESPUB BOTANICORUM  
 DETRIMENTI CAPIAT  
 VOS  
 FRAGRANTISSIMAE SOPORIFERAE  
 TAETRE<sup>39</sup> SPIRANTES  
 AMBROSIACAE APHRODISIACAE  
 PERENNIS VOLUPTATIS MINISTRAE  
 HERBAE ARBORES PLANTAE  
 ODORIBUS EFFLUVIIS AROMATE  
 SISTITE INVOLVITE DETINETE

DI CARLO LINNEO  
 L'ANIMA SAPIENTISSIMA  
 CHE IL DIVIN VELLE AGLI UOMINI DONÒ  
 PERCHÉ TUTTI I SEGRETI DI NATURA  
 MANIFESTASSE ALLA LUCE PORTASSE  
 A NUDO POI METTESSE  
 SU E GIÙ PER L'ETEREA REGIONE  
 DEFLOGISTIZZATA  
 SVOLACCHIANTE  
 AFFINCHÉ LA REPUBBLICA DEI BOTANICI  
 NON ABBIA A PATIRE ALCUN MALE  
 VOI  
 FRAGRANTISSIME, SOPORIFERE  
 TRISTAMENTE OLEZZANTI,  
 AMBROSIE AFRODISIE  
 MINISTRE DI PERENNE VOLUTTÀ  
 ERBE ALBERI PIANTE  
 COGLI ODORI GLI EFFLUVII L'AROMA  
 ARRESTATELA AVVOLGETELA TRATTENETELA

<sup>38</sup> *Taetre scripsi: Tetrae liber.*

## L'iscrizione

Il testo di questa iscrizione si legge nell'ultima pagina dei *Discorsi accademici del dottor Domenico Cirillo*, stampati a Napoli nel 1799. Il testo è accompagnato da questa didascalia introduttiva: 'Monumento eretto all'Immortale Carlo Linneo nel privato giardino Botanico dell'Autore'. In effetti l'epigrafe scomparve insieme a una statua di Linneo 'distrutta con la devastazione dei drammatici giorni del "ripurgo"'.<sup>39</sup> L'elegante fattura del testo mi ha indotto a una lettura di cui è mio desiderio esporre qui di seguito i frutti a mio avviso migliori.

## Struttura dell'iscrizione

La prima parte dell'iscrizione presenta un tono sottilmente arguto e lepido, esaltato dal contrasto fra l'accento solenne dell'inizio e il neologismo 'dephlogisticatam', che allude a una dottrina pseudo-scientifica che la scienza del XVIII secolo dimostrò clamorosamente infondata. L'allusione si riferisce alla teoria del flogisto, formulata da Georg Ernst Stahl (1660-1734), la cui infondatezza fu dimostrata sperimentalmente dal Lavoisier intorno alla metà degli anni Settanta del XVIII secolo, quasi in concomitanza con la morte di Linneo (1778), alla quale l'iscrizione di Cirillo fece seguito, con molta probabilità, immediatamente. Proprio l'allusione alla stravagante dottrina recentemente confutata, mentre per un istante rievoca gli equivoci che un sapere sottratto a un rigoroso controllo sperimentale può generare, mette in risalto la scienza somma ('animam sapientissimam') di Linneo, giustificandone l'elogio che ne tesse Cirillo, che lo descrive come donato al mondo per volere divino affinché svelasse gli arcani della Natura. La struttura argomentativa si regge su uno dei *loci* tipici della *benivolentia*, consistente nel rafforzare la propria causa (in questo caso l'elogio di Linneo) partendo dall'argomento in cui essa si colloca (la vera scienza, come fu esercitata da Linneo) attraverso il ricordo della debolezza dell'avversario (l'allusione all'equivoco del flogisto); il procedimento era stato ben riassunto già da Cicerone (*inv.*, 1, 22-23): 'ab rebus [conquisteremo la benevolenza], si nostram causam laudando extollemus, adversariorum [1, 23] causam per contemptionem deprime-mus'. Secondo le parole di Cirillo, Linneo ebbe una missione: 'ut Naturae universa arcana declararet patefaceret illustraret'. I verbi *patefacere*

<sup>39</sup> Fimiani, 'Cirillo', p. 23.

*illustrare* si trovano in questa sequenza in un passo famoso di Cicerone, *Catil.*, 1, 32 ('omnia patefacta, inlustrata') che potrebbe essere stato presente a Cirillo, data la sottile consonanza che lega il possibile modello con l'iscrizione. La Natura, infatti, con un tono iperbolico ben adatto allo spirito brioso e ironico del componimento, appare come una trama occulta, insidiosa perché ingannevole e perfino inquietante per chi, ignorandone le leggi, la indaghi con metodo inadeguato; Linneo, quindi, attraverso un uso discreto e indiretto ('amplificatio per ratiocinationem ex relatione ad aliquid', secondo Quint., *inst.*, 8, 4, 21) del *topos* del *prôtos heuretês*, diventa il prototipo dell'uomo che, sfidando la Natura, ne svela gli inganni per mezzo della propria *sapientia* e consegue la vittoria. Frutto della vittoria è la serenità con cui l'animo umano, reso sicuro dalla conoscenza, fugate le tenebre dell'errore ('illustraret') può occupare il suo posto nel mondo naturale. Questo profondo senso di sicura serenità è poeticamente racchiuso nella levità dell'immagine vivida<sup>40</sup> con cui Cirillo rappresenta l'anima di Linneo, che può ora volare serena per un etere sicuro e amico perché noto, da quando fu liberato da oscure e aberranti credenze. Non privo di suggestioni è, poi, il participio 'ob-volitantem'; esso ricorda da vicino il 'volito vivus per ora virum' (*frg. var.*, 18 V<sup>2</sup>) dell'autoepitaffio di Ennio, nel quale si percepisce un'eco dell'interesse del poeta latino per le religioni mistiche della Magna Grecia. Cirillo usa un verbo noto alla tradizione letteraria per indicare la sopravvivenza dell'anima<sup>41</sup> degli uomini illustri aggirantesi in volo sorretta dalla Fama alata che corre sulle bocche dei mortali. La delicatezza del verbo iterativo, che richiama un batter d'ali frequente e leggero, e il contesto stesso, con l'immagine dell'anima di Linneo che va volando per il cielo, sembrano richiamarsi alle credenze diffuse nella Grecia antica e a Roma, raffiguranti l'anima come una farfalla<sup>42</sup>: un raffinato accostamento cirilliano, argutamente appropriato in relazione a un entomologo come Linneo.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Abbiamo qui un esempio di *enargeia*, su cui cf. Quint., *inst.*, 6, 2, 32: 'a Cicerone inlustratio et evidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere videtur quam ostendere'.

<sup>41</sup> Cf., oltre al passo di Ennio citato, anche, polemicamente, Lucr., 4, 38: 'ne forte (...) reamur | (...) umbras inter vivos volitare'.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. M. Bettini, 'L'ape e la farfalla', *Quaderni Storici*, 51/3 (1982), 903-928.

<sup>43</sup> Il motivo iconografico si trova spesso nella pittura pompeiana (cf. P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988<sup>9</sup>); ed. it. *Mitologia* (Milano: Garzanti, 2004), p. 543 [542-543] [= s.v. *Psiche*): 'La pittura pompeiana ha popolarizzato il tipo di Psiche facendone una bambina alata, come una farfalla (l'anima era spesso, nelle credenze popolari, concepita come una farfalla che scappava dal corpo dopo la morte)' e, se è lecito avanzare un'ipotesi, potrebbe esser stato suggerito a Cirillo dall'enorme impatto che sul gusto e sulle arti figurative ebbe, fino al



Il tono sottilmente brioso della composizione traspare ancora nella grave formula: 'ne quid respublica botanicorum detrimenti capiat' tratta dal linguaggio politico romano ed esemplata sulla formula del *senatus-consultum ultimum* ('videant consules, ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat'; cf. Sall., *Cat.*, 29) con cui il Senato concedeva speciali poteri dittatoriali ai consoli per fronteggiare una situazione di estrema gravità. Nel testo di Cirillo la formula presenta una voluta ambiguità sintattica, con importanti ripercussioni sul senso. La frase potrebbe dipendere da 'obvolitantem' e in questo caso l'anima di Linneo apparirebbe come una sorta di nume tutelare intento a volare da una parte all'altra del mondo per assicurare la sua protezione al mondo dei botanici. La frase, però, potrebbe altrettanto bene dipendere dagli imperativi che chiudono l'iscrizione; in questo caso Cirillo pregherebbe le erbe, gli alberi, le piante di arrestare l'anima di Linneo, affinché con la sua dipartita il mondo della botanica (evidentemente privo di uomini altrettanto *sapientes*) non abbia a patire grave danno. Questa seconda interpretazione darebbe un peso del tutto diverso alla formula del senatoconsulto, che, come si è detto, veniva pronunciata in occasione di pericoli estremi; allusivamente Cirillo significherebbe che, morto Linneo, la situazione della scienza botanica attraverso un momento altamente critico, probabilmente pensando alla possibilità che (coerentemente con quanto precede) la ricerca possa deviare dal metodo scientifico del maestro, ricadendo in un'osservazione priva di vera intelligenza.<sup>44</sup>

La seconda interpretazione sembra la più probabile, ma l'ambiguità pare proprio ricercata dall'autore. Subito dopo compare il motivo centrale dell'iscrizione, l'invito rivolto a erbe, alberi, piante perché trattengano l'anima di Linneo.

Le linee precedenti, caratterizzate da un lessico dotto e a tratti inconsueto, sfociano in un risultato di alto virtuosismo, che, con un arguto effetto di sorpresa, svelano il vero interlocutore dell'autore e con levità

neoclassicismo ottocentesco, la riscoperta di Pompei nel 1748, voluta da Carlo di Borbone (cf. *Dizionario di Antichità Classiche di Oxford* (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1981), II, 1689-1691 [= s.v. *Pompei*]). Piace ricordare come anche l'entomologia contemporanea abbia a volte ceduto al fascino del mito della farfalla-anima: cf. R. Spicciarelli, *La Psiche del Frassino. European Owl Moth*, Consiglio Regionale della Basilicata, 2004 (uno studio sull'*Acanthobrahmaea europaee* Hartig tra entomologia e suggestione poetica).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. nel testo della *Praefatio* sopra riprodotto le espressioni *absconditum* e *tenebris involutum*, che, ancora nel 1787, nove anni dopo la morte di Linneo, alludono chiaramente a una condizione di oscurità pre-linneana. Del resto, nella nostra iscrizione, il merito riconosciuto a Linneo è proprio quello di aver svelato il mistero nascosto e di aver gettato luce (*illustraret*) fino a dissipare del tutto le tenebre dell'ignoranza.

briosa (coerente con la prima parte del testo) legano il grave elogio dell'importante personaggio con la consistenza effimera di profumi e odori esalanti dal mondo del giardino botanico, invocati perché rapiscano e trattengano l'anima di Linneo. Cirillo si rivolge alla fitta vegetazione impiegando una ricca aggettivazione allusiva di precise suddivisioni botaniche. L'allusività è più marcata nell'uso accorto di sinonimi (*soporiferum* in luogo di *somniferum*) e circumlocuzioni (*taetre spirantes* in luogo di *foetidissimae*) in sostituzioni di più comuni determinazioni botaniche. L'uso di questi aggettivi, in una cospicua enumerazione, contiene di per sé un riconoscimento velato tributato a Linneo, inventore dell'importante metodo tassonomico binominale.<sup>45</sup> Il primo aggettivo è *fragrantissimae*, con cui si indicano specie come la *Thunbergia fragrans* o il *Viburnum fragrans*; segue l'aggettivo *soporiferae*, che innanzitutto richiama alla mente il *papaver somniferum* L., che deve il nome allo stesso Linneo. Che Cirillo abbia voluto sostituire *somnifer* con *soporifer* non può dipendere, a mio avviso, se non da una dotta allusione al virgiliano *soporiferum papaver* di *Aen.* 4, 486. Il contesto funerario in cui si trova inserito il verso virgiliano trova un'eco raffinata nella terza categoria di fiori menzionata da Cirillo con la perifrasi aggettivale *taetre spirantes*.<sup>46</sup> Il richiamo è a specie che o portano nella loro stessa denominazione linneana l'indicazione del carattere graveolente (p. es., *Iris foetidissima*, L.) o, comunque, sono note per il loro olezzo sgradevole (p. es. *Tagetes erecta*, L.). Non di rado la tradizione popolare ha legato alcuni fiori maleodoranti con il mondo dei morti: la già ricordata *Iris*, per esempio, è comunemente nota come Giglio dei morti, mentre la *Tagetes erecta* L. ha il nome volgare di Fior di morto. Se non pecchiamo per eccesso d'interpretazione, possiamo cogliere forse qui un delicato omaggio reso da Cirillo al defunto Linneo. Si noti, tuttavia, che la nota funebre è sicuramente presente nel richiamo al papavero soporifero (non solo per l'eco virgiliana, ma anche perché nella tradizione poetica romana il papavero compariva tra i fiori alla cui raccolta era intenta Proserpina poco prima di essere rapita da Plutone<sup>47</sup>) e da sola può spiegare la menzione, altrimenti bizzarra in questo

<sup>45</sup> Su cui cf. N. Gross, 'De nomenclatione botanica et zoologica', in Chr. Helfer (a cura di), *Symposium Latinitatis Posthumanisticae* (Saarbrücken: Verlag der Societas Latina, 1988), pp. 71-85.

<sup>46</sup> Il traddito *tetrae* non funziona: il participio *spirantes* richiede un complemento o un avverbio. Sono convinto che la lezione giusta sia *taetre*.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Ov., *fast.*, 4, 438.

contesto, ai fiori graveolenti, che pure Cirillo ritiene capaci non di fugare, ma di attirare lo spirito di Linneo. Penultima categoria è quella delle *Ambrosiaceae*, un conio linneano che si accompagna a diverse varietà identificate dal grande naturalista svedese (cf., p. es., *Amyris ambrosiaca* L.f.): un omaggio e forse un'auspicio, dato che in greco *Ambrosia* significa "immortalità". L'ultimo aggettivo, *Aphrodisiaceae*, non mi pare che ricorra in specie botaniche identificate al tempo di Cirillo. Probabilmente si tratta di un *hapax*, indotto contestualmente dal parallelismo fonolessicale con *ambrosiaceae*: con esso, forse, Cirillo allude all'erba medica indicata dallo pseudo-Apuleio col nome di *Aphrodisias*<sup>48</sup>, corrispondente all'*acorus calamus* L. della classificazione linneana.

Nelle ultime tre linee Cirillo raggiunge un'altissima vetta di virtuosismo formale: la terzultima linea ospita i tre vocativi, la penultima i complementi disposti ciascuno sotto il sostantivo di riferimento, l'ultima linea presenta i verbi, ciascuno sotto il rispettivo nome complemento. In questo modo si formano tre enunciati leggibili verticalmente su tre colonne: 'herbae, odoribus sistite; arbores effluviis involvite; plantae aromate detinete'. Che questa sia la corrispondenza si ricava dalla coerenza lessicale: 'odoribus' si riferisce specialmente a 'herbae', con allusione a diverse specie erbacee che, proprio per il loro intenso profumo, vengono distinte dai botanici con l'aggettivo 'odoratus' (p.es. *viola odorata*, *lathyrus odoratus*). 'Effluviis' indica, conforme al verbo da cui la metafora deriva, un'esalazione che si effonde abbondantemente nell'ambiente circostante e in riferimento ad *arbores* pare indicare quegli intensi vapori balsamici che esalano da resine di alberi come pini, abeti, larici. *Aromate*, infine, indica il particolare profumo prodotto dalle piante ('plantae'; usato nel senso italiano) dette appunto aromatiche (come salvia, timo, garofano, ginepro, menta), che coinvolgono non solo l'olfatto, ma anche il gusto. Anche i tre verbi si legano ciascuno con il complemento soprastante: ai lievi odori il compito di arrestare per un momento l'anima di Linneo, agli abbondanti effluvi il compito di avvolgerla per intero, all'aroma il compito di portare a termine l'opera, conquistando l'olfatto e il gusto insieme, fino a impedire che l'anima, ormai catturata, possa più fuggire. La ricercata costruzione quindi è giocata anche sul modulo della *climax*, con una gradazione crescente dei significati.

<sup>48</sup> *Antoni Musae de herba vettonica. Pseudo Apulei Herbarius. Anonymi de taxone liber. Sexti Placiti liber medicinae ex animalibus*, edd. E. Howald, H. E. Sigerist (= CML IV, Leipzig – Berlin, 1927) p. 78, 19.

## Conclusione

Quello spirito di libertà che traspare dall'immagine dell'anima di Linneo, che va volando libera per l'aria, fu uno degli ideali più alti della breve e sfortunata repubblica napoletana del 1799 e trovò nello studio e nella scienza il suo più valido alleato e il suo nutrimento. L'espressione *respublica botanicorum*, impiegata da Cirillo, assume uno spessore speciale alla luce dell'ideale repubblicano, per il quale l'autore versò il suo sangue, e della Botanica, celebrata nell'epigrafe come la vittoria della conoscenza sul timore che scaturisce dal contatto con realtà ignote. Lo spirito di Linneo, posto a custodia della *respublica botanicorum*, diventa il simbolo e insieme il garante di quella libertà, illuministicamente intesa non tanto come diritto acquisito, quanto come dovere di far lume ('illustraret') nell'oscurità dei misteri naturali ('naturae universae arcana'), per fugarne le ombre che minacciano ('ne quid ... detrimenti capiat') la conoscenza, l'intelletto che la guida, la parola che la esprime.

Pontificia Università Lateranense  
Piazza S. Giovanni in Laterano, 4  
SCV-00120 Città del Vaticano  
Mauro.Agosto@tin.it

Giles BARBER

LATIN AND GREEK VERSIONS & TRIBUTES  
BY ERIC ARTHUR BARBER (1888-1965) RECTOR  
OF EXETER COLLEGE, OXFORD<sup>1</sup>

**Biographical note**

Eric Arthur Barber was born at Wellington, Shropshire, the eldest son of Arthur Mitchell Barber and his wife Edith Mary, née Ferguson, on 18 October 1888. His father's family had long been auctioneers in Wellington and were closely associated with local country life, the name of the family firm at least continuing into the twenty first century. He attended local schools run by two Cambridge graduates and made rapid progress in Latin and Greek, in September 1901 winning the Old Salopian Scholarship and entrance to Shrewsbury School. This was one of the oldest English 'Public Schools', sometimes called the 'Illustrious nursery of [Classical] verse-writing in the West of England', and where B.H. Kennedy<sup>2</sup>, author of the famous Latin primer and later Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, had been headmaster. Barber's progress there, again taught by Cambridge Classics graduates, was so rapid that in September 1904, just before his sixteenth birthday, he came out top in the annual examination of the Sixth form and thus, following tradition, Head of the School. He competed there with his life-long friend, Maurice Platnauer, later Principal of Brasenose College, Oxford. Education at the school was then mainly classical and the main influence on Barber was probably that of the Rev. E.W. Huntingford, a former Postmaster (scholar) of Merton

<sup>1</sup> This edition of these verses is dedicated: to the memory of both Eric Arthur Barber and his ever loved wife Madeleine; to the editor's wife Lisa, who never had the pleasure of knowing either; to Eric Arthur Barber's grand-daughter Isabelle, who did know both briefly; and to her children, Freddy, Madeleine and Felix for the souvenir and for inspiration.

<sup>2</sup> On Benjamin Hall Kennedy (1804-1889): T.E.E. Page, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: from the earliest times to the year 2000*, edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 31, pp. 234-236.

College. In March 1906 Eric Arthur Barber was awarded an Open Classical Scholarship by New College, Oxford, and, on the strength of this, awarded the Old Salopian (Sir Philip) Sidney Gold Medal. His tutors at Oxford were Harold Edgeworth Butler and Gilbert Murray.<sup>3</sup> He secured not only first classes in the various University examinations (Honour Moderations and *Literae Humaniores*) but also the Ireland (1909), Craven (1910) and Derby (1910) Scholarships and the Charles Oldham Prize (1911 'Some aspects of Alexandrian Poetry'). Fellow competitors for such university prizes at this time included J.D. Denniston<sup>4</sup>, R.A. Knox<sup>5</sup>, E. Lobel<sup>6</sup> and A.J. Toynbee<sup>7</sup>, all later well-known scholars.<sup>8</sup>

He became a Prize Fellow of Merton College but transferred in 1912 to an Official Fellowship at Exeter College, serving, except for war service (censorship and code breaking partly in Greece), as Sub Rector from 1914 to 1924, the year in which he married Alice Madeleine Gaudard of Vevey, Switzerland. Described as 'a brilliant scholar combining the 'elegance' of the old Shrewsbury tradition with the learning of a more modern type', Barber's early interests were in Greek Alexandrian literature<sup>9</sup>, only turning in the late nineteen twenties to Latin and to Propertius, whose works he edited with Harold Butler in 1933<sup>10</sup>, an edition completely

<sup>3</sup> On Gilbert Murray (1886-1957): Ch. Stray, *ibid.*, 39, pp. 9312-918; Duncan Wilson, *Gilbert Murray OM 1866-1975* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987).

<sup>4</sup> On John Dewar Denniston (1887-1949): D.L. Page, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 15 (2004), pp. 827-828.

<sup>5</sup> On Ronald Arbutnott Knox (1888-1957): S. Gilley, *ibid.*, 37, pp. 41-44.

<sup>6</sup> On Edgar Lobel (1888-1982): H. Lloyd-Jones, *ibid.*, 34, pp. 201-202; Eric G. Turner, 'Edgar Lobel†', *Gnomon*, 55 (1983), 275-280.

<sup>7</sup> On Arnold Joseph Toynbee, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 55 (2004), pp. 178-185.

<sup>8</sup> On E.A. Barber, M. Platnauer, H.E. Butler, G. Murray, J.D. Denniston, and E. Lobel, see also W. Geoffrey Arnott, 'Great Britain. Greek Scholarship', in Graziano Arrighetti, Leopoldo Gamberale, Franco Montanari, Donatella Fogazza, Armida Lamedica (eds.), *La filologia greca e latina nel secolo xx. Atti del Convegno Internazionale, Roma, Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 17-21 settembre 1984*, Biblioteca di studi antichi, 56 (Pisa: Giardini, 1989), II, pp. 591-617; and Edward J. Kennedy, 'Great Britain. Latin Philology', *ibid.*, pp. 619-649.

<sup>9</sup> Cp. *The Hellenistic Age. Aspects of Hellenistic civilization* treated by J.B. Bury, Litt. D., F.B.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge; E.A. Barber, M.A., Sub-Rector of Exeter College, Oxford; Edwyn Bevan, D. Litt., LL.D., Honorary Fellow of New College, Oxford; and W.W. Tarn, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge (Cambridge: University Press, 1925 = New York: Kraus Reprint, 1968).

<sup>10</sup> *The Elegies of Propertius. Edited with an Introduction and Commentary* by Harold Edgeworth Butler and Eric Arthur Barber (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933 = Hildesheim - New York: Olms, 1969). Cp. also *Sexti Properti Carmina*. Recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit E.A. Barber Collegii Exoniensis apud Oxonienses Rector. Editio altera,

revised by Barber alone in 1953. He was one of the editors of the *Oxford Book of Greek Verse* (1930) and in 1934 the close runner-up for the Corpus Professorship of Latin, the chair then going to Eduard Fraenkel. He was elected to the British Academy in 1936 and became Rector of Exeter College in 1943, holding the post until his retirement in 1956, thereafter spending time in editing a supplement to Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon.<sup>11</sup> He died on 24 May 1965. Obituaries appeared, inter alia, in *The Times* (26 May) and in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* (vol. LI, pp. 497-503, C.A. Trypanis).

In some autobiographical notes Barber comments 'In 1901...he was awarded the Old Salopian Scholarship....; he recollects that for some odd reason being under 13 years of age he was not allowed to attempt the Latin Verse Composition paper though he had been composing Latin Verses for some time at Millmead [School] and never lost his inclination to this pursuit'. His few surviving versions range from an early one dated 1914 up to the late 1950s and but few have been properly published (although the tribute to Sir Basil Blackwell featured on the staircase of that famous bookshop for many years), a number of those in print appearing in *The Sunday Times*, often a week after the publication there of the original English form, the translation of the latter having provided Barber with a favourite relaxation over the weekend. A few appeared in *Hermathena*, where Barber's friend, Sir Robert Tate, long defended the practice of verse composition in Latin and Greek in a spirited manner and by his own example.<sup>12</sup> Some other original texts were probably those set at Oxford for translation as part of university examinations but others may well have come from his own reading where he favoured English seventeenth and nineteenth century verse. He was, one is told, a member of the Composition Club in Oxford, a body of like-minded and practising classical scholars. Oxford Classicists have been kind enough to say that he was a highly skilled practitioner of this erstwhile much vaunted art and that his renderings contain 'some very nice things'. The following texts

Scriptorium classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxonii: E typographo Clarendoniano, 1960).

<sup>11</sup> H.G. Liddell, Robert Scott, H. Stuart Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon. A Supplement*. Edited by E.A. Barber, with the assistance of P. Maas, M. Scheller and M.L. West (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

<sup>12</sup> Sir Robert was Senior Fellow of Trinity College and as Public Orator introduced Eric Arthur Barber on the occasion of the latter's honorary degree there. Barber had reviewed Tate's *Carmina Dublinensia* (Dublin 1943), containing many of his Latin and Greek versions in the *Oxford Magazine* in January 1944.

have therefore been put together in admiration by his son as an act of *pietas* and for the delectation of friends and those still excelling in this art.

I am deeply grateful for the ever friendly advice and support of Professor D.A.F.M. Russell of St John's College, Oxford, and for the same kindnesses and the computerisation of Barber's Greek texts, handwritten at a period when a now aged looking typewriter could only handle the Latin script, to Professor Gregory Hutchinson, one of Barber's later successors in Classics at Exeter College. My old friend, Sir Peter Leslie, and my former colleague, Mr David Thomas, have also supplied the answers to various requests, for which I am, as ever, most grateful. I am indebted to Professor Dirk Sacré for kindly suggesting the present form of publication and for his skill and help in securing accurately the correct reading of various manuscript passages.

Barber's classical papers and those relating to the college are now at Exeter College, Oxford.

La Mandro, 09420 Lescure, France

(+) 05-61-96-35-23

Giles.Barber@wanadoo.fr



## 1.

Sonnet 64 from *Astrophel and Stella* by Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586),  
first published 1591.

[English original set as 1909 Dean Ireland Scholarship text]

No more, my dear, no more these counsels trie:  
 O give my passions leave to run their race;  
 Let Fortune lay on me her worst disgrace;  
 Let folk or'charg'd with brain against me cry;  
 Let clouds bedimme my face, break in mine eye;  
 Let me no stays but of lost labour trace;  
 Let all the earth with scorn recount my case,  
 But do not will me from love to fly.  
 I do not envy Aristotle's wit,  
 Nor do aspire to Caesar's bleeding form;  
 Nor ought do care though some above me sit,  
 Nor hope, nor wish another course to fame  
 But that which once may win thy cruel heart:  
 Thou art my wit, and thou my vertue art.

From the manuscript submitted for the examination in 1909.

Ah fuge consiliis, mea lux, fuge talibus uti!  
 Quin sinis ardorem quolibet ire meum?  
 Me notet extremo turpem Fortuna dolore,  
 Vellicet austeri vox repetita senis,  
 Nubila contristent voltus oculisque liquorem  
 Infundant: revocem nil nisi nequitiam  
 Totaque contemprix mea crimina Roma renarret:  
 Ne tamen a nostro pulsus amore fuger!  
 Sordet Aristotelis prae te doctrina severi,  
 Fama cruentati Caesaris ante perit.  
 Nil moror haec, quotiens supra me sederit alter.  
 Sola manet nobis haec via, sola placet,  
 Pectora qua capiam nostrae tam saeva puellae:  
 Tu mea doctrina es, tu meus omnis honor!<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Winning verses submitted for the Dean Ireland prize 1909 under the pseudonym 'Arcturus', presumably standing for Barber's second forename, Arthur.

## 2.

Unidentified original text starting, 'But still on warm spring nights.....'.

Manuscript dated 18 November 1914.

ἀλλ' ἔτι, θερμότερας ὅταν εἶαρι νύκτας ἄγοντι  
 αἶμα τὸ πρὶν βραδύπουν πηδᾷ ἐλαφρότερον,  
 εὔτε μοι ὀρνυμένη μνήστις φρένας ἡδέ' ἰαίνῃ  
 καὶ γλυκὺ πνεῖωσιν μηλέαι ἀνθοφόροι  
 ἢ νεόρεπτος ποιή καὶ λευκαὶ ὑπερθεν  
 νάρκισσοι, τοίων προῶζιν ὑπ' εἰαριναῖς  
 κάμπτεται ὠχρὰ κάρην', ἥτοι περάωσιν ἀμαυρᾷ  
 νύκτα σεληναίαν ἠπίολοι πτέρυγι,  
 δὴ τότε ἄχος τὸ παλαιὸν ἐμὶν ἀνεγείρεται ἤδη,  
 χυπνώσσοντα πόθον ζωπυρέει φλεγέθων —  
 ὅσσ' ἐγέλων ἐράμην τε φιλάγλαος ἄρτι βρυούσης  
 τῆς ὥρας — οἶμοι πάντ' ἀπέκλεισεν Ἔρις —  
 καὶ πάλιν ἔγκειμαι σοῖς χεῖλεσιν ἡδέ τε γυίοις  
 καὶ ψυχῇ ποθέουσ' ἄσπετον· ἀλλὰ μάτην.

18.11.14<sup>14</sup>

## 3.

MS dated 24-1-1933 but the original English text unidentified.

Concede formae, ius teneat suum:  
 non unus illi fit proprius modus;  
 sit recta, delectat figura  
 quaeque viros; Helene placebat,  
  
 sed dulcis aeque nostra erat Ilia.  
 arguta quasdam lumina venditant,  
 has labra tam molli rubore;  
 pallor amicitias paravit,  
  
 quem sancta quaedam gratia procreat.  
 sic mos Amori seposuit rosam,  
 sed prata non culto per artem  
 flore placent. vaga forma caelo

<sup>14</sup> The original of this translation appears to have been at some stage in the possession of Agnes Elizabeth Murray, one of the daughters of Barber's former tutor, Gilbert Murray and his wife, Lady Mary.

non servit uni; finibus omnium  
invecta nulli non bona tempori est.  
aequetur antiquis puellis,  
pulchra mea est pariterque dulcis.

## 4.

## TO A COUNTRY BOY

How can it be in vain, your morning sleeping,  
You who have died for all you loved so much?  
Grassland, and grain that ripened to your keeping,  
Slow patient beasts that knew your gentle touch:  
The sprawling farm-house, white of wall, thatch-crested,  
From which you ran with morning in your eyes,  
Hay newly-mown, on which at noon you rested,  
Watching white clouds a-drift in Summer skies:  
Rain-heavy earth you ploughed in long straight furrows,  
Carts, turnip-laden, jolting in the ruts,  
Gorse, and the rabbits scuttling to their burrows,  
Small winding lanes you searched for Autumn nuts:  
Woodland and hill, green-tipped by Spring's returning,  
Whiteness of foam upon the cherry trees,  
Cold Winter evenings, with the great logs burning,  
Your sheep-dog with his head upon your knees:  
Sunrise to sunset, sowing, tending, reaping,  
Then dreamless resting at the pillow's touch —  
You have not died in vain, who died in keeping  
Freedom for all the things you loved so much.

B.R. Gibbs, *The Sunday Times*, March 1944

Non frustra sopor ille, puer, qui mane quiescis;  
Omnia servando tam tibi cara iaces;  
Lenia qui tardus tua bos moderamina norat,  
Quaeque seges cura crevit et herba tua;  
Albentemque domum muris et stramine tectam,  
Ordine quae nullo tendit in omne latus;  
(Obvius hinc Phoebus quotiens properare solebas,  
Tingebatque oculos lux modo nata tuos!)  
Quaeque aestate, polo dum spectas vellera ferri,  
Sole torum medio gramina secta dabant;

Imbre gravem terram, quam recto limite arabas,  
 Quassaque inaequali plaustra onerata via;  
 Currentem ad latebras leporem; loca picta genesta;  
 Quae tulit auctumno semita curva nuces;  
 Flore velut spuma cerasus quae cana nitebat,  
 Vere ubi frondebant silvaeque monsque novo;  
 Noctibus hibernis fragrantia ligna, canemque  
 Cui fulcire tuo mos erat ora genu.  
 Messe diem totum cultu satione fatigas,  
 Dein cito sopitum te premit alta quies.  
 Mors tua non frustra certe est: ut libera restent  
 Omnia, quae fuerant tam tibi cara, iaces.

Οὐκ ἄλλως, φίλε κοῦρε, σὺ πρῶιον ὕπνον ἄωτεις,  
 ὃς γ' ἔθανες σῶζων πάνθ' ὅσα πλεῖστ' ἐφίλεις·  
 λειμῶνας μελέτη τε τεθιλότα λήια σείο,  
 ὃς τ' ἤδη βραδύπους σὴν χέρα βούς ἀγανήν·  
 δῶμά θ' ὅ τοι καλάμοισιν ὑπόστεγον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 πέπτατο καὶ τοίχοις ἔπρεπε λευκοφαές·  
 ὁσσάκις ἐντεῦθεν τὸ πρὶν ἔτρεχες ἀντίος ἡοῖ,  
 ὅσσε τ' ἐφαίδρυνεν σὼ φάος ὀρθρίδιον·  
 ἧ τε νεοτμήτῳ θέρεος μέσῳ ἤματι ποίῃ  
 ἐκλίνου, νεφέλας πλαζομένας ἔσορων·  
 γῆν διερὰν ὄμβροις, ὀρθὴν δὲ σύ γ' αὔλακ' ἔτεμνες,  
 ἧ τ' ἐν ὁδῷ στυφελῇ σείεθ' ἄμαζα πλέα·  
 τὴν κύτισον· κευθμῶνα λαγῷ πτήσσουντ'· ἐν ὁπώρα  
 ἧ φέρεν ἀτραπιτὸς σοὶ κάρνα σκολιά·  
 ἡύτ' ἀφρῶ κερασὸν λευκοῖς ἀνθεσσι φαεινὴν,  
 εὔτε νάπαι τ' ἐκόμων ἦρι λόφοι τε νέω·  
 νύκτ' ἀνὰ χειμερινὴν μεγάλη χύλα καιόμεν' οἴκοι,  
 καὶ κύν' ἐρειδόμενον σοῖς γόνασιν κεφαλὴν·  
 ὥς σε πανημέριον κομιδῇ σπόρος εἶχε θερισμός,  
 εἴτ' ἐπιβάντ' εὐνῆς νήγρετος ὕπνος ἔλεν.  
 οὐκ ἄλλως ἀπόλωλας· ἐλεύθερα πάντα φυλάσσω  
 ταῦθ' ὅσα πλεῖστ' ἐφίλεις πνεῦμ' ἔλιπες βιότου.

## 5.

## TO WINSTON CHURCHILL

When half the world was deaf and mute  
 You told us of wrath to come

When others fingered on the flute  
You thundered on the drum.

When fierce the fires of slaughter burned  
And Europe's hopes were few,  
Those who had mocked your warning turned  
Almost too late to you.

You promised only what you gave  
As refuge from the flood.  
You knew what only you could save  
Through sweat and tears and blood.

Your words upheld our courage yet,  
Through five remorseless years,  
You gave us glory in the sweat,  
And laughter through the tears.

The storm blew by — the light broke through-  
The world resumed its form.  
Then all our hearts went out to you-  
The man who rode the storm.

In England's cloud-swept history  
Never so great a debt  
Was owed by all to one — and we-  
God grant — will not forget.

'By a former ministerial colleague of WC' (unidentified)

4/7/1945

Magna ubi pars orbis surda et sine voce manebat,  
Tu praedicebas non procul esse luem;  
Imbelles alii tangebant pollice chordas:  
Horrisonam flabas tu vigil usque tubam.  
Saeva ubi per terras caedes ubicunque flagrabat,  
Gentibus et iam spes parva superstes erat,  
Qui tua respuerant moniti praesagia, rursus  
Paene nimis sero te petiere ducem.  
Pollicitus nobis modo quae praestare valeres,  
Claustraue diluvii perfugiumque paras;

Mente videns, quae tu posses servare nec alter,  
 Sudore haec, lacrimis, sanguine emenda doces.  
 Vulnera Fors nobis toto dabat aspera lustrō:  
 Sustinuit fessas vox tua firma manus.  
 Sudoris pretium decus immortale dedisti,  
 Et lacrimis mixtus te duce risus erat.  
 Tempestas posuit: lux interrupta refulget;  
 Atque orbi rediit, qui fuit ante, modus.  
 Tum tibi reddidimus grates ex pectore toto,  
 Turbine terribili qui bene vectus eras.  
 Saecula si lustres, cui tantus ex omnibus uni  
 Debuerint omnes, non fuit ullus homo;  
 Et tamen huic populo belli sat cognita nubes;  
 Ergo erimus memores, si modo fata sinant.

## 6.

*Exeter College Record, 1939-1947:*

‘One of the happiest features of our [Exeter College] war-time existence [was] the hospitality which we were able to extend to these next-door neighbours [Lincoln College] whose own College was requisitioned from 1939 to 1945. The two societies lived together in perfect amity and we were proud to have deserved, or be thought to have deserved, when all was over, a very warm letter of thanks bearing the College seal, from the Rector and Fellows of Lincoln, and their promise to present to the College, “when it becomes possible”, a pair of silver tankards inscribed with the arms of the two Colleges. The letter will be preserved with our other archives; those who retain their interest in Latin may be glad to read the reply sent to Lincoln by the Rector [Eric A. Barber]:

## RECTOR RECTORI S.P.D.

Reddimus ex animo grates pro gratibus istis:  
 Quae datis, acceptum pocula munus erunt.  
 Vt bene servetur, mandatur epistula vestra  
 Cui tabulas mos est actaque nostra loco.  
 Vrbs Lugdunensis nimium vicina Viennae  
 Hostis erat (Tacitus rettulit historiam),  
 Conexumque odium discretas amne tenebat;  
 Invidia hinc rixae iurgia semper erant.  
 Nos quoque vicinos discernit semita; iungit,  
 Quod melius, concors foedus amicitiae.’

7.

## SHUT OUT THE MOON

Close up the casement, draw the blind,  
 Shut out that stealing moon,  
 She wears too much the guise she wore  
 Before our lutes were strewn  
 With years-deep dust, and names we read  
 On a white stone were hewn.

Step not out on the dew-dashed lawn,  
 To view the Lady's Chair,  
 Immense Orion's glittering form,  
 The Less and Greater Bear;  
 Stay in; to such sights were we drawn  
 When faded ones were fair.

Brush not the bough for midnight scents  
 That come forth lingeringly,  
 And wake the same sweet sentiments  
 They breathed to you and me  
 When living seemed a laugh, and love  
 All it was said to be.

Within the common lamp-lit room  
 Prison my eyes and thought;  
 Let dingy details crudely loom,  
 Mechanic speech be wrought:  
 Too fragrant was Life's early bloom,  
 Too tart the fruit it brought.

Thomas Hardy (1840-1928)

Claude, precor, veloque suo tege prompta fenestram,  
 Vt lateat scandens improba luna polum:  
 Est nimium tali quali fuit ante figura,  
 Obsita quam longo pulvere nostra lyra est,  
 Vidimus et cineres candenti marmore claudi  
 Et stetit insculptus nomina cara lapis.  
 Non exire iuvat rorantia prata petentem,  
 Vt videam solium, Cassiopea, tum,

Corpore et ingenti qui praenitet, Oariona,  
 Lumine quo maior, quo minor Vrsa micet.  
 Esse domi satius; prius haec spectacula trahebant  
 Nos quoque, quam pulchris marcuit omnis honor.  
 Sub mediam noctem nolito tangere ramos;  
 Scilicet his tactis lentius exit odor:  
 Exit odor, sensus dulces moturus eosdem,  
 Quos spirare tibi, quos mihi suetus erat;  
 Tempore quo visa est ridenti plena lepore  
 Vita, sed et tanto nomine dignus Amor.  
 Nunc humilem cellam malo, vix lampade claram:  
 Hac clausisse oculos cordaque nostra velis.  
 Immineat crasse res sordida quaeque tuenti;  
 Saepe moras sermo tritus inersque trahat.  
 Aetas prima nimis fragranti flore vigebat,  
 Poma nimis, postquam crevit, acerba tulit.

[*Hermathena*, 71 (1948), 96-97]

8.

SO SWEET LOVE SEEMED...

So sweet love seemed that April morn  
 When first we kissed beside the thorn  
 So strangely sweet, it was not strange  
 We thought that love could never change.

But I can tell — let truth be told -  
 That love will change in growing old;  
 Though day by day is nought to see,  
 So delicate his motions be.

And in the end 'twill come to pass  
 Quite to forget what once he was,  
 Nor even in fancy to recall  
 The pleasure that was all in all.

His little spring, that sweet we found,  
 So deep in summer floods is drowned.  
 I wonder, bathed in joy complete,  
 How love so young could be so sweet.

Robert Bridges (1844-1930)



ἥρος ὅτ' ἀλλήλους παρὰ δένδρεσι πρώτ' ἐφιλοῦμεν  
 πρωί ποτ', ἥ λίην ἡδὺς ἐφαίνεται ἔρωσ,  
 θαυμασίως ὡς ἡδὺς, ὃ δ' οὐκ ἄρα θαῦμα ὅτι τῆμος  
 οὔτι μεταλλάζειν οὔποτε νῶν ἐδόκει.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰρήσθω τὸ γ' ἐτήτυμον, ἔστι μοι εἰπεῖν  
 ἄλλο τι γηράσκων χρῆμα γενήσεται ἔρωσ.  
 ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀμειβόμενος λήσει τρόπον ἡμαρ ἐπ' ἡμαρ  
 ὡς ἐλαφρῶς ὁ θεὸς κίνυται ὁ πτερόεις.  
 εἶτα χρόνου προιόντος αἰεὶ τοῦ πρόσθεν ἔρωτος,  
 οἷος ἔην τὸ πάλαι, πᾶς ἐπιλανθάνεται,  
 κοῦ δύναιτ' ἀγκαλέειν μεμνημένος οὐδὲ δοκήσει  
 ἢ πάρος ἦν αὐτῷ πάνθ' ἅμα, γηθοσύνην.  
 οὔτω μικρὸν ἔρωτος, ὃ νῶν τόσον εὔαδε, νῆμα  
 ἔκλυσ' ὑποβρύχιον πλημμυρὶς ἢ θερινή·  
 θαῦμα δ' ἔχω τελέησι λελουμένος εὐφροσύνησι,  
 ὅττι χαρὰν τόσσην εἶχεν ἔρωσ νεαρός.

[*Hermathena*, 71 (May 1948), 101]

## 9.

### NO ENGLISH POET...

No English poet tried to speak  
 As if his native tongue were Greek  
 Before Landor. 'Twas he first let us  
 Sniff the short thyme on steep Hymettus,  
 Took us along those light-foot rills  
 That prattle down Parnassus' hills;  
 Bidding us gaze into their pools  
 So clear they shallow seem — to fools.  
 Headstrong in life, on paper wise,  
 We gape at him with rounded eyes,  
 In epigrams and little verses  
 He often merely chats or curses;  
 But in this book you'll only find  
 The nobler products of his mind.  
 Plain thoughts that shine like morning dreams;  
 And love-regrets so sweet it seems

Their roots could never have been deep;  
 Sighs smooth as 'feathers on the wings of sleep';  
 Pride that speaks out and then is dumb;  
 Courage to face what soon must come —  
 Even the feebleness of age  
 Feeding the wisdom of a sage.

Sir Desmond MacCarthy (1877-1952), *Sunday Times*, 18/7/48

1948

Hic vinctas pede primus ex Britannis  
 Voces edere nisus est, velut si  
 Sit nativa sibi loquela Graeca,  
 Serpullicque humilis dedit legenti  
 Auram ducere sub iugis Hymetti,  
 Mox lapsu prope rivulos citato  
 De Parnaside rupe murmurantes  
 Duxit stagnaque iussit intueri,  
 Tam perlucida quae solent nitere,  
 Vt credant stolidi parum profunda.  
 Vita praecipitem, libris modestum  
 Mirantes stupidi virum videmus.  
 Cum nugis epigrammatisve ludit,  
 Garrit saepius hic vel imprecatur;  
 Sed tantum tibi praebet hic libellus  
 Quaecumque edidit altiore mente:  
 Sensus simplicitate praenitentes,  
 Tanquam somnia somniata mane;  
 Et desiderium lepore tali,  
 Vt medullitus hunc neges amasse;  
 Tum suspiria lenitate tanta,  
 Quanta pinnigeri soporis ala;  
 Virtutem quoque, quae semel locuta  
 Scit nil addere, fortitudinemque  
 Ausam ferre vices brevi futuras;  
 Nec non et sapientiam magistri,  
 Quam marcens aluit tamen senectus.

[*Hermathena*, 72 (1948), 124-125]

## 10.

## VICTORY

This is the day for which the world has waited  
 With bitter yearning and with tear-dimmed eyes:  
 Gone the long night, with blood and horror sated:  
 At last, at last, we see the dawn arise.

For now has victory crowned the high endeavour,  
 The statesman's planning and the soldier's sword,  
 The courage that in darkness faltered never,  
 But trusted still the Justice of the Lord.

Unfurl the flags and set the church bells ringing:  
 Tell out anew each grand heroic deed:  
 In trembling exultation homage bringing  
 To those who now the tortured world have freed.

No words of ours can equal their deserving  
 Who fought and triumphed on land and sea;  
 Nor pay the debt to those whose will unswerving  
 Made in the skies a path to victory.

And for the fallen, paeans of thanksgiving,  
 Immortal glory through the coming years:  
 Their names shall shine, a lodestar to the living,  
 Whose love and pride shall triumph over tears.

Not this the end: rather a fair beginning  
 Of a new world: for not in vain they bled,  
 From fear and cruelty man's freedom winning —  
 We will not fail again our deathless dead.

Maud Cherrill

Translated before 1950.

Speratus, lacrimis visus hebetantibus, orbi  
 Acriter, hic demumst maximus ille dies!  
 Nox abiit, longo terrore et sanguine plena;  
 Tandem Aurora nova candida luce redit.

Addita iam coeptis victoria: iam bene gessit  
 Miles rem gladio consilioque patres.  
 Intrepida in tenebris vicit constantia, quippe  
 Tunc etiam iustos credidit esse deos.  
 Pandantur vexilla; tubae, celebrate triumphum!  
 Facta renarrari maxima quaeque iuvet.  
 Laetitia trepidi fortes cumulemus honore,  
 Quorum ope tormentis iam modus orbis adest.  
 Sat laudare viros nescit vox edita, quorum  
 Palma venit terra parta marique manu;  
 Debita nec solvas, si cuius firma voluntas  
 Nobile successus aethera fecit iter.  
 Quod si quis cecidit, memoretur carmine grato;  
 Per veniens aevum sit sine fine decus.  
 Nomina fulgebunt viventi sideris instar;  
 Vincet et huic lacrimas gloria, vincet amor.  
 Non hic stare libet; nova nunc felicius aetas  
 Incipit; haud frustra fluxerit ille cruor:  
 Saevitia demptoque metu qui laude supersunt  
 Morti, non iterum destituisse sedet.

[*Hermathena*, 76 (1950), 80-81]

# 11.

## TO CASTARA.

### Of the Knowledge of Love.

Where sleeps the north wind when the south inspires  
 Life in the Spring, and gathers into quires  
 The scattered nightingales? Whose subtle ears  
 Heard first the harmonious language of the sphere,  
 Whence hath the stone magnetic force t'allure  
 Th'enamoured iron? From a seed impure  
 Or natural did first the mandrake grow,  
 What power i' th' ocean makes it ebb and flow?  
 What strange materials is the azure sky  
 Compacted of? Of what its brightest eye,  
 The ever flaming sun? what people are

In th'unknown world? What worlds in every star?

Let curious fancies at this secret rove:

Castara, what we know, we'll practise — love.

William Habington (1605-1654)

*Εἶταρι ποῦ κνώσσει Βορέης, Νότος ἡνικ' ἄησι  
ζωοφόρος σποράδας τ' αὔθις ἀηδονίδας  
ἐς κορὸν ἀθροίζει; τίς ἄρ' οὐατα λεπτὰ λελογχῶς  
ἐμμελέα σφαιρῶν πρῶτος ἄκουσεν ὄπα;  
ἢ λίθος ἢ Μάγνησσα πόθεν φιλέρωτα σίδηρον  
οἶδεν ἐφέλκεσθαι; σπέρματος ἐξ ἐναγοῦς  
εἶτε φύσει τὸ πρῶτον ὁ μανδραγόρας ἐτεθήλει;  
τεῦ χάριν εἰνάλιον κῦμα παλirroέει;  
ἢ τίνος ἐξ ὕλης μάλα θαυμασῆς γε τέτυκται  
κυάνεός τε πόλος φαιδρότατόν τε πόλου  
ἥλιος ὄμμ' αἰεὶ φλεγέθων; τίνες οἰκί' ἐν ἄστροις  
κόσμον ἂν' ἄγνωστον πᾶσιν ἔχουσι δίχα;  
ἄλλοι μὲν ζητοῦντες ἀπόκρυφα ταῦτα πλανάσθων,  
ἡμῖν δ' αὖ μελέτω τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἴσμεν, ἔρως.*

[*Hermathena*, 75 (1950), 82-83]

## 12.

### THE SUMMER-HOUSE ON THE MOUND

There grew two fellow limes, two rising trees,  
Shadowing the lawn, the summer haunt of bees,  
Whose stems, engraved with many a russet scar  
From the spear-hurlings of our mimic war,  
Pillar'd the portico to that wide walk,  
A mossy terrace of the native chalk  
Fashion'd, that led thro' the dark shades around  
Straight to the wooden temple on the mound.

.....

High on the mound the ivied arbor stood,  
A dome of straw upheld on rustic wood:  
Hidden in fern the steps of the ascent,  
Thereby unto the southern front we went,  
And from the dark plantation climbing free,

Over a valley look'd out on the sea.  
 That sea is ever bright and blue, the sky  
 Serene and blue, and ever white ships lie  
 High on the horizon steadfast in full sail,  
 Or nearer in the roads pass within hail,  
 Of naked brigs and barques that windbound ride  
 At their taut cables heading to the tide.

Robert Bridges (1844-1930), *New poems*

18/12/1950

Altum ibi par crevit tiliarum, gramen et umbrat  
 (huc iuvat aestivas ire frequenter apes);  
 Stipitibus binis, totiens quos vulnere russo  
 In speciem belli spicula iacta notant,  
 Vestibulum finxere, patens quo xystus aditur;  
 Muscus humum vestit, cui sua creta subest.  
 Hinc via recta nigris ducit cingentibus umbris  
 Ad tumulum et sedem, lignea tecta, dei.  
 In tumulo surgunt hederosa umbracula summo;  
 Stramineum fulcit robur agreste tholum.  
 Ad latus oppositum pedibus conscendimus austro,  
 Perque gradus imus, quos tegit alta filix.  
 Mox nemus elapsi nigrans instamus aperto  
 Atque ultra vallem cernimus ecce! mare.  
 Caerulus hic pontus splendet, stat caerulus axis  
 Semper, et in caeli limite multa ratis  
 Candida contendit velis exercita passis,  
 Seu propius cumbas per freta carpit iter  
 Subductoque sinu lintres, quae vincula tendunt  
 Aestibus adversae, dum minus aura favet.

13.

#### KING GEORGE VI

Now he has laid the burden down,  
 Even a King at last may rest:  
 Now he puts off the unwelcomed crown  
 That heavy on his temples pressed.

The frets of state, the bitter wars,  
 The cares that filled that anxious breast  
 These marked him like a soldier's scars,  
 But even a King at last may rest.

Grant him Thy peace, O Lord, we pray,  
 Who of us all has earned it best,  
 Who wore for us his life away -  
 Give thou this King a warrior's rest.

Edward Shanks (1892-1953), *Sunday Times*, February 1952

Nunc demum posuit, quod onus susceperat ingens;  
 Et regi tandem coepit adesse quies.  
 Nunc demum, haud grati fastus insigne, coronam  
 Exuit, urgentem pondere lene caput.  
 Cura gravis rerum, belli labor acris, et ipsa  
 Sollicitudinibus pectora pressa suis,  
 Hunc ita signarant quasi Martia vulnera passum,  
 Sed venit et regi sorte suprema quies.  
 Cui, Domine, aeternam des pacem, iuste, precamur -  
 Hanc meruit nostrum nullus habere magis,  
 Quam qui pro nobis vitam detraxerat usu -  
 Adsit et huic regi milite digna quies.

#### 14.

##### YET FILL MY GLASS...

Yet fill my glass: give me one kiss:  
 My own sweet Alice, we must die.  
 There's somewhat in the world amiss  
 Shall be unriddled by and by.  
 There's somewhat flows to us in life,  
 But more is taken quite away.  
 Pray, Alice, pray, my darling wife,  
 That we may die the self-same day.

From Tennyson (1809-1892), 'The Miller's Daughter'

Sed mihi da calicem plenum, semel oscula iunge:  
 Nos quoque mors, coniunx o mea cara, manet.  
 Parte aliqua claudet rerum natura, sed olim  
 Expediet causas, quae latuere, deus.  
 Non nihil in vita mortalibus adfluit; isdem  
 Plura datis penitus demere fata solent.  
 Tu memor assidue, coniunx dilecta, precare,  
 Nos simul extinctos auferat una dies.<sup>15</sup>

## 15.

## A GREAT LADY [QUEEN MARY]

When her Son's Daughter, on a summer's day,  
 Of many nations wears the single Crown,  
 Remember her, forbidden to delay,  
 Who lived her life for them; and laid it down.

Beneath the years' dark and inconstant sky,  
 While tempests broke on humble men and kings,  
 She walked erect with ever-faithful eye  
 For natural goodness at the heart of things.

Firm in tradition, guard and friend of youth,  
 Neither by fear nor fashion circumscribed,  
 She held unswerving to the ways of truth,  
 Unbowed by loss, by easy hopes unbribed.

So true a Queen that each in her might find  
 The clemency and justice of the Throne;  
 So great a lady that the simplest mind  
 Saw in her life a pattern for its own.

Charles Morgan (1894-1958)

Vnica cum multae gentis regina coronam,  
 Principis hac nati filia, rite geret,  
 Sole sub aestivo, memores estote morari  
 Heu vetitae! Fas est: vixerat illa suis.

<sup>15</sup> The poem was awarded the first prize in the *Sunday Times* Latin verse competition judged by Cyril Connolly in 1952 or 1953. A Barber MS gives the variants 'At' (l. 1, instead of 'Sed') and 'rerum series manca' (l. 3, instead of 'claudet rerum natura').



Cum fera tempestas plebem regesque premebat,  
 Atque erat inconstans et sine luce polus,  
 Se tulit erecto incessu, vigil usque notare  
 In mediis rebus quicquid ubique boni.  
 More patrum nitens custosque benigna iuventae  
 (nec saeculum prohibet nec benefacta timor),  
 Haud unquam a vera pulsa est ratione, nec illam  
 Fallit spes facilis, tristia damna domant.  
 Sed vere regina fuit — quod principe dignum,  
 Visa eadem mitis iustitiaeque tenax:  
 Nobilis et vere; sic plebs vel humillima vitam  
 Huius se exemplum vidit habere suae.<sup>16</sup>

*Sunday Times* ?17/04/1953<sup>17</sup>

παῖς ὅτε τῆσδ' υἱοῦ, πολέων μία κοίρανος ἔθνων,  
 σκῆπτρ' οἷσει θερινῶ πατρὸς ὑπ' ἡελίῳ,  
 ἦν κώλυς' ἔτι μοῖρα μένειν, εὐ μνήμονες ἔστε  
 τέθνηκ', ἀλλ' ἔζη τῶν σφετέρων ἔνεκα.  
 τύπτεν ὅτε μικροῖσιν ὁμοῦ βασιλῆας ὁ χεῖμων,  
 κοῦ σταθερὸς νεφέλαις οὐρανὸς ἦν μελανῶν,  
 βαῖν' ὀρθὴ θαρσοῦσά τ', αἰεὶ δ' ἐσκέπτετο πρόφρων  
 πράγμασιν ἐν μέσσοις ὅττι πέφυκ' ἀγαθόν.  
 τοῖς πατρίοις ἔρρωτο, φύλαχ πρηνεῖα νέοισι,  
 (οὐ φόβος, οὐ σφ' ἐπέχεν τῶν πλεόνων μελέτη)

<sup>16</sup> Letter from Charles Morgan, 16 Campden Hill Square, April 6 1953, to Barber:

Dear Rector,

Your elegiacs were a reward for my own verses and will be kept with my treasures. My Latinity is too small and too far away to entitle me to praise them, but enough to enable me — so to speak — to feel for them in the half-dark, as I sometimes feel for Catullus, with an English text beside me, and trying, like a blind man, to catch the Latin sound. If ever you have half an hour and I am in Oxford, will you read your elegiacs to me. I should like to have that to remember.

Having been brought up as a naval officer, I have a romantic and perhaps foolish passion for the scholarship I do not possess. The four months I spent in 1914 acquiring enough Latin and Greek (both from zero) to get me through Smalls and a College Matriculation were the happiest of my life, chiefly because the man who crammed me was not a crammer but a good scholar, and his world was a new world for me, a twenty-year old sailor, home from the China Sea. So you can believe that I have a reverence for great scholarship, and that your name at the foot of those verses warmed the heart of one who always feels himself, in Oxford, rather uncomfortably like Jude the Obscure.

Yours sincerely

Charles Morgan.

<sup>17</sup> Queen Mary had died 24 March 1953.

ἦνυε τ' ἀκλινέως ἐτεῖν ὁδὸν, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐλπίς  
 ῥηιδίῃ φηλοῖ, πένθεά μιν δαμάαι.  
 ἦν ἐτύμως βασίλισσα, τὸ δὴ βασιλεῦσιν ἔοικε,  
 οὐσ' ἐλέω προφερῆς ἡδὲ δικαιοσύνη·  
 γενναίῃ τ' ἐτύμως· παράδειγμα γὰρ ἀστὸς ὁ φαῦλος  
 τὸν ταύτης βίον κείμενον εἶδεν ἑῶ.

## 16.

ON THE PORTRAIT OF JUANITA FORBES BY PIETRO ANNIGONI<sup>18</sup>

What age-old memories in her beauty dwell!  
 As Psyche lovely, as Athene wise:  
 The world's tears bide behind her tearless eyes,  
 Like Alpine cascades frozen ere they fell.

She dreams, but of her dreaming who shall tell  
 The gliding visions? Arcane wisdom lies  
 Deep in her gaze: beyond are seas and skies  
 And isles enchanted — all inscrutable.

Who is this lady? A Sibyl god-possess'd?  
 Armida mourning for Rinaldo fled?  
 Yseult with Tristrem's shadow in her heart?

Lo! She is Fate! While all life flows to rest  
 Through Time's frail glass — oak-leaves and rose-leaves shed —  
 She lives transfigured by triumphant Art.

C.R. Cammell, 1953

Saecula quot revocat decor hic quasi viva puellae,  
 Quae facie Psychen, Pallada mente refert!  
 Haec hominum lacrimae post lumina sicca morantur,  
 Flumen ut Alpinum, cui riget unda gelu.  
 Somniat — at numquam labentia somnia narres:  
 Altum aliquid, vultus cui gravis ille, sapit.  
 Vltcrius caelum est et pontus et altera Circes  
 Insula; sed nobis omnia caeca manent.

<sup>18</sup> Annigoni's fine portrait of Barber, Rector of the College (1943-56), hangs in the Hall of Exeter College.

Quamnam igitur dicam? Num Phoebos plena Sibylla est?  
 An Phryga digressum maeret Elissa suum?  
 An iuvenem Marci suspirat regia coniunx?  
 En fatum est, et, dum cetera vita fluit  
 Ad finem, roseas quernasque exuta coronas,  
 Vivida victricis permanet artis opus.

*"Ὅσσ' ὑπομνήσκει κούρης χάρις ὥς τε παλαιά·  
 κάλλος ἔχει Ψυχῆς, Παλλάδος ἥδε νόον.  
 τοῖσδ' ἔχεται ξηροῖσιν ἐν ὄμμασι δάκρυα θνητῶν,  
 ὡς ῥόος ἐν Πίνδῳ, πρὶν πεσεῖν, ἐπάγη.  
 εἴσι μὲν οἱ νέον αἰὲν ὀνειράτα, τίς δέ κεν εἴποι;  
 βλέμματί τοι σοφίῃ τῶδ' ἀβέβηλος ἔνι.  
 ἐξόπιθεν πόλος ἐστι καὶ οἶδαμα φῆτε Καλυψοῦς  
 νῆσος· ἀτὰρ λίην δύσκριτα πάντα τάδε.  
 ἐστὶ δὲ τίς; δμηθεῖσα θεοῦ πνοιῇσι Σίβυλλα;  
 ἢ Φρυγὸς ὥς Δίδω δύρετ' ἀποιχομένου;  
 ἢ Μάρκου τὸν ἐρῶντα γυνὴ ποθέουσα τέτηκε;  
 ἦν, Μοῖρ' ἐσθ', εἴως δ' ἄλλος ἀφείς στεφάνους  
 πᾶς βίοςτος ῥοδέους τε ῥέει δρυίνους τε τέλοσδε,  
 ἥδε μένει τέχνης ζῶσ' ὑπὸ παγκρατέος.*

## 17.

TO DIANA<sup>19</sup>

Fear not, sweet love, what time can do;  
 Though silver dims the gold  
 Of your soft hair, believe that you  
 Can change but not grow old.

Though since we married thirty years  
 And four have flown away,  
 As bright your beauty still appears  
 As on our wedding day.

We will not weep that spring be past  
 And autumn shadows fall;  
 These years shall be, although the last,  
 The loveliest of all.

<sup>19</sup> The dedication of the autobiography of 'Alfred' Duff Cooper, first Viscount Norwich: Duff Cooper, *Old men forget: the autobiography of Duff Cooper (viscount Norwich)* (London: Hart-Davis, 1954). The Coopers married in 1919.

12/10/1953

Ne formidaris, mea Cynthia, quid ferat aetas;  
 Ista sit argenti tincta colore licet,  
 Aurea quae fuerat, mollis coma, tu potes aevo  
 Mutari, sed te nulla senecta premet.  
 Triginta celeres abiere et quattuor anni,  
 Ex quo, cara, deus te mihi iunxit Hymen;  
 Nec minus eximio fulget tua forma decore  
 Quam, mea lux, illo est visa nitere die.  
 Non flevisse iuvat, quod ver iuvenile refugit,  
 Cynthia, et, autumnus non procul umbra cadit;  
 Quod reliquum nobis spatium, pars ultima vitae,  
 Dulcius anteactis omnibus illud erit.

18.

## FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY

Go round the garden and gaze your fill  
 On the pale October roses,  
 And hold your court in the sun until  
 The short day closes  
 Over the hill.

We have loved each other so many a day,  
 And still is our love unshaken;  
 And still its chime in our hearts is gay,  
 Though Time has taken  
 So much else away.

Ah but Time, the taker, can also teach:  
 It is he that has crowned love's story,  
 And out of the passion of each for each  
 Could fashion a glory  
 Beyond youth's reach.

For the soul grows on, though the body wane,  
 As a tree grows in a clearing;  
 And the why and the how become more plain,  
 Now we are nearing

The end of the lane.  
 We have faith that the knot our spirits tie  
 Nothing temporal can untether,  
 And, though death take us, yet after we die  
 We shall wake together  
 Eventually.

R.C.K. Ensor<sup>20</sup>

5/11/1954

Tu circumgrediens hortos implere tuendo,  
 Si qua autumnalis pallida forma rosae;  
 Dein in sole, potens veluti regina, sedeto,  
 Dum brevis abscedat lux tibi pone iugum.  
 Qui mihi te longos et me tibi copulat annos,  
 Indelibatus nunc quoque perstat amor;  
 Et, licet abstulerit rerum tot milia tempus,  
 Nostra tamen laeto pectora amore vigent.  
 Multa dies aufert, sed scit quoque multa docere:  
 Tempore sic nobis est cumulatus amor;  
 Atque aliud genuit mirandum mutuus ardor,  
 Quale decus frustra nosse iuventa velit.  
 Corpora deficiunt: animae vim promovet aetas,  
 Libera purgato crescit ut arbor agro;  
 Quoque viae nobis proprior iam terminus adstat,  
 Clarius hoc vitae causa modusque patent.  
 Quippe fides certa est, quo vinclo nostra iugantur  
 Pectora, terrenum solvere posse nihil;  
 Postque obitus tandem felicibus adfore tempus,  
 Quando expergisci possit uterque simul.

*Ἐς κῆπον κατάβηθι διερχομένη θ' ἄλις ἄθρει,  
 εἴ τιν' ὀπωρινῶν χλωρὰ ρόδων πέταλα·  
 ἐν δ' ἀλέῃ, σεμνή τις ὅπως βασίλισσα, κάθησο,  
 ἔστε δύη λαμπὰς κλιτὸν ὕπερ βραχέη.*

<sup>20</sup> Sir Robert Ensor (1877-1958), whose *Who's who* entry recorded gardening as his hobby, married Helen Fisher (died 1960) in 1906.

ἀλλήλους τόσ' ἔτη πεφιλήκαμεν ἡνεκὲς αἰέν,  
 ζῇ δὲ παλιντροπίαις ἀστυφέλικτος ἔρωσ·  
 ἄλλα χρόνος, τόσσ' ἄλλα συνήρπακε χρήματα φεύγων,  
 σοὶ δ' ἔτ' ἐμοὶ θ' ἰλαρῶ φαιδρὸν ἔρωτι κέαρ.  
 πολλά περ ἀρπάζων χρόνος οἷδ' ἅμα πολλὰ διδάσκειν·  
 αὐτὸς ἔρωθ' ἡμῖν ἔκτικε παντελέα·  
 ἥμερος ἀλλήλων δὲ δυοῖν κλέος ἦνυκε τοῖον,  
 οἷον ἀνήνυστον τοῖς νεαροῖς τελέθει.  
 σμα βάδην φθινύθει· ψυχὴν χρόνος αἰὲν ἀέξει,  
 ὥς τε τόπῳ φύεται δένδρεον ἐν καθαρῶ·  
 ὅσσῳ δ' ἀτραπιτοῖο τέλος τι φαίνεται ἄσσον,  
 τόσσῳ κεν γνοίῃ τίς τίνος ἦρα βίος.  
 δέσματ' ἐπιχθονίον γε πεποιθήμεν οὔτι δύνασθαι,  
 οἷσι συνίσχονται νῶν φρένες, ἀγχαλάσαι·  
 εὖ δ' ἴσμεν καὶ τοῦτο, θανοῦσί περ ὥς πάλιν ἀμφοῖν  
 ἐς τέλος ἐγρέσθαι μόρσιμόν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ.

## 19.

Original English text unidentified.

27/03/1955

Cessans hac ego myrtea sub umbra,  
 His in floribus, ut toro, supinus,  
 Cui circum caput haec vigent roseta  
 Vnguentisque comae madent odoris,  
 Quo nil aptius, ebibam molesti  
 Curas temporis et beatus aestum.  
 Plus quam regius hic adest paratus  
 Et nobis amor ipse fit minister.  
 Cur bustis Syrios damus liquores,  
 Cur large pretiosius Falernum,  
 Cur pulchris monumenta mortuorum  
 Frustra spargimus et sepulchra sertis?  
 Vivum cingite me rosis, amici!  
 Nunc vinum date, nunc olens amomum!  
 Post mortem cupio nihil: fruenda,  
 Dum vita est, mihi quaeque sit voluptas:  
 Quis non Stoicus est, semel sepultus?

## 20.

Original English text unidentified.

27/03/1955

Hanc propter pecudes parcunt viridantibus herbis,  
 Nec fluvium sitiens ulla iuvenca petit.  
 Albus olor queritur crudeli morte peremptam:  
 Carmine tam maesto non sua fata canit.  
 Ipse silet Zephyrus Daphnes post funera fragrans,  
 Aut modo, quod cessat dulcior aura, gemit.  
 Non apibus gnavis cura est mel condere flavum;  
 Hac rapta superest, ei mihi, dulce nihil.  
 Non sublime volans pendebit in aethere alauda,  
 Audiat ut, Daphne quos ciet ore modos.  
 Non avis in foliis cantus imitabitur illos,  
 Aut tacite mirans, ut prius, aure bibet.  
 Lenia non ulli sistunt iam murmura rivi,  
 Carmen ut excipiant dulcius arte suis.  
 Dicite arundinibus, vocali dicite ripae,  
 'Hac rapta superest nullus in orbe canor'.

## 21.

## THE GUEST

Yet if his majesty, our Sovereign lord,  
 Should of his owne accord  
 Friendly himself invite,  
 And say I'll be your guest tomorrow night,  
 How should we stir ourselves, call and command  
 All hands to worke! 'Let no man idle stand.  
 Set me fine Spanish tables in the hall,  
 See they be fitted all;  
 Let there be room to eate,  
 And order taken that there want no meate.  
 See every sconce and candlestick made bright,  
 That without tapers they may give a light.  
 Looke to the presence: are the carpets spread,  
 The dazie o'er the head,  
 The cushions in the chayres,

And all the candles lighted on the stairs?  
 Perfume the chambers, and in any case  
 Let each man give attendance in his place.'  
 Thus if the king were coming would we do;  
 And 'twere good reason too;  
 For 'tis a duteous thing  
 To show all honor to our earthly king;  
 And, after all our travayle and our cost,  
 So he be pleas'd, to think no labour lost.  
 [The next, and last, six lines omitted]

Thomas Ford (1580?-1648), lines, sometimes ascribed to Henry Vaughan<sup>21</sup>

27/12/1955

Quodsi vocari forte volens domum  
 A cive Caesar comiter imperet,  
 Dicatque 'Cras, cum nox propinquet,  
 Hospitium mihi fac paretur',

Quantum laboret tota domus libens,  
 Omni coacta iussa pati manu!  
 Iam nemo iners stans otietur:  
 Ponite Atlantiacos sub aula

Orbes; paratus addite commodos:  
 Curate, edenti sit spatium satis,  
 Necnon dapes cunctis abundant:  
 Quaeque manu niteat lucerna

Lychnusque, fulgens ut sine Pallade  
 Dent lumen: an, quo copia congregi  
 Possit salutantum, polita  
 Atria? Iam positi tapetes?

Aulaea pendent desuper, est toro  
 Pulvinar omni? Limina cereis  
 Illuminantur? Quin odore  
 Assyrio thalamos repletis?

<sup>21</sup> First attributed to Ford and published in A. H. Bullen, *Lyrics from the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age* (London, 1887).



Vtcunque praestet quisque suam vicem.'  
 Haec, tecta Caesar si subeat tua,  
 Fiant, nec iniuste; decenter  
 Talibus officiis honores.

Et iure tantam post operam datam  
 Tantosque sumptus, dummodo Caesari  
 Haec cura sit cordi, labores  
 Tot tibi non periisse credas.

22.

(Part 53) from

#### THE GROWTH OF LOVE

I heard great Hector sounding war's alarms,  
 Where thr' the listless ghosts chiding he strode,  
 As tho' the Greeks besieged his last abode,  
 And he his Troy's hope still, her king-at-arms.  
 But on those gentle meads, which Lethe charms  
 With weary oblivion, his passion glow'd  
 Like the cold night-worm's candle, and only show'd  
 Such mimic flame as neither heats nor harms.

'Twas plain to read, even by those shadows quaint,  
 How rude catastrophe had dim'd his day,  
 And blighted all his cheer with stern complaint:  
 To arms! to arms! What more the voice would say  
 Was swallow'd in the valleys, and grew faint  
 Upon the thin air, as he pass'd away.

Robert Bridges (1844-1930)

8/01/1956

Magni, duellum dum ciet, Hectoris  
 Vocem audiebam, qua ruit increpans  
 Segnem per umbrarum catervam,  
 Vi premerent veluti supremas

Sedes Achaei, spemque ferens adhuc  
Troiae sub armis dux regeret suos.  
Sed mitibus pratis in illis,  
Languida qua parit amne Lethe

Obliviones, Hectoris impetus,  
Ceum nocte fulgens frigida lampyris,  
Ardore mentito micabat,  
Qui neque fervefacit neque angit.

Illic vel umbrae, mira manus, notant,  
Quam sit retusum clade iubar viri,  
Infecta quam virtus querelis:  
'Arma, viri, capite arma', clamat:

Quae plura dicit, non tamen audias;  
Quippe in profundis cetera vallibus  
Vox mersa iam longe vagati  
In tenues abit omnis auras.

## 23.

## WHEN AT THE CLOSE...

When at the close of each sad, sorrowing day,  
Fancy restores what vengeance snatch'd away,  
The[n] conscience sleeps, and leaving nature free,  
All my loose soul unbounded springs to thee.  
Oh, curst, dear horrors of all-conscious night;  
How glowing guilt exalts the keen delight!  
[Provoking Demons all restraint remove,  
And stir within me ev'ry source of love]  
I hear thee, view thee, gaze o'er all thy charms,  
And round thy phantom glue my clasping arms.  
I wake: no more I hear, no more I view,  
The phantom flies me, as unkind as you.  
I call aloud; it hears not what I say:  
I stretch my empty arms; it glides away.  
To dream once more I close my willing eyes;  
Ye soft illusions, dear deceits, arise!  
Alas, no more! Methinks we wand'ring go  
Thro' dreary wastes, and weep each others woe.  
Sudden you mount, you beckon from the skies;  
Clouds interpose, waves roar, and winds arise.

I shriek, start up, the same sad prospect find,  
And wake to all the griefs I left behind.

Alexander Pope (1688-1744), *Eloise to Abelard*, 1717<sup>22</sup>

1957

Mens mihi fingendo, quod dempsit poena, reportat,  
Cedit ubi plenus quisque dolore dies.  
Nocte pudor cessat: ruptis it libera claustris  
Teque anima assiliens tum mea tota petit.  
Horrificis laetos miscet nox conscia sensus,  
Duplicat et flagrans gaudia magna nefas.  
Te video pulchrum, te possum audire loquentem,  
Implicitumque haerens, o levis umbra, premo.  
Mox expergiscor: tua vox, tua forma recessit:  
Te ipso crudelis non minus umbra fugit.  
Te cieo: fantem tua me non audit imago;  
Subtrahitur nostras destituitque manus.  
Claudo oculos, redeant ut somnia blanda, volentes:  
Surgite iucundi, gaudia ficta, doli!  
Me miseram, haec fuerant! loca per deserta vagamur,  
Alter et alterius tristia fata gemit.  
Tolleris ecce repens et das mihi signa per auras;  
Officiunt nubes, flat notus, unda sonat.  
Excitior clamans somno: dolor ingruit idem;  
Omne recognosco, quod fuit ante, malum.

24.

TO H.W. GARROD ON HIS 80<sup>TH</sup> BIRTHDAY<sup>23</sup>

Original Latin

1958

Bis quadraginta quod cras compleveris annos,  
Gratulor; hic, opto, sit sine nube dies, —

<sup>22</sup> Text set for the Hertford and de Paravicini Scholarships, Trinity Term, 1957; the English text given between square brackets was omitted.

<sup>23</sup> Heathcote William Garrod, 1878-1960, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford (of which Barber was a member and Honorary Fellow) was editor of *The Oxford book of Latin verse: from the earliest fragments to the end of the Vth century A.D.* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912).

Atque omnes alii! Precor haec ego, quem tibi iunxit  
 Lustra decem ferme foedus amicitiae.  
 Carmina Manili quando enarrare solebas,  
 Adfueram: tecum solus, opinor, eram.  
 Tum Latii fuerant etiam tibi cura poetae,  
 Optimaque ex illis facta corolla tua est.  
 Sic emendatur (gaudebat Statius auctor)  
 Thebais et Flacci purius exit opus.  
 Prae legis assidue turba auscultante Catullum,  
 Et melius per te noscitur Vmber amans.  
 Aurea finita est aetas: cessere furori  
 Caesareo Musae Teutonicisque minis.  
 Patria te poscit: nova munia discis inire  
 Et per Atlantiacas ire iuberis aquas.  
 Inde redux cathedram repetis iam Marte peracto,  
 Sed nova mutato quaerere amore libet.  
 Deseris antiquos, insignis transfuga, vates:  
 Non Romana tibi, castra Britannia placent.  
 Laudabunt alii, quod in hac quoque parte patraſti;  
 Hoc loquar: hic etiam mox tibi palma data est.  
 Sed tempus tacuisse: diu frui aptus amicis  
 Praeteritisque annis, si licet, adde decem!

25.

TO SIR BASIL BLACKWELL<sup>24</sup>  
 on his knighthood

E.A.B.   B.B.   SAL.

Reginae natalis adest: vos plaudite, docti;  
 Ecce Niger Puteus rite creatus Eques!  
 Profuit hic multos studiosis omnibus annos;  
 Haud unquam melior bibliopola fuit.  
 Nam, quemcumque velis, librum tibi praebet emendum,  
 Teque libens gratis perlegere usque sinit.  
 Hic etiam prelis edenda volumina curat  
 Ipse suis, lepida nota typographia.

<sup>24</sup> Basil Blackwell (1889-1984) was the son of the founder of the famous Oxford book-shop of which he became chairman in 1924, being knighted in 1958.

Ergo, quem Regina novo decoravit honore,  
 Gratantur cives, grator et ipse, viro.

26.

‘TO THE SISTER OF ELIA’<sup>25</sup>

Comfort thee, O thou mourner, yet awhile!  
 Again shall Elia’s smile  
 Refresh thy heart, where heart can ache no more.  
 What is it we deplore?  
 He leaves behind him, freed from griefs and years,  
 Far worthier things than tears.  
 The love of friends without a single foe:  
 Unequalled lot below!  
 His gentle soul, his genius, these are thine;  
 For these dost thou repine?  
 He may have left the lowly walks of men;  
 Left them he has; what then?  
 Are not his footsteps followed by the eyes  
 Of all the good and wise?  
 Tho’ the warm day is over, yet they seek  
 Upon the lofty peak  
 Of his pure mind the roseate light that glows  
 O’er death’s perennial snows.  
 Behold him! From the region of the blest  
 He speaks: he bids thee rest.

W.S. Landor (1775-1864)

1963?

Abrepti fratris luctum solare parumper;  
 rursus enim mox ille renidens  
 cor tibi mulcebit, qua cordis desinit angor.  
 quid querimur? quae causa doloris?

<sup>25</sup> Landor’s poem is addressed to Mary Lamb (1746-1847), the sister of Charles Lamb (1775-1834), whose pseudonymous *Essays of Elia* appeared 1823-1833. In 1796 Mary Lamb, in fit of insanity, killed their mother. Lamb, who himself had mental problems, undertook the charge of his sister and they lived together (and collaborated on their very successful children’s book *Tales from Shakespeare*, 1807) until his death.

quippe suis multo, cura iam liber et annis,  
 quam lacrimas potiora reliquit.  
 ingratus fuerat nulli, dilectus amicis:  
 optima sors mortalibus haec est.  
 ingenium restat fratris naturaque mitis  
 te penes; haec praesentia quid fles?  
 ille uias humiles hominum tibi liquit ademptus;  
 esto — sed superest nihil ultra?  
 Nonne oculis, quicumque bonus sapiensque uocatur,  
 Pressa legit uestigia ab illo?  
 Cessit sol tepidus; tamen hi, pia turba, requirunt,  
 Aerio ceu uertice fusum,  
 Sincerae roseum mentis iubar, unde refulget  
 Par niuibus mors ipsa perennis.  
 Elysium ecce colit felix, teque, o soror — audin?  
 Adfatus requiescere suadet.

[*Carmina: MCMLXIII*, ed. H. H. Huxley (Shrewsbury, 1963)]

## 27.

## ‘NOT OURS,’ SAY SOME...

‘Not ours,’ say some, the thought of death to dread;  
 Asking no heaven, we fear no fabled hell:  
 Life is a feast, and we have banqueted —  
 Shall not the worms as well?

‘The after-silence, when the feast is o’er,  
 And void the places where the minstrels stood,  
 Differs in nought from what hath been before,  
 And is not ill or good.’

Ah, but the Apparition — the dumb sign —  
 The beckoning finger bidding me forego  
 The fellowship, the converse, and the wine,  
 The songs, the festal glow!

And ah, to know not, while with friends I sit,  
 And while the purple joy is pass’d about,  
 Whether ‘tis ampler day divinelier lit  
 Or homeless night without;

And whether, stepping forth, my soul shall see  
 New prospects, or fall sheer — a blinded thing!  
 There is, O grave, thy hourly victory.  
 And there, O death, thy sting.

Sir William Watson (1858-1935)

No date, but before 1948

Sunt qui 'non nostrum est' iterent, 'horrescere mortem:  
 Haud cupidos caeli Tartara nulla movent.  
 Par dapibus vitast; bene nos cenasse fatemur;  
 Cur sua vermiculis pabula iusta neges?  
 Post epulas certe taciturna silentia fiunt,  
 Nec tibicen adest, quo stetit ante loco:  
 Sed nondum genitis nobis eadem ante fuerunt;  
 Neve boni credas neu quid inesse mali.'  
 At sine voce adstans digito vocat umbra minaci  
 Et discedendi tempus adesse monet.  
 Sunt cito linquendi grato sermone sodales,  
 Iucundi calices, lumina festa, canor.  
 At nescire gravest epulantes inter amicos,  
 Dum rubet et laeto traditur orbe merum,  
 Aetheriumne magis maneat iubar et magis amplum  
 An procul hospitio nox subeunda foris;  
 Utrum anima egressi nova prospectura sit ultra  
 Caecane praecipiti sit ruitura iugo.  
 Quotquot eunt horae, sic, o Libitina, triumphas;  
 His stimulis, o Mors, pectora nostra fodis.

[*Hermathena*, 72 (1948), 122-123]

28.

No date, original English text unidentified.

Nox media est; nullum fallat nos ignibus astrum;  
 Nunc etiam Aurorae non prope lumen abest.  
 En praedicta diu tempestas illa minatur,  
 Tarda quidem nasci, sed semel orta tenax.

Impendere docet, non praeteriisse, procellam,  
Quae brevis insequitur flamina quaeque quies.  
Praesenti peius — vigiles adstate! — periculum  
Crastina lux miseris fors iniqua ferat.  
Frangere si cupidum iam dorsum evaserit alnus,  
Navita se nullus posse vacare putet.  
Plura latent tenebris tantum discrimina; si nos  
Qualia sint, fallit, num minus esse liquet?  
Fata, quod hoc iussum est, patimur diversa manendo;  
Hac retrahunt aestus, hac gravis Eurus agit,  
Immensosque ciens fluctus a sedibus imis  
Irruit Oceanus qua fuimusque refert.  
Nos premit undarum moles audire petentes,  
Quomodo tot nisus icta carina ferat,  
Et post quamque moram iam coepit postque tremorem,  
Subter uti pulsus nos docet, ire ratis.  
It sibi iam fidens atque hoc incumbit in unum,  
Vt bene de saevo litore solvat iter.  
At, donec pelago secura venatur aperto,  
Immunem nullus se fore nauta putet.



Vladimir OLSZANIEC

AD FRANCISCI PETRARCAE *ITINERARIUM IN SEPULCHRUM*  
*CHRISTI* OBSERVATIUNCULA CRITICA

Iam ad finem orbis Italici ventum est, in quo ultimum cum Ydruntem attigeris pedem, habens obvium Adriaticum equor emensus primam insularum ab adverso litore Corcyram ignobilesque alias invenies, donec ad Achaiae primum angulum perveneris.

Hic est capituli quadragesimi septimi textus qui in utraque *Itinerarii* editione legitur, ea nempe quam F. Lo Monaco et ea quam T.J. Cachey curavit<sup>1</sup>, nec non in codice illo Cremonensi Bibliothecae Publicae qui optimus testis vulgo habetur quoque uterque editor nixus est.

Quem quidem textum haudquaquam accipere possumus, cum duo accusativi, id est *Ydruntem* et *pedem*, verbi *attigeris* obiectum simul esse nequeant. Attamen locus facile emendari potest ablativo *pede* pro accusativo *pedem* posito et, quo sententia tota clarior sit, virgula post nomen *Adriaticum* addita:

...in quo ultimum cum Ydruntem attigeris pede, habens obvium Adriaticum, equor emensus primam insularum ab adverso litore Corcyram ignobilesque alias invenies...

Usus est hic Petrarca metaphora quam apud auctores antiquos frequenter invenimus, puta Ovidium in *Fastis*, 3, 565: 'Nacta ratem comitesque fugae pede labitur aequo'. Quod autem ad causam erroris attinet, librarium quendam incautum, cum accusativum *Ydruntem* transcripsisset, extremam partem vocis *pede* similem ei reddidisse manifestum est.

Cur nemo adhuc tam perspicuam evidentemque mendam conspexerit, nequeo quin mirer, praesertim cum locum illum recte ab ipso Lo Monaco Italice verum esse inveniamus: *dopo aver messo piede nell'estrema*

<sup>1</sup> Francesco Petrarca, *Itinerario in Terra Santa*, ed. and transl. Francesco Lo Monaco (Bergamo: Lubrina, 1990); *Petrarch's Guide to the Holy Land*, ed. and transl. Theodore J. Cachey, Jr. (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 2002). Numeris capitulorum quos Lo Monaco proposuit utitur.

*Otranto*. Ut tamen saepe fit, viri docti qui mediae et renascenti aetati student, etiamsi diligentissime auctores eorumque opera investigent, parum tamen diligenter textum ipsum inquirunt, quod rarissime in antiquorum auctorum editionibus accidit.

University of Warsaw  
Institute of Classical Studies  
Krakowskie Przedmieście 1  
PL-01-909 Warsaw  
w.olszaniec@uw.edu.pl

Dirk SACRÉ

POLIZIANO'S LETTER TO TIMOTEO AND LUIGI BALBANI  
FROM THE COLLECTION OF AUTOGRAPHS IN MARIEMONT,  
BELGIUM: THREE TEXTUAL NOTES

An invitation to present a survey of some autograph humanist letters from the Low Countries preserved at Mariemont enabled us to go through a fair number of Neo-Latin missives from other regions as well. Some of these have only been studied occasionally; among them is a letter by Poliziano, allegedly one of the very few letters in his hand that have come down to us. It was acquired in 1907 by the wealthy Belgian industrial Raoul Warocqué (1870-1917) and is now in the Collection of Autographs in the Musée de Mariemont (nr. 570/1).<sup>1</sup> The letter was published for the first time by M. Battistini in 1931<sup>2</sup> and his edition was reissued in 1971.<sup>3</sup> According to A. Perosa, it should be dated to January 1489.<sup>4</sup> Two years ago, Daniela Gionta reedited the letter, corrected a fair number of mistakes in Battistini's edition, and contextualized it masterfully, demonstrating

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Ida Maïer, *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien. Catalogue descriptif. Avec dix-neuf documents inédits en appendice*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 70 (Genève, 1965), p. 192; ead., *Ange Politien. La formation d'un poète humaniste (1469-1480)*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 81 (Genève, 1966), p. 429. The letter is hinted at in Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum. Accedunt alia itinera (...)*, III: *Australia to Germany* (London – Leiden, 1983), p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Mario Battistini, 'Documenti italiani nel Belgio. Lettere del Poliziano, Ariosto, Aretino, Guarini, T. Tasso, Alfieri, Giov. Serafino Volta, Pellico e Cantù tratte dall'autografoteca della famiglia Warocqué di Mariemont', *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 97 (1931), 296-317 (pp. 298-299).

<sup>3</sup> Angelus Politianus, *Opera omnia*, a cura di Ida Maïer, 3: *Opera miscellanea et epistulae*, Monumenta politica, philosophica, humanistica rariora, I, 18 (Torino, 1971), pp. 565-566.

<sup>4</sup> Alessandro Perosa (ed.), *Mostra del Poliziano nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana. Manoscritti, Libri rari, autografi e documenti. Firenze, 23 settembre – 30 novembre 1954. Catalogo* (Firenze, 1954), pp. 168-170 (nr. 248). Concetta Bianca, 'Poliziano e la Curia', in Vincenzo Fera – Mario Martelli, *Agnolo Poliziano poeta, scrittore, filologo. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Montepulciano 3-6 novembre 1994* (Firenze, 1998), pp. 459-475 (pp. 471-472 note 95) keeps to the year 1488, which one finds in the autograph; so does Gionta (see next note).

that the letter was not written in Poliziano's hand, but in that of his assistant Iacopo Modesti.<sup>5</sup>

Gionta's fresh examination of the autograph letter reveals that Battistini's edition was certainly far from impeccable; reading the manuscript anew and comparing it with the text of Plutarch enabled her to correct the largest portion of the errors made by Battistini. We do not wish to linger on the failure to notice manuscript corrections made by Iacopo Modesti himself,<sup>6</sup> but, in the margin of Gionta's excellent new edition, concentrate upon three remaining problematic passages.

Having offered a literal translation of Plutarch's Life of Phocion 2,4, Poliziano states in Battistini's edition (ll. 18-22): "Hactenus Plutarchus, cuius, ut arbitror, anceps videri sensus poterit; quod nostras utrum absolute clausula sit haec extrema accipienda, rebus ipsis relationem criminis non habentibus." Once one took into account the fact that "rebus ipsis relationem criminis non habentibus" is a rendering of Plutarch's Greek "τῶν πραγμάτων ἀναφορὰν ἀμαρτήματος οὐκ ἔχόντων", it was not too difficult to see that the unintelligible and grammatically impossible "nostras" needed to be changed. Gionta reads *nescitis*; the manuscript letter itself, however, justifies *nescias*. Obviously, *nescitis* could refer to Timoteo and Luigi Balbani, but the generalizing *nescias* fits at least as well. As a rule, the scribe consistently dots the i's, and the manuscript has only one dot here, which makes *nescitis* problematic. Furthermore, the *a* of *nescias* is very similar to that in *audiam*, the word that occurs at the end of the second line following this one. Therefore, *nescias* is better from a palaeographic point of view. *Nescias* also fits the context; the indicative *nescitis* might even be too harsh in combination with *ut arbitror anceps videri sensus poterit* and with the fact that the Balbani brothers had asked for an explanation of an entire passage which to them seemed obscure. Poliziano then speculates (*ut arbitror*) that the difficulty of the latter might have to do with the ambiguous grammatical function of *rebus (...) habentibus*. In this context, Poliziano's politely hypothetical utterance (*ut arbitror anceps videri sensus poterit*) justifies the use of both the subjunctive after *quod* and the generalizing second person singular (*nescias*).

<sup>5</sup> Daniela Gionta, *Epigrafia umanistica a Roma*, Percorsi dei Classici, 9 (Messina: Centro interdipartimentale di studi umanistici, 2005), pp. 37-67.

<sup>6</sup> L. 8: *evenit*: *evenire* ante corr.; 10 *istic*: *istis* ante corr.; 18 *Plutarchus*: *Plutharchus* ante corr.; 19 *absolute*: *absoluta* ante corr.; 36 *Timothee*: *Thimothee* ante corr.; 40 *Laurentio*: *Laurentij* ante corr.

Further on, Poliziano gives his personal interpretation of the words *rebus* (...) *habentibus* (in Greek τῶν πραγμάτων (...) ἐχόντων), considering the expression as an *ablativus absolutus* (corresponding to a *genetivus absolutus* in Greek, so that the words do not constitute the object of δεῖται. Here, Gionta copies from Battistini's edition the grammatically awkward infinitive *adducere*, whereas one should read *adducor* with the manuscript: "sed ut ego absolute magis audiam, cum ratione quadam linguae, tum vi sua<sup>7</sup> graeci articuli adducor".

Finally, the sentence one reads both in Battistini and in Gionta, "cum status eiusmodi rerum sit, ut neminem conferri iam culpa, nemo reus agi possit" can hardly stand: as a matter of fact, the manuscript letter offers the perfectly sound "cum status eiusmodi rerum sit, ut in neminem conferri iam culpa, nemo reus agi possit".

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae  
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21  
B-3000 Leuven  
Dirk.Sacre@arts.kuleuven.be

<sup>7</sup> That is what the manuscript justifies. One would expect *vi ipsa*.

Dirk SACRÉ

AN UNKNOWN EDITION OF TWO LATIN POEMS  
OF MAFFEO BARBERINI (URBAN VIII)

In 1982, Marina Castagnetti supplied us with an indispensable survey of the Italian and Latin poetry written by Maffeo Barberini or Urban VIII (1568-1644), in which she lists all extant editions of his poems and moreover tries to date the successive poems as precisely as possible.<sup>1</sup>

Among the Latin poems, she mentions the two following ones:

- a) *Ad gratulationem Antonii Gigantis responsio, nomine Dionysii Rattae, in numerum Romanae Rotae auditorum nuper adscripti*<sup>2</sup>, which she dates between 1592 (when Clemens VIII Aldobrandini, who made Ratta *auditore di Rota*, became Vicar of Christ) and 1598 (when Antonio Giganti, to whose poem Barberini wrote a poetical answer, died)<sup>3</sup>; according to her, the poem occurs for the first time in the 1631 edition<sup>4</sup> of Urban VIII's Latin poetry;
- b) *De obitu card. Paleotti. Ad Antonium Gigantem eius familiarem*<sup>5</sup>, which was obviously written shortly after the death (2 August 1597) of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti and before the death (1598) of Antonio Giganti; according to Castagnetti, it was issued in print for the first time in 1628.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maria Castagnetti, 'I *Poemata* e le *Poesie toscane* di Maffeo Barberini, I: Stampe e problemi di cronologia', *Atti della Accademia di Scienze, lettere e arti di Palermo*, s. IV, 39, 2 (1979-1980 [1982]), 283-388.

<sup>2</sup> Castagnetti, 'I *Poemata*', pp. 346-347 (nr. 65)

<sup>3</sup> In 1979-1980, Castagnetti, 'I *Poemata*', p. 347 had some doubts about the year of death of Giganti (1598) and relied on the catalogues of the Vatican Library. In the meantime, a bio-bibliographical note on Giganti was published in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 54 (Rome, 2000), pp. 661-663 (by Francesco Mozzetti), which secures that year 1598.

<sup>4</sup> *Maphaei S.R.E. Card. Barberini nunc Urbani PP. VIII Poemata* (Romae: in aedibus Collegij Romani Societat. Iesu, Typis Vaticanis, 1631): cp. Castagnetti, 'I *Poemata*', pp. 323-324.

<sup>5</sup> Castagnetti, 'I *Poemata*', p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> *Maffaei Barberini nunc Urbani VIII, Pont. Max. Poemata*. Editio caeterarum locupletissima, curante Academia Noctis (Bononiae: Apud Clementem Ferronium, 1628): cp. Castagnetti, 'I *Poemata*', p. 323.

A little-known booklet of Latin poems<sup>7</sup>, however, makes clear that the *editio princeps* of these two poems appeared some thirty years earlier than Castagnetti thought. It is to be found on pp. 24-25 and 72-73 respectively of *Antonii Gigantis Forosempronensis appendix ad volumen poematum anno MDXCV editum. Ad Rugerium Tritonium abbatem, virum clarissimum* (Bononiae: Apud haered. Io. Rossij, 1598; 80 pp.) — a book prepared by Giulio Segni (Iulius Signius)<sup>8</sup> after the death of Giganti, on the basis of the latter's literary legacy, bequeathed to him by Giganti in the twilight of his life, and constituting a complement to Giganti's book of collected verse of 1595.<sup>9</sup> The titles of Barberini's poems differ somewhat from the ones he later on adopted in his own *Poemata*<sup>10</sup>, but the texts themselves offer only very few important variant readings.<sup>11</sup> The first poem, however, contains three early readings that Barberini subsequently replaced with more elegant and fluent expressions. In line 8, the

<sup>7</sup> I worked with the copy held at the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome (A.2.23, ins. 3).

<sup>8</sup> He was a minor Latin poet, working in Bologna. He issued i.a. *Scelta di varii poemi volgari, et latini composti nella partenza dell'eccellentissimo Gio. Angelo Papio dalla città di Bologna* (Bologna, 1583); *Camilli Palaeoti senatoris Bononiensis, viri clarissimi, tumulus. Ad illustriss[im]um Principem Cynthium Aldobrandinum S.R.E. Cardinalem amplissimum* (Bononiae, 1597). *Gigantis appendix* as well as *Carmina Gigantis* (see next note) contain some poems of his.

<sup>9</sup> *Carmina Antonii Gigantis Forosempronensis. Exametra, Elegiaca, Lyrica, & Hendecasyllaba* (Bononiae: Io. Rossius, 1595). I used the Roman copy held at the Biblioteca Angelica (q.2.10).

<sup>10</sup> The title of the first one here is *Maffei Barberini Protonotarij Apostolici, ac utriusque Signaturae Referendarij ad Antonium Gigantem responsio nomine Dionysii Rattae Pontificiae Rotae Auditoris*. That of the second one is *Maffei Barberini Protonotarij Apostolici, ac utriusque Signaturae Referendarij Ad Antonium Gigantem De obitu Illustriss[imi] Cardinalis Paleotti*. The text of the second one we also find among the juvenile poems of Barberini in Jolanta Wiendlocha, *Die Jugendgedichte Papst Urbans VIII. (1623-1644)*. Erstedition, Übersetzung, Kommentar und Nachwort, Editiones Heidelbergenses, 33 (Heidelberg, 2005), pp. 130-135, there with the title *Ad Antonium Gigantem. Ode VI*. In her notes (pp. 243-244), Wiendlocha follows Castagnetti and states 'Die Ode wurde 1628 in Bologna erstediert' (p. 243). In the 1634 Antwerp edition I worked with (*Maphaei S.R.E. Card. Barberini nunc Urbani PP. VIII Poemata* (Antverpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana Balthasaris Moreti, 1634 – cp. Castagnetti, 'I Poemata', p. 325), the titles are *Ad gratulationem Antonii Gigantis responsio nomine Dionysii Rattae, in numerum Romanae Rotae Auditorum nuper adscripti* (p. 190) and *De obitu Card. Paleotti, ad Antonium Gigantem eius familiarem* (p. 196).

<sup>11</sup> In the poem on the death of Cardinal Paleotti, *Gigantis appendix* has the obvious misprint *Huc* in line 18 instead of *Hunc* (which one finds in Wiendlocha, *Jugendgedichte*, p. 132, and in *Barberini Poemata 1634*, p. 197), and in line 11 it reads *Christicolum*, which one also finds in the first version of Wiendlocha, *Jugendgedichte*, p. 132, where it was unnecessarily changed into *Christiadum* on the basis of the later editions, i.a. *Barberini Poemata 1634*, p. 197.

original *haud negare possim* from *Gigantis appendix* later on became *haud negare possum*. In line 18 *dum* came in the place of the original *iam*, in order to turn several short sentences into a more elegant phrase; in line 22 the initial *velut id suo* (where the somewhat prosaic and awkward *id* referred to *caeli* of line 21) was justly changed into *veluti polus*; thus the conclusion of the poem read more elegantly (ll. 16-22):

Inter hosce clausa  
 limites mea cura non vagatur  
 ultra, *dum* [iam *Gigantis appendix*] Rotae in orbe constitutus  
 aevi quod superest agam, mihi que  
 hoc ab orbe refertur orbis ille  
 caeli, ut hisce laboribus libenter,  
 in motu *veluti polus* [velut *id suo Gigantis appendix*], quiescam.

Furthermore, the booklet shows the context from which Barberini's poems arose. Thus, it presents us with the text of Giganti's poem in honour of Ratta's promotion, to which Barberini answered in Ratta's name.<sup>12</sup> With respect to the poem on the death of Paleotti, it was Barberini who, with his poem, wanted to notify Giganti in Bologna that the latter's employer had met his end in Rome. Subsequently, Giganti wrote two poems on the same subject, both of which are published in our booklet. Replying to Barberini and expressing his personal regret for the loss of a most kind patron, whom the entire city of Bologna was mourning, he suggested that the news of Paleotti's death had already reached him before he had received Barberini's poem.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, he wrote a more formal funerary poem for Paleotti.<sup>14</sup>

To boot, this forgotten edition enables us to date the first poem with more precision. With his hendecasyllabic lines, Barberini replied in the name of the Bolognese Dionigi Ratta to a poem Giganti had addressed to the latter on the occasion of his promotion.<sup>15</sup> Giganti's poem bears the date 1596. Therefore, Barberini's answer must date from the same year. The other poem, then, was written a year later, when Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti died, not in Bologna, but in Rome. There is some confusion in

<sup>12</sup> *Gigantis appendix*, pp. 23-24.

<sup>13</sup> *Gigantis appendix*, pp. 73-75: *Ad Maffaeum Barberinum Protonotarium Apostolicum, ac utriusque Signaturae Referendarium*.

<sup>14</sup> *Gigantis appendix*, pp. 76-77: *In funere Illustriss[imi] ac Reverendiss[imi] D. Gabrielis Palaeoti S.R.E. Card. Amplissimi, et Bononiae Archiepiscopi primi*.

<sup>15</sup> *Gigantis appendix*, pp. 23-24: *Ad perillustrem, ac Reverendiss[imum] Dionysium Rattam Bononien[sem] Pontificiae Rotae Auditorem*. On p. 24, the year ('MDXCVI') is added.



our sources concerning the exact date of the latter's departure from life. Castagnetti mentions 2 August 1597 on the basis of Ludwig von Pastor<sup>16</sup>, whereas Paleotti's biographer for the *Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church* hesitates between 3 and 23 July 1597; the *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique* even proposes 22 August 1597.<sup>17</sup> The Cardinal's closest collaborator Giganti, however, seems to have believed that Paleotti died on 22 July 1597: that is the date we find in the booklet containing his poems *de obitu Palaeoti*.<sup>18</sup>

The minor humanist and Neo-Latin poet Antonio Giganti from Fossombrone (1535-1598) served for more than twenty years as a secretary to Ludovico Beccadelli or Beccatellus (1501-1572)<sup>19</sup>: Giganti began to work for him when the latter had been appointed a papal nuncio in Venice (1550); later on, he followed Beccadelli to Rome (1554), to Ragusa/Dubrovnik, where Beccadelli had been appointed an archbishop (1555), to Bologna and Rome (1560-1561), to Trento (1561-1563), where Beccadelli worked for the Council of Trent, and finally (1565-1572) to Prato, the city of which Beccadelli had been installed as a governor. During this long period, Giganti followed in the footsteps of his employer: both men wrote Neo-Latin poetry; both exercised themselves in the genre of literary biography and became fascinated by older Italian poetry. Thus Beccadelli dedicated the first version of his life of Petrarch (published only in 1650 in Padova by Jacopo Filippo Tomasini in his *Petrarcha redivivus*) to Giganti (28 July 1559); a manuscript copy of this life of Petrarch, now in the Biblioteca Palatina of Parma and significant for the tradition of the Italian works of the archhumanist, was corrected by both Beccadelli and Giganti;<sup>20</sup> Beccadelli possessed an important, now lost manuscript of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, which can be reconstructed through some extracts

<sup>16</sup> Castagnetti, 'I Poemata', p. 344.

<sup>17</sup> 11 (Paris, 1932), coll. 1821-1823 (by F. Bonnard).

<sup>18</sup> *Gigantis appendix*, p. 77: 'Obijt die XXII Iulij. MDXCVII'. However, it is possible that this addition in the *Appendix*, issued in 1598, shortly after the death of Giganti and a year after Paleotti's passing away, comes from Segni, the editor of the collection, and not from Giganti himself. 22 July 1597 is the date one also finds in Wiendlocha, *Jugendgedichte*, pp. 243-244, and in the *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 7 (Freiburg, etc., 1998), coll. 1291-1292 (by Paolo Prodi, an acknowledged expert of Paleotti).

<sup>19</sup> Cp. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 7 (Rome, 1965), pp. 407-413 (by Giuseppe Alberigo).

<sup>20</sup> Cp. Renzo Bragantini, 'La prosa volgare del Cinquecento. Il teatro', in Enrico Malato (dir.), *Storia della letteratura italiana*, X: *La tradizione dei testi*. Coordinato da Claudio Ciociola (Roma, 2001), pp. 741-815 (pp. 763-764).

made by Giganti.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, the fact that Beccadelli was a correspondent of Michelangelo no doubt explains why we find among Giganti's poetry a Latin translation of a Michelangelo poem.<sup>22</sup> After the death of Beccadelli, Antonio Giganti retired to his native Fossombrone and might have been employed by the duke of Urbino. In 1580, he entered the service of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597), bishop (since 1582 archbishop) of Bologna; he remained there almost until the death of Paleotti in July 1597, but does not seem to have accompanied his employer during his final trip to Rome, where the Cardinal died. Under the influence of the Bolognese professor Ulisse Aldovrandi (1522-1605)<sup>23</sup>, a friend of Paleotti's, Giganti gathered in his museum natural objects from all over the world, the kind of collection the period was very fond of. It attracted the attention of Gianvincenzo Pinelli (1535-1601).<sup>24</sup> Among Giganti's literary friends, mention can be made of Giovanni Battista Campeggi (1507-1583), the former bishop of Majorca, who spent his last years at Bologna<sup>25</sup>, the celebrated humanist and professor Carlo Sigonio (1523-1584)<sup>26</sup>, Aldo Manuzio jr. (1547-1597)<sup>27</sup>, Pietro Angeli da Barga (Petrus Angelius

<sup>21</sup> Cp. Lino Leonardi, 'La poesia delle origini e del Duecento', in Malato, *Storia*, X, 5-89 (p. 49).

<sup>22</sup> *Carmina Gigantis*, pp. 85-86: *Hetruscum Michaelis Angeli Bonarotae carmen latine redditum* ('Etsi spes annis nondum contenta peractis (...)'). There is also a poem entitled *In effigiem Michaelis Angeli Bonarotae* (p. 123).

<sup>23</sup> See on him e.g. *Centuria Latinae. Cent une figures humanistes de la Renaissance aux Lumières offertes à Jacques Chomarat*. Réunies par Colette Nativel, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 314 (Genève, 1997), pp. 57-63 (by Paul J. Smith); J. De Landtsheer – D. Sacré – C. Coppens (eds.), *Justus Lipsius (1547-1606). Een geleerde en zijn Europese netwerk. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling in de Centrale Bibliotheek te Leuven, 18 oktober - 20 december 2006*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 21 (Leuven, 2006), pp. 505-514.

<sup>24</sup> Cp. Pastorello, *L'epistolario manuziano. Inventario cronologico-analitico 1483-1597*, Biblioteca di Bibliografia italiana, 30 (Firenze, 1957), nr. 2085, and Ead., *Inedita manutiana 1502-1597. Appendice all'inventario*, Biblioteca di Bibliografia italiana, 37 (Florence, 1960), pp. 556-557; Gigliola Fragnito, 'Compositio memoriae: il museo di Antonio Giganti', in Ead., *In museo e in villa. Saggi sul Rinascimento perduto* (Venezia, 1988), pp. 159-214. For a brief sketch of Pinelli, see e.g. Uberto Motta, 'Borromeo, Pinelli e Querenghi: letteratura e collezionismo librario tra Cinque e Seicento', *Studia borromaica*, 13 (1999), 129-159.

<sup>25</sup> Cp. *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 17 (Rome, 1974), pp. 445-449 (by Adriano Prosperi). His *De Tusculana villa sua* (Bologna, 1567 and 1571), dealing with his villa outside Bologna, inspired Giganti to a poem with the title *Villa Tusculana Io. Bapt. Campegii episc[opi] Maioric[ensis]* (*Carmina Gigantis*, pp. 20-26).

<sup>26</sup> Cp. *Carmina Gigantis*, pp. 40-42 (a laudatory poem to honor Sigonio) and pp. 94-97 (an epicedium on Sigonio). On Sigonio and Giganti, see William McCuaig, *Carlo Sigonio. The Changing World of the Late Renaissance* (Princeton, 1989), esp. pp. 308 and 329.

<sup>27</sup> Cp. Ester Pastorello, *L'epistolario*, nr. 1928; H. George Fletcher, *In Praise of Aldus Manutius. A Quincentenary Exhibition* (Seattle, 1995), p. 9. Cp. also *Carmina Gigantis*, pp. 65-66: *In tumulum Hieronymi Manutii, Pauli filii*. Girolamo Manuzio

Bargaesus) (1517-1596)<sup>28</sup>, Latino Latini (Latinus Latinus) (1513-1593)<sup>29</sup>, Piero Vettori (Petrus Victorius) (1499-1585)<sup>30</sup>, Antonio Querenghi (Antonius Quaereng(h)us) (1546-1633)<sup>31</sup>, and Giulio Cesare Stella (1564-1624).<sup>32</sup> Some of Giganti's Latin poems were reissued in the *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum*<sup>33</sup>, but their inclusion in that garland has not, until now, stimulated Neo-Latin scholars to study his poetical output.<sup>34</sup>

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae  
Blijde-Inkomststraat 21  
B-3000 Leuven  
Dirk.Sacre@arts.kuleuven.be

(° 1554) died in Ragusa in 1559, where Giganti then worked as a secretary to Ludovico Beccadelli; cp. Fletcher, *In Praise*, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> Cp. *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 3 (Rome, 1961), pp. 201-204 (by Alberto Asor-Rosa).

<sup>29</sup> See on him e.g. D. Sacré, 'Unveröffentlichte Epigramme Latino Latinis auf Aonio Paleario', *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 11 (1987), 66-68; *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 64 (Rome, 2005), pp. 14-16 (by Massimo Ceresa).

<sup>30</sup> Cp. e.g. *Petri Victorii Epistolarum libri X*. Introduzione, testo, traduzione, commentario, indice a cura di Giuseppe Pompella (Napoli, 1991); Salvatore Lo Re, 'Tra filologia e politica: un medaglione di Piero Vettori (1532-1543)', *Rinascimento*, II, 45 (2005), 247-305. In *Carmina Gigantis*, pp. 165-167, we find a letter Vettori wrote (s.l.a.) to Giganti – cp. also *Petri Victorii Epistolarum libri X. Orationes XIII. Et Liber de laudibus Ioannae Austriacae* (Florentiae, 1586), p. 135.

<sup>31</sup> Cp. Uberto Motta, *Antonio Querenghi (1546-1633). Un letterato padovano nella Roma del tardo Rinascimento*, Studi e documenti di storia e filologia, 12 (Milano, 1997).

<sup>32</sup> See on Stella e.g. Craig Kallendorf, 'Enea nel "Nuovo Mondo": la *Columbeis* di Stella e il pessimismo virgiliano', *Studi Umanistici Piceni*, 23 (2003), 241-251. The *Carmina Gigantis* also contain poems written by literary friends to Giganti (and compositions by Giganti to honor them). Among these, the Lucretian poet Ludovico Parisetti (Ludovicus Parisetus) from Reggio Emilia (1503-1569) (pp. 3, 6, 8), and the Tuscan Antonio Renieri (1515-1594) from Colle di Val d'Elsa (Antonius Renerius or Rainerius), a correspondent of Piero Vettori. On Parisetti, see G. Ferrari, 'Un nostro poeta latino del sec. XVI', in *Studi di storia, di letteratura e d'arte in onore di N. Campanini* (Reggio Emilia, 1921), pp. 201-222. On Renieri, see e.g. D. Sacré, 'Quaestiunculae Palearianae', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 40 (1991), 206-243 (pp. 215-223: 'Trois lettres inédites d'Antonio Francesco Renieri à Paleario'), and Delia Pidatella, 'Antonio Renieri da Colle: lingua, accademia, trattenimento e scuole nella Toscana del XVI secolo', in Pietro Nencini (ed.), *Colle di Val d'Elsa: diocesi e città tra '500 e '600*, Biblioteca della "Miscellanea storica della Valdelsa", 13 (Castelfiorentino, 1994), pp. 447-465.

<sup>33</sup> Obviously not in the first volume, as Mozzetti wrote in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (p. 663), but in the fifth one (Florence, 1720), pp. 342-357: *Antonii Gigantis ex Foro Sempronii*.

<sup>34</sup> I want to thank Dr. William McCuaig for correcting my English.

Florentina NICOLAE

## FOREIGN NAMES IN DIMITRIE CANTEMIR'S HISTORICAL WORKS

This essay aims to analyse the circulation of anthroponymous words in a few texts written in Neo-Latin, i.e. Latin in its last phase of evolution, starting from the Renaissance down to the present. These texts belong to Dimitrie Cantemir, the best-known Romanian writer in Neo-Latin, who lived in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and spent almost all of his life abroad, in the Ottoman Empire and Russia. He focused mainly on the history of the Romanian people and on Ottoman history and civilization. His works are considered the most representative of the Neo-Latin used in the Romanian area: *Descriptio Moldaviae* ('Description of Moldavia'), *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus* ('On the Ancient and Contemporary Names of Moldavia'), *Historia Moldo-Vlachica* ('History of Moldovlachia') and *Incrementorum et decrementorum Aulae Othmannicae sive Aliothmannicae historiae a prima gentis origine ad nostra usque tempora deductae libri tres* ('History of the Ottoman Empire' for short).

The sources of Cantemir's historical works, especially those written in Byzantine Greek and Medieval Latin or Neo-Latin, represent a problematic issue. Detailed research into them might offer precious data about the author's manner of obtaining and processing information.

It is known that Dimitrie Cantemir used a rich bibliography in order to write his historical works. Some editions were undoubtedly consulted and abstracted by the Romanian author, as is proved by his own references to volume and even page number, and by comparing his text with the original sources, such as those by Antonius Bonfinius, Johannes Leunclavius<sup>1</sup>, Dionysius Petavius<sup>2</sup>, Philippus Cluverius.

<sup>1</sup> Ioannes Leunclavius, *Annales Sultanorum Othmanidarum, a Turcis sua lingua scripti* (Frankfurt, 1596).

<sup>2</sup> Dionysius Petavius, *Rationarium temporum in partes duas* (Paris, 1641).

The lack of direct access to primary sources led to the misquotation of some authors' names: Jan Zamoyskius was taken to be the Polish chancellor, but he is, in fact, the Hungarian writer Stephanus Samosius (István Szamosközy).<sup>3</sup> Cantemir makes this confusion as well because of the influence of the works by Laurentius Toppeltin de Medias<sup>4</sup> on his lectures.

Using secondary sources, Cantemir adopts incorrectly and interprets wrongly some abbreviations of names: *Antisiod.* is interpreted as *Antisiodorenius*, instead of *Antisiodorensis*<sup>5</sup>; *Cuspin.* is interpreted as *Cuspinus*, instead of *Cuspinianus*.<sup>6</sup>

Some writers' or commentators' names are wrongly assumed: *Gluverius* (or *Gloverius*) for *Cluverius*, *Pretser* for *Gretser*, *Piasenski* for *Piasecki*.

Moments of tiredness or oversight lead to the confusion of some names.<sup>7</sup> Cantemir writes *Samuël* instead of *Misaël* (Misail the Monk)<sup>8</sup>, although a few lines higher the name was correctly written. Most of the time *Vospius* appears for *Vopiscus*, although sometimes the name was correctly noted down.<sup>9</sup> The author writes *Sarnitius Polonus historicus*, although a few pages before he wrote *Stanislaus Sarnicius*, correctly.<sup>10</sup> Also, the correct form *Dlugosius* is followed a few lines later by the form *Dlogusio* (*Dlogusio fusior Stanislaus Sarnicius*)<sup>11</sup>; in another passage, the author writes *Dlogosius*.<sup>12</sup>

Authors' names are quoted by Cantemir according to the usage of that time: *Franza(s)*, not *Sphrantzes*, *Curopolates*, not *Ioan Skylitzes*, *Samocat(t)es*, instead of *Simocatta*.<sup>13</sup> In his *History of the Ottoman Empire*, III, 5, Cantemir uses the form *Phrantza*.

Greek names create some problems regarding transliteration and morphological framing. The tendency to replace the ending can be noticed in Cantemir's writing *-es* with *-us*: *Michaelus* for *Michaeles* or *Michaelum*

<sup>3</sup> Dimitrie Cantemir, *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus și Historia Moldo-Vlachica*, Preface by Virgil Căndea, Critical edition, translation, introduction, notes and index by Dan Slușanschi, in *Opere complete*, Vol. IX, Tom I (Bucharest: Publishing House of the Romanian Academy, 1983), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Laurentius Toppeltinus, *Origines et occasus Transsylvanorum* (Lyon, 1667), p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Cantemir, *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus*, pp. 78 and 394.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56 and 268.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12 (the margin note), 60 and 65 respectively.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184 and 174 respectively.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174 and 174, n. 66.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

for *Michaelem*, *Manuelus*, instead of *Manueles* or *Manuelo*, instead of *Manueli*.<sup>14</sup>

Cantemir gives both forms for the name of emperor Basilius Bulgarocida: *Basilii Bugaroctoni animam dolere, sub Basilio Bulgarocida*.<sup>15</sup>

The author is very uncertain about the name of emperor Alexius Ducas, therefore he offers several spellings on the same page: *Ducam Alexium, cognomento Murzuflim, Murzuphles igitur nominatus est, Murziphlem in Graeciam fugant*.<sup>16</sup>

Cantemir half-latinizes the Greek name *Κοπρονόμος* (Copronymus), in *Merdinimus*.<sup>17</sup>

The adaptation to Latin of Slavic names had already been carried out in the Latin sources used by Dimitrie Cantemir. He does not use these forms critically, but simply transliterates them, trying to use all the graphic forms he discovered in various historical works.

The masculine names ending in *-slav* are Latinized by framing them in the themes in 'o'. This leads to the vocalisation and then the assimilation of the intervocalic 'v': *Visseslaum Polocensem Ducem, qui Zaslaum ex Kiov depulerat*,<sup>18</sup> *cum Boleslao Polonorum Rege*.<sup>19</sup>

Also, *-us* endings are used to Latinize Slavic names in *-ski*: *Tenczinskius, ad Sobieskium Regem Poloniae*.<sup>20</sup>

Uncertainty is evident in the use of the initial 'v' and the intervocalic 'z'. For the first there is also the version 'w', and 'z' can be replaced by 's', because of hypercorrection: *a Vladislao, rebus Wladislai; Cazimirus autem Rex, Casimirus Poloniae Rex*.<sup>21</sup>

In several chapters of *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus* and *Historia Moldo-Vlachica*, Cantemir presents and contests Simion the Teacher's interpolations at the end of the *Predoslovia* of Grigore Ureche's chronicle. Cantemir takes from Simion the name *Lasläu*, which appears in texts in two forms of the nominative: *Rex Lasleu* (Cantemir, 1983, 194) and also *Rex Lasleus*.<sup>22</sup> The other case forms are framed in

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 338, n. 49); 338, n. 58); 346, n. 115 and 346, n. 132 respectively.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 360 and 362 respectively.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 384.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317, n. 466.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> For these examples, see also Dlugosz, I, 3, 1711, 265 A-B, *apud* Cantemir, *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus*, p. 49, n. 74.

<sup>20</sup> Cantemir, *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus*, p. 100 and 118 respectively.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84, 48, 100 and 102 respectively.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 196.

the second declension: *ad Lasleum, Laslei (...) legati*.<sup>23</sup> The author proves that the sources from which Simion the Teacher got his information are Slavonic chronicles which he consulted personally.<sup>24</sup> Presenting the legend of Laslău as it appeared in those chronicles, Cantemir uses only the form *Ladislaus*, considered by him as originating from *Vladislaus: exercitus Ladislai, regnante itaque hoc Ladislao* etc.<sup>25</sup>

Cantemir transliterates, from Gregoras's chronicle which was originally written in Greek<sup>26</sup>, the Slavic name Σφενδοσθλάβου, as *Sphendoslavi* or as *Sventoslabi*.<sup>27</sup> In *Historia Moldo-Vlachica* Cantemir had written, more correctly, *Svetoslav*.<sup>28</sup> The form *Sphentoslavo*<sup>29</sup> was taken from Jacobus Gretser's notes to Ioan Cantacuzino's *Histories*, translated by Jacobus Pontanus.<sup>30</sup>

In *History of the Ottoman Empire*, in the references to contemporary figures, the author latinizes only the first name and keeps the last name in the original form: *confugit Stanislaus Leszczinskij, Russiae legato, Petro Andreiewicz Tolstoi*,<sup>31</sup> *ducem Borisum Petrowicz Szeremetew*<sup>32</sup>, *Petrum Baronem de Szafirow, Imperii Rossiaci Vice-Cancellarium, et Michaellem Borisowicz Szeremetew, Supremum Excubiarum Magistrum*.<sup>33</sup>

Analysis of the modalities of latinized foreign names does not end here, because not all of Dimitrie Cantemir's works have been critically edited. The critical editions of all of Cantemir's works will generate exhaustive studies of onomastics and more.

At this level of research, we have noticed Cantemir's preference for latinizing foreign names, especially in *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus*, *Historia Moldo-Vlachica*, *Descriptio Moldaviae* and the tendency to use the original onomastic form in *Incrementorum atque*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 198 and 200 respectively.

<sup>26</sup> VI, 9, la f. 159-159v, *apud* Cantemir, *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus*, p. 97, n. 205.

<sup>27</sup> Cantemir, *De antiquis et hodiernis Moldaviae nominibus*, p. 96 and 402 respectively.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 553.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 350.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351, n. 537.

<sup>31</sup> Dimitrie Cantemir, *Incrementa et decrementa Aulae Othmannicae sive Aliothmannicae Historiae a prima gentis origine ad nostra usque tempora deductae Libri tres*. Preface by Virgil Căndea, Edited by Dan Slușanschi (Timișoara: Amarcord Publishing House, 2002), p. 285.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

*decrementorum Aulae Othmannicae*. The latinization generally occurs by framing the names of persons in the themes in 'o' (the second declension). With all these, the latinized forms and also the original ones present certain variations. They arose because they were taken from different bibliographic sources or because Cantemir had many difficulties in noting some phonemes which are foreign to Latin (affricates 'č', 'ğ', 'ț', fricatives 'ș', 'j', vowels 'ă', 'â', 'î').

Aleea Universitatii Nr. 1  
Cod. 900850 Constanta  
Romania  
nicolae\_flori@yahoo.com



TOON VAN HAL

TOWARDS META-NEO-LATIN STUDIES?  
IMPETUS TO DEBATE ON THE FIELD OF NEO-LATIN STUDIES  
AND ITS METHODOLOGY\*

to the reader's consideration:

*Wer nichts von der Sache versteht, der schreibt über die Methode.*  
Gottfried Hermann (1772-1848), Leipzig professor in Classics

**Introduction**

During the last congress of IANLS (Budapest 2006), an extensive number of interesting papers were presented on a multitude of themes. A desideratum for a next congress, however, would be the organisation of a (plenary) session on 'aims, prospects and methodological questions in the field of Neo-Latin studies'.

Apparently, the share of self-criticism and self-analysis in the discipline — if Neo-Latin studies could be considered a distinct academic discipline at all (see *infra*) — seems to be less prominent, or at least less firmly embedded than in other academic branches of the humanities. Apart from the *Companion(s)*, the most important studies in which the discipline as such is defined and questioned, are those of H. Hofmann (2000) and H. Helander (2001).<sup>1</sup> The latter actually consists of an interesting debate,

\* I am more than deeply indebted to Tom Deneire, Lambert Isebaert, Jan Papy, Dirk Sacré, Pierre Swiggers, Gilbert Tournoy, Toon Van Houdt, Dirk van Miert and Demmy Verbeke for their critical remarks and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Jozef IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. 1: History and Diffusion of Neo-Latin Literature*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 5 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990); Jozef IJsewijn – Dirk Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies. 2: Literary, Linguistic, Philological and Editorial Questions*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia, 14 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998); Heinz Hofmann, 'Neulateinische Literatur: Aufgaben und Perspektiven', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2 (2000), 57-97; Hans Helander et al., 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', *Symbolae Osloenses*, 76 (2001), 5-102. After having

led by Helander, in which many Neo-Latinist scholars comment on Neo-Latin studies.<sup>2</sup> This discussion, which (as far as I know) unfortunately has not found any written continuation up to now, concludes with a bibliography, witnessing that previous self-analytical studies are not only quite restricted in number, but generally also hold a rather marginal rank since only a minority of them has been published in the appropriate Neo-Latin journals. There is, to be sure, no lack of apologetic articles pleading for the necessity and value of Neo-Latin studies (and often deploring the declining knowledge of Latin).<sup>3</sup> This apologetic character, however, is all the more understandable, as practitioners of Neo-Latin studies are often forced into a defensive position, even by their colleagues of classical philology. Some typical current commonplace reproaches to the studies under discussion could even be traced back to the period in which they originated. In 1648, the 24th of August, the Dutch humanist Isaac Vossius (1618-1689) writes in a letter to the French scholar Claude de Saumaise (1588-1653):

Vix dixerim quam profunda et crassa passim in his terris [sc. the Southern Netherlands] regnet inscitia, nequid pejus dicam, etiam inter illos qui multum se scire profitentur, quique jam aliquam scriptis claritatem sunt consecuti. Patine possis, vir Incomparabilis, Puteanum hic praeferri Ciceroni, imo unam epistolam ejus praeferri omnibus Ciceronianis? Atqui tamen ita judicant praecipui harum terrarum eruditi, quorum ego parco nominibus. Mihi autem dicenti, non deesse quamplurimos qui unam Ciceronis praeferant omnibus Puteanis (*sic*), illud reposuerunt, sese mirari terram non absorbere homines qui tam inique gloriam tanti herois lacerarent. Debeatne quis irasci, vir Illustrissime, istis asinis qui recte sentientes orco velint tradere, sese vero solos dignissima terrae pondera esse arbitrantur? Non sane alia exspectanda erat sententia a talibus iudicibus.<sup>4</sup>

Until now, however, significantly less attention has been paid to *how* Neo-Latin studies should be practiced. The questions which are genuinely methodological are mainly limited to editorial matters, although Neo-Latin studies are not merely restricted (anymore) to the edition of texts.

submitted the article, my attention was drawn to 'Klassische und Neulateinische Philologie. Probleme und Perspektiven', *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 146 (2003), 395-424, consisting of papers by Walther Ludwig, Reinhold Glei and Jürgen Leonhardt.

<sup>2</sup> In this paper, references are made to the contributions of Julia Gaisser, Yasmin Haskell, Heinz Hofmann, Gerlinde Huber-Rebenich, Craig Kallendorf, Walther Ludwig and Ann Moss.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. note 29.

<sup>4</sup> Dirk J.H. ter Horst – Scato Gocko de Vries, *Isaac Vossius en Salmasius: een episode uit de 17de-eeuwse geleerdengeschiedenis* ('s Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1938), pp. 53-54.

In another subdiscipline of humanities, historiography of linguistics, the situation seems to be completely different. In this field, almost exactly as old as Neo-Latin studies<sup>5</sup>, the importance attached to methodological self-reflection is mirrored by the huge amount of articles, *acta* and monographs dedicated to critical — occasionally maybe hypercritical — questions<sup>6</sup> and by the creation of an appropriate term ‘metahistoriography’. The specialist journals (in addition to *Historiographia Linguistica*, chiefly *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*) devote many a page to methodology and epistemology, if not too many. Scholars willing to publish on a theme in the historiography of linguistics, are supposed to be acquainted with these metahistoriographical discussions. Unlike in Neo-Latin studies, the spirit here is generally less apologetic, yet more self-critical.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Both disciplines have been academically institutionalised almost simultaneously by the creation of an authoritative journal. Both journals are abbreviated in the same way: ‘HL’. The first one, *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* appeared for the first time as a journal in 1968. The second one, *Historiographia Linguistica: International Journal for the History of the Language Sciences* was founded in 1974 by Ernst F.K. Koerner, who still is chief editor. This journal, appearing three times a year, is published by Benjamins in Amsterdam. Both disciplines have triennial International Conferences which have taken place since the seventies: IANLS (International Association for Neo-Latin Studies) and ICHoLS (International Conferences on the History of the Language Sciences).

<sup>6</sup> Some examples are Peter Schmitter, *Untersuchungen zur Historiographie der Linguistik: Struktur — Methodik — theoretische Fundierung*, Tübinger Beiträge zur Linguistik, 181 (Tübingen: Narr, 1982); Klaus Grotzsch, *Sprachwissenschaftsgeschichtsschreibung: Ein Beitrag zur Kritik und zur historischen und methodologischen Selbstvergewisserung der Disziplin*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 352 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1982); Ernst F.K. Koerner, *Practicing Linguistic Historiography. Selected Essays*, Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series 3, Studies in the History of the Language Sciences, 50 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1989); *Understanding the Historiography of Linguistics. Problems and Projects*, ed. Werner Hülsen (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1990); *Metahistoriography. Theoretical and Methodological Aspects of the Historiography of Linguistics*, eds. Peter Schmitter – Marijke van der Wal (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1998); Pierre Swiggers, *L'historiographie de la linguistique. Linéaments d'une méthodologie* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters, forthcoming). The list of articles is nearly endless.

<sup>7</sup> Explanations for this remarkable discrepancy may be (1) the rather exact character of linguistics as compared to other humane sciences, which might have encouraged the historiographer of linguistics to develop a methodology exactly as stringent as the methods developed in linguistics; (2) the individual efforts done by some influential linguists (for instance Ernst F.K. Koerner); (3) the far-reaching influence of Thomas S. Kuhn's *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962); (4) the consternation produced by Noam Chomsky's *Cartesian Linguistics* (New York, 1966). Because of the very disputable historiographical methodology used by Chomsky, one of the most famous general linguists in the twentieth century, his study stimulated the development of metahistoriography of linguistics.

This contribution aims to show that Neo-Latin studies too could benefit from a more fundamental self-reflection and that inspiration could be drawn from other humane sciences.

Exemplarily, I will try to point out which definitory and methodological questions, put in the historiography of linguistics, could be relevant to Neo-Latin studies. All the same, I aspire to revivify some key questions of Helander's discussion.

### 1. *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies*

In the historiography of linguistics (and in many other branches of learning as well), 'metahistoriography' is by now commonly accepted as a covering term for self-analysis and methodological problems. The late Peter Schmitter, *creator huius vocis*, defines the concept as follows:

[Zur Metahistoriographie] gehört dann alles, was sich auf die Geschichtsschreibung als Objekt des Forschens und Nachdenkens bezieht. Die Metahistoriographie ist also — wie die Metasprache als Rede über Sprache — reflexiv auf die Historiographie [...] bezogen und stellt den systematischen Ort aller epistemologischen, beschreibenden (deskriptiven) und methodologischen (normativen) expliziten Äusserungen wie auch aller impliziten Annahmen über die Historiographie selbst dar.<sup>8</sup>

Replacing in this definition 'Geschichtsschreibung' and 'Historiographie' with 'Neo-Latin Studies' might result in an acceptable definition of *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies*. *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies* should thus reflect upon the identity, the mission and the methodological concerns of Neo-Latin studies. Paraphrasing Schmitter and Swiggers,<sup>9</sup> the tasks of *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies* should include:

1. Theoretical *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies*: reflection on the epistemological foundations and theory of Neo-Latin studies.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Schmitter, 'Historiographie und Metahistoriographie', in *Understanding the Historiography of Linguistics*, ed. Hüllen, pp. 35-48 (p. 38).

<sup>9</sup> Schmitter, 'Historiographie und Metahistoriographie', pp. 39-42; Pierre Swiggers, 'Modelos, métodos y problemas en la historiografía de la lingüística', in *Nuevas Aportaciones a la Historiografía Lingüística. Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de la SEHL, La Laguna (Tenerife), 22 al 25 de octubre de 2003*, eds. C. Corrales Zumbado – J. Dorta Luis (Madrid: Arco/Libros, 2004), pp. 113-146.

2. Critical *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies*: analytical and critical research of the structures, theoretical premises and all other conditional elements of existing studies in the field of Neo-Latin.<sup>10</sup>
3. Constructive *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies*: development of an explicit methodology for Neo-Latin studies.

To put it in more clear and more practical terms, the 'Meta-Neo-Latinist' has to ask himself all possible questions regarding Neo-Latin studies: *quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, ad quid, quomodo, quando, cui bono...*<sup>11</sup> It goes without saying that this exercise does not have to be launched *ab ovo* — most questions have already been touched upon in Helander's debate — but it will turn out, for instance, that until now more attention has been paid to the question *ad quid* than to the question *quomodo*. Therefore, it could be useful to focus in a more balanced and structured way on all of these questions, as a trial to found a more solid framework of Neo-Latin studies. It is, of course, beyond dispute that raising questions is far more easy than finding answers.

## 2. Definition, demarcation, subdivision, interdisciplinary connections

It is one of the first tasks of the Meta-Neo-Latinist to offer an adequate definition of Neo-Latin studies (*quid*). IJsewijn defines 'Neo-Latin' by 'all writings in Latin since the beginnings of Italian Humanism in about 1300 A.D.', which consequently constitute the object of Neo-Latin Studies.<sup>12</sup> It goes

<sup>10</sup> Some existing surveys of the history of Neo Latin Studies are rather thematic-descriptive than methodological-critical. Cf. Philip Ford, 'Twenty-five Years of Neo-Latin Studies', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 2 (2000), 293-301 and Peter L. Schmidt, 'Die Studien in Deutschland zur humanistischen und neulateinischen Literatur seit dem ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert', *Filologia*, 2 (1993), 831-910.

<sup>11</sup> Following Herbert E. Brekle, 'What is the History of Linguistics and to what End is it Studied? A Didactic Approach', in *Studies in the History of Western Linguistics in Honour of R.H. Robins*, eds. Theodora Bynon and F.R. Palmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 1-9 (p. 1). In plain terms: *what* are Neo-Latin studies, *who* is supposed to study it, *why* does it have to be studied, *how* does it have to be studied...

<sup>12</sup> A shortened variant of this definition can still be found in the statutes of IANLS (writings in Latin since the beginnings of Humanism). Two supplementary notes concerning the demarcation of the object: (1) it is striking that Medieval Latin, to which all Latin texts (sc. with exception of the classical Latin texts) written before 1300 A.D. belong, does not seem to dispose of a many-branched academically institutionalised network, although the period concerned covers more than seven centuries. (2) In the above definition, the advocates and practitioners of *Living Latin* (and organisations such as the

without saying that this little restrictive definition has wide-ranging consequences. In other words, just like *Historiography of the Language Sciences*<sup>13</sup>, Neo-Latin Studies cover a vast domain of research in geographical, diachronic and thematic perspectives.<sup>14</sup> As yet, no attempt has been made to delineate a reasoned subdivision. Mostly, one makes use of *ad-hoc* subdivisions. The clear classification in the *Companion*, based on mere formal criteria such as 'Gattungen, Chronologie, Geographie'<sup>15</sup>, is a handy and practical instrument for bibliographical purposes and a first means to cope with the overpowering abundance of documents. Nevertheless, there seems to be room for the development of a more sophisticated, theoretical subdivision, which is more sensitive to the occurrence of, for instance, thematic overlapping, 'cross-fertilization' between genres etc. and which would to a lesser extent affect the complexity of reality. Recently, significantly more attention is paid to scholarly and intellectual history.<sup>16</sup> Provided it is legitimate to distinguish a central *nucleus* of 'literary' Neo-Latin texts (in which Latin is besides a *medium* to a certain extent an end in itself; hence not simply interchangeable with another language) from more peripheral domains (in which Latin is used as a mere vehicle), watertight borderlines could hardly be drawn. After all, Neo-Latin authors were often active in both the literary and scientific area (frequently writing both in Latin and in the vernacular). Some poetic texts deal with scientific subjects<sup>17</sup>, and more than once, Latin of so-called scientific texts

*Academia Latinitati Fovendae*) are part of the Neo-Latin object as well. Some remarks on this definition are offered by Dirk van Miert, 'Latijn in de Nederlanden in de achttiende eeuw', *Spiegel der Letteren*, 46 (2004), 415-431 (p. 415).

<sup>13</sup> At first sight, the history of linguistics might seem to be more homogeneous than the field of Neo-Latin studies. However, one has to keep in mind that the historiographer's object is very wide-ranging in space, time and themes: (1) it includes the different grammatical traditions of all linguistic cultures on earth, (2) it commences with the linguistic exercises of the Sumerians (3000 BC) and runs up to the present modern movements, (3) it concerns theoretical and philosophical questions as well as practical language acquisition problems. Hence, nowadays most historiographers preferably label the discipline 'Historiography of the Language Sciences' instead of 'Historiography of Linguistics'.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Helander, 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 6. Ludwig (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 71 parallels the field of Neo-Latin Studies with a hardly penetrable forest in comparison with which the domain of Classical Latin Philology is considered a well-organised garden.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Huber-Rebenich (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 59.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Helander, 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 9 and Ludwig (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 67. Subjects in intellectual, scientific and scholarly history were prominently present during the most recent congress in Budapest.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Hofmann (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 53 and Huber-Rebenich (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 59.

is not a mere *medium*, but also *message*. A thorough debate about these relationships seems to be urgent. In what follows, I mainly focus on these 'peripheral' domains of history of science. As became clear during the last congress in Budapest, this form of Neo-Latin studies 'in its broadest sense' is recently intensively practiced, yet often without any methodological self-analysis.<sup>18</sup>

The study of these 'peripheral' domains of science implies a high degree of interdisciplinarity. Since 'Neo-Latin is always a part of something else, and usually of several things at once'<sup>19</sup>, one could ask oneself whether Neo-Latin studies could be stamped a distinct discipline at all<sup>20</sup>, if the medium of expression (the Latin language) is the only common denominator. And if we, following Haskell, would prefer to regard Neo-Latin as a 'vehicle for encounters, on multiple fronts, with the history and culture of Europe since the Renaissance'<sup>21</sup>, we can wonder to what extent this vehicle is still in need of an independent methodology.

Given the fact that Neo-Latin studies are often intrinsically interdisciplinary, one can wonder which (*qualis & quantus*) role the Neo-Latinist has to play in this kind of research (*quis*). Hitherto, this question has not been clearly answered yet. Much depends on the preliminary training of the scholars in this field (necessarily classics?) and the additional education and capacities.<sup>22</sup> The minimal task of a Neo-Latinist scholar consists

<sup>18</sup> It should be stressed, however, that important methodological questions could also be posed within the traditional, literary *nucleus* of Neo-Latin studies. Toon Van Houdt, 'Review article: Wedding Philology to Mercury: A New Approach to the Baroque Author Balde', *Eranos*, 101 (2003), 144-152 (p. 144) firmly advocates the application of modern literary theories on Neo-Latin texts.

<sup>19</sup> This quote stems from Gaisser (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 44-45. In this respect, cf. also Reinhold F. Glei, 'Typisch deutsch?', *Neu-lateinisches Jahrbuch*, 6 (2004), 391-392 (p. 392).

<sup>20</sup> Gaisser (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 45 and Haskell (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 49 are rather sceptical in this matter. However, as there exist some independent institutes and centres for Neo-Latin Studies, it cannot be denied that at least in some universities the study of Neo-Latin is considered an actual academic discipline.

<sup>21</sup> Haskell (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 50.

<sup>22</sup> Swiggers, 'Modelos, métodos y problemas en la historiografía de la lingüística', p. 117 makes high demands on the historiographers of linguistics. According to him, they must be 'lingüista (en primer lugar) e historiador. Además pienso que la historiografía de la lingüística, como estudio de contenidos teóricos (ideas, modelos, técnicas, teorías) debe incorporar una reflexión metodológica y epistemológica, para la cual una formación en historia y filosofía de las ciencias y en epistemología general es muy útil, si no imprescindible'. Hofmann, 'Neulateinische Literatur: Aufgaben und Perspektiven', 95 is demanding for Neo-Latinists as well. For a concrete example, see Toon Van Houdt – Kris Delcroix,

of making sure that essential Latin texts are not overlooked in historical surveys.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, the making of modern accurate and accessible editions of the old texts (sometimes, or always, with translation) still could be considered the Neo-Latinist's absolute priority.<sup>24</sup> However, a growing number of Neo-Latinists ventures to make independent contributions on history of science/philosophy/ theology, entailing the danger that the author will not have the specific scientific background<sup>25</sup> and will merely focus on Latin sources. It goes without saying, however, that the making of a critical edition or translation of a Neo-Latin text inevitably presumes a thorough understanding of the scientific field treated in this text as well. Helander correctly states that Neo-Latin researchers 'must learn from the material, methods and approaches of the disciplines we come into contact with'.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, in my opinion, it seems advisable that the basics of these methods and approaches are made explicit in the results of the research, or that at least some references to relevant literature are offered. Between these two 'extreme' positions (making data available for further research and making conceptual monographs), there is a range of other — 'intermediary' — tasks. Hofmann, for instance, is right in stressing the need for studies on the Neo-Latin language as such,<sup>27</sup> Ludwig underscores the importance of terminology.<sup>28</sup>

'Bridging the Gap Between Neo-Latin Scholarship and the History of Science: The Linnaean Correspondence Project', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 1 (1999), 233-245 (p. 243). Important proposals for institutional improvements could be found in Jürgen Leonhardt, 'Sieben Thesen zum Verhältnis von Latein und Geisteswissenschaften', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 1 (1999) and Hofmann (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 56-58.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ludwig (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 68. One of the main shortcomings of Chomsky's *Cartesian Linguistics* (1966) (cf. note 7) is its systematic neglect of Latin texts; only seventeenth-century French and English texts are studied.

<sup>24</sup> Hofmann, 'Neulateinische Literatur: Aufgaben und Perspektiven', 78-79; IJsewijn – Sacré, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, pp. 442-445; Ingrid A.R. De Smet, 'Not for Classicists? The State of Neo-Latin Studies', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 89 (1999), 205-209 (p. 206). Nevertheless, the unconditional priority of making critical editions is questioned by Toon Van Houdt, 'Review article'.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Ludwig (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 68; Haskell (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 48; IJsewijn – Sacré, *Companion*, p. 259 and Van Miert, 'Latijn in de Nederlanden in de achttiende eeuw', 426.

<sup>26</sup> Helander, 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 91.

<sup>27</sup> Hofmann, 'Neulateinische Literatur: Aufgaben und Perspektiven', 88-89.

<sup>28</sup> Ludwig (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 69. In this respect, some important publications, among others, are Hans Helander, *Neo-Latin Literature in Sweden in the Period 1620-1720: Stylistics, Vocabulary and Characteristic Ideas*, Acta universitatis Upsaliensis, 29 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2004); Françoise Waquet, *Le Latin ou l'empire d'un signe: XVIe-XXe siècle, L'évolution de l'humanité* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1999); Ann Moss, *Renaissance Truth and the Latin Language Turn*



If the most pessimistic prophecies on the disappearing knowledge of Latin would come true<sup>29</sup>, the necessity of defining some main priorities in the field (which is a very delicate exercise) could be considered (*quando*). It could make sense to formulate more large-scale and coherent *programs of research objectives* and it might be interesting to compile *canons* of the most important and influential Neo-Latin texts.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, one should question the relevance of 'the pleasure of discovery' of new texts,<sup>31</sup> if these discoveries are not efficiently situated in a broader context. In this respect, it is necessary as well to investigate to what extent external factors (such as *fund-raising*, the *publish-or-perish*-doctrine, the political promotion of an important 'European', national, regional humanist, ...) constitute an impediment to the realisation of the priorities generally acknowledged.

(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); *Latinity and Alterity in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Yasmin Haskell – Juanity Feros Ruys (forthcoming).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. for instance Anthony Grafton, 'Renaissance Research Today: Forms and Styles', in *L'Etude de la Renaissance, 'nunc et cras'. Actes du colloque de la Fédération internationale des Sociétés et Instituts d'Etude de la Renaissance (FISIER), Genève, septembre 2001*, eds. Max Engammare – Marie-Madeleine Fragonard – Augustin Redondo (2003, Genève: Droz), pp. 57-68; Dirk Sacré, 'O Teubneriana Latinitas!', *Melissa*, 124 (2005), 6-8; Karl August Neuhausen, 'Zum katastrophalen Latein in den *praefationes* einer neuen Ausgabe in der *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 7 (2005), 355-370; Walther Ludwig, 'Über die Folgen der Lateinarbeit in den Geisteswissenschaften', *Gymnasium, Zeitschrift für Kultur der Antike und Humanistische Bildung*, 98 (1991), 139-158 and Leonhardt, 'Sieben Thesen zum Verhältnis von Latein und Geisteswissenschaften', which has a more extensive bibliography. In this connection, it should be noticed that the many pleas for the necessity of a thorough knowledge of Latin, regardless of how justified they might be, could lead to practitioners of Neo-Latin Studies wanting to be seen in the eyes of outside scholars as a community of faith instead of a community of scholarship.

<sup>30</sup> Haskell (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 50. Some examples of current projects could be found in Hofmann, 'Neulateinische Literatur: Aufgaben und Perspektiven', 84-87. One of the interesting tasks of a Meta-Neo-Latin study could consist of a mutual comparison of the explicit mission statements and the implicit presuppositions which underlie the text choice and the editorial operations of several Neo-Latin text series. This would probably bring to light very divergent views on Neo-Latin as a field of research. Besides the composition of a canon of primary texts, it would be interesting as well to invent a list of crucial secondary sources. In his demarcation of the domain of missionary linguistics (which is incidentally in a certain way a part of Neo-Latin Studies as well), Klaus Zimmermann, 'La construcción del objeto de la historiografía de la lingüística misionera', in *Missionary Linguistics / Lingüística misionera. Selected papers from the First International Conference on Missionary Linguistics, Oslo, 13-16 March 2003*, eds. Otto Zwartjes – Even Hovdhaugen, *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science. Series 3, Studies in the History of the Language Sciences*, 106 (Amsterdam – Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2004), pp. 7-32 (pp. 24-28) offers a concrete schematic survey of projects which already have been carried out and which still have to be done.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Haskell (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 48.

### 3. Methodology

The (at this moment already actual) *wissenschaftsgeschichtliche* extension of the field requires an (at this moment merely virtual) methodological extension as well. Helander states:

The direction of further work in this forest must be discussed. We shall have to find ways and methods of combining further cultivation of areas that have already been opened up with pioneering work in other less known sylvan districts.<sup>32</sup>

As long as this discussion, which seems to have fallen silent, fails to materialise into a workable methodological outline, the current centrifugal fragmentation of research risks to end in a mere proliferation of secondary literature, thus more eroding than enriching Neo-Latin studies as such. In other words, Neo-Latin studies risk to grow into a giant with feet of clay. In the long term, there might be a danger of (internal) collapse and (external) marginalisation. This leads to the question how Neo-Latin studies concerned with the history of science should be practiced (*quomodo*).

First, it should be noted that the explicit inclusion of a 'methodology' does not guarantee *per se* the scientific quality of an article or book. All the same, studies made without a stringent methodology could be of an excellent scientific quality, so that

we have to be cautious not to engage in a one-sided type of criticism that discards of all those studies that have been done to date, but should instead reconsider what has been accomplished so far in order to encourage and facilitate new venues of discussion and research.<sup>33</sup>

Klaus Grotzsch has criticised Ernst F.K. Koerner's (cf. note 7) excessive predilection for the development of a historiographical methodology.<sup>34</sup> In a reaction, Koerner has specified his intentions. After the replacement of 'historiographer of linguistics' with 'Neo-Latinist scholar', the following quote could be read as a suitable methodological programme for Neo-Latin studies:

<sup>32</sup> Helander, 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 91.

<sup>33</sup> Zimmermann, 'La construcción del objeto de la historiografía de la lingüística misionera', p. 7 (abstract).

<sup>34</sup> Grotzsch, *Sprachwissenschaftsgeschichtsschreibung*, p. 16: 'Für Koerner, anders lässt es sich nicht formulieren, fällt Wissenschaftlichkeit nahezu restlos zusammen mit dem Besitz einer expliziten Theorie (Erkenntnistheorie) und Methodologie. Eine sachhaltige oder theoretische Erläuterung bleibt er schuldig'.

I am not thinking of a complex system of epistemological, philosophical, methodological, and, finally, practical prescriptions for [Neo-Latinist scholars]. Rather than establishing one method which may foster the mistaken idea that such a framework could be rigorously applied to all situations the [Neo-Latinist scholar] may be confronted with, my goal is a much more modest one: the establishment of a list of theoretical as well as practical principles that are broad enough to find wide acceptance among [Neo-Latinist scholars].<sup>35</sup>

The main aim of developing a methodology is to increase the degree of objectivity of a study with a theme in the field of history of science. In the historiography of the language sciences particular attention has been given to the question whether an objective reconstruction of the past is achievable or merely utopian. Most metahistoriographers realise that *ontological* objectivity will never be attained, and they acknowledge that the historiographer's account is limited by a number of unavoidable intrinsic subjective conditional factors.<sup>36</sup> None the less, historiography must not be considered a purely relativistic exercise<sup>37</sup>; according to Schmitter, *methodological* objectivity is within the bounds of possibility.<sup>38</sup> A scientific study implies a documentary, interpretative and explanatory step. In its turn, each of these steps implies certain (conscious and unconscious) choices. The more a researcher is aware of his own limitations, choices and premises, and the more he makes these explicit in the results of his research, the more he makes Neo-Latin studies stringent. In what follows, I will select some exemplary methodological issues in historiography (of linguistics) which seem also relevant to Neo-Latin studies.

### 3.1. *Documentary process (Heuristics)*

The field of Neo-Latin sources excels in vastness, diversity and untraceableness. On the one hand, the Neo-Latinist is faced with an overload of

<sup>35</sup> Ernst F.K. Koerner, 'Persistent Issues in Linguistic Historiography', in *Professing Linguistic Historiography*, ed. Ernst F.K. Koerner (Amsterdam – Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1995), pp. 3-26 (p. 23).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Peter Schmitter, *Untersuchungen zur Historiographie der Linguistik* and Schmitter, 'Zur Objektivität der Historiographie der Linguistik', in *Sprachtheorie und Theorie der Sprachwissenschaft. Geschichte und Perspektiven: Festschrift für Rudolf Engler zum 60. Geburtstag*, eds. Ricarda Liver – Iwar Werlen (Tübingen: Narr, 1990), pp. 260-271 (p. 262).

<sup>37</sup> Pierre Swiggers – Piet Desmet – Lieve Jooen, 'Metahistoriography Meets (Linguistic) Historiography', in *Metahistoriography*, eds. Schmitter – Van der Wal, pp. 29-59 (p. 36).

<sup>38</sup> Schmitter, 'Positivismus, Interpretation und Objektivität in der Wissenschaftsgeschichtsschreibung der Linguistik', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 9 (1999), 193-208 (p. 201).

information (which requires a personal, subjective, voluntary selection), on the other hand many important sources have not been transmitted (which is in fact a historical irreversible, objective, involuntary selection). Which primary sources are to be taken into account and in which way? If published primary texts are regarded as the only relevant and valuable material of sources, a kind of Neocriticism atmosphere is created in which texts are studied as wholly independent entities and in which contextual sources are considered superfluous.<sup>39</sup> For a study in the field of history of science, this approach is not preferable. If historiography is merely equated with *Texte über Texte*<sup>40</sup>, the interpretative process risks to end up in a hermeneutic circle:<sup>41</sup>

These texts have their place in the history of linguistics, which is precisely the domain constituted by a certain group of texts. The circularity implied here [...] — defining a domain by what constitutes it, viz. texts, and on the other hand studying a particular text because it forms part of the domain — cannot be separated from the contextual tradition behind linguistic study, the floating barriers between domains [...], the lack of an adequate definition of what constitutes a domain and insufficient knowledge of the rich traditions of certain domains because of incomplete historical information.<sup>42</sup>

This vicious circle, due to which historiography eventually runs the risk of creating its own myths, could be broken by taking into account other actors and factors: the study of manifold, often unpublished sources could push back the emergence of *idées reçues* somewhat, as they are instructive for the understanding of an author's consistency, his conceptual evolution, his *Sitz im Leben*, his intellectual network etc. Many of these 'marginal' (better: marginalised)<sup>43</sup> sources (for instance letters, unpublished drafts, *alba amicorum*, annotated books, paratexts, glosses, ...) have already been studied by Neo-Latin scholars<sup>44</sup>, yet an elaborate typology of sources

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Brekle, 'What is the History of Linguistics and to what End is it Studied?', pp. 3-4.

<sup>40</sup> Hüllen, 'Die Historiographie als Aufforderung zum kritischen Anachronismus', in *Metahistoriography*, eds. Schmitter – Van der Wal, pp. 171-181 (p. 175).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Swiggers, 'Comment écrire l'histoire de la linguistique?', *Lingua*, 55 (1981), 63-74.

<sup>42</sup> Swiggers – Desmet – Jookin, 'Metahistoriography Meets (Linguistic) Historiography', p. 29.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Swiggers, 'Modelos, métodos y problemas en la historiografía de la lingüística', p. 124.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Hofmann, 'Neulateinische Literatur: Aufgaben und Perspektiven', 81 and Ludwig (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 69-70. See also *Cognition and the Book. Typologies of Formal Organisation of Knowledge in the Printed Book of the Early Modern Period*, ed. Karl Enenkel – Wolfgang Neuber, Intersections. Yearbook for

for the early modern period is still lacking.<sup>45</sup> The listing and comparing of all types of sources with their inherent characteristics could constitute an important auxiliary tool for the Neo-Latin scholar to increase the degree of his methodological objectivity. To give just one example, an important distinction which could be elaborated in such a typology, is the difference between published and unpublished texts. According to Carlo Dionisotti<sup>46</sup>, Neo-Latin scholars tend to edit unpublished texts all too often. Hence, he advocates to concentrate on published texts, having been more influential. Although this radical statement obviously needs some modification, one should not only take into account the author (sender) of a work, much attention should be given to the reader (addressee) as well.<sup>47</sup> In this connection, it could be noted that traditional textual criticism, in which much methodical work has been undertaken so far,<sup>48</sup> might focus all too one-sidedly on the final intentions of the author. Variant forms of

Early Modern Studies, 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Anthony Grafton, *Commerce with the Classics: Ancient Books and Renaissance Readers*, Jerome lectures, 20 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the series *Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental* (Turnhout: Brepols) for medieval studies.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Grafton, 'Renaissance Research Today: Forms and Styles', p. 61. The statute of publications which were not intended by the author as such, is problematic as well. Some examples are posthumous and pirated editions. Cf. Daniel Droixhe – Jean-Claude Muller – Pierre Swiggers, 'Les correspondances de linguistes. Projet d'inventaire systématique', in *Speculum historiographiae linguisticae. Kurzbeiträge der IV. Internationalen Konferenz zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaften*, ed. Klaus D. Dutz (Münster: Nodus Publikationen, 1989), pp. 347-357 (p. 347).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Kallendorf (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 64-65; Moss (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 73; Jan De Clercq – Pierre Swiggers, 'L'histoire de la linguistique. L'autre histoire et l'histoire d'une histoire', in *Neue Fragen der Linguistik. Akten des 25. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Paderborn 1990*, eds. Elisabeth Feldbusch – Reiner Pogarell – Cornelia Weiss, *Linguistische Arbeiten*, 270/271, 2 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), I, 15-22 (p. 17).

<sup>48</sup> On the rather technical and mechanical area of orthography, *apparatus criticus* etc., a lot of literature can be found. See besides IJsewijn (1990), *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* and IJsewijn – Sacré (1998), *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* for example Luc Deitz, 'Editing Sixteenth-Century Latin Prose Texts: a Case Study and a Few General Observations', in *Editing Texts, Texte Edieren*, ed. Glenn W. Most, *Aporemata: Kritische Studien zur Philologiegeschichte*, 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), pp. 141-164; Deitz, 'The Tools of the Trade: a Few Remarks on Editing Renaissance Latin Texts', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 54 (2005), 345-358; *Probleme der Edition mittel- und neu-lateinischer Texte*, eds. Ludwig Hödl – Dieter Wuttke, *Kolloquium der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft Bonn*, 26.-28. Februar 1973 (Boppard am Rhein: Boldt, 1978); Piet Steenbakkers, 'Accent marks in Neo-Latin', in *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Hafniensis. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies. Copenhagen, 1991*, ed. Rhoda Schnur et al. (Binghamton, New York: MRTS, 1994), pp. 925-934.

textual criticism could be taken into consideration, in which the social reception of a text occupies centre stage.<sup>49</sup>

### 3.2. *Interpretative process*

Neo-Latin studies are very divergent, not only with regard to scope and sources, but with regard to intent and depth of analysis as well. Some studies aim at making data available or at signalling an unknown (or neglected) source or at correcting an error ('factual' or 'descriptive-analytical' Neo-Latin studies), whereas other studies have a more synthetic or explanatory character.<sup>50</sup> Another distinction which could be made is the difference between content-orientation and context-orientation. It might be an instructive exercise (falling under the tasks of the 'critical *Meta-Neo-Latin Studies*') to examine the relations of the interpretative perspectives of the existing Neo-Latin studies. The outcome of such an examination would probably reveal that only a minority of the existing studies move beyond the text proper. In this connection, it would make sense to examine to what extent the interpretative level is conditioned by the schooling, the (ideological?) motivation or the institutional and intellectual context of the Neo-Latin scholar.<sup>51</sup>

Like the historiographer of linguistics, the Neo-Latin scholar always runs the risk of projecting some currently prevailing concepts anachronistically onto the past.<sup>52</sup> To circumvent this dangerous pitfall, the historiographer should satisfy three crucial conditions in the eyes of Koerner.<sup>53</sup> On the one hand, the principle of 'contextualisation' requires from the historiographer an adequate insight in the 'climate of opinion' ('*Geist der Zeiten*') of the period concerned; the principle of 'immanence', on the other, a thorough understanding of 'the general framework of the theory under investigation as well as the terminology used in the text'. After this process of 'historical empathy', the historiographer should succeed in writing an account which is understandable for the modern reader. In other

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism* (Charlottesville – London: University Press of Virginia, 1992).

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Swiggers – Desmet – Jooen, 'Metahistoriography Meets (Linguistic) Historiography', p. 31.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. De Clercq – Swiggers, 'L'histoire de la linguistique', pp. 19-20.

<sup>52</sup> This was another fundamental objection to Chomsky's *Cartesian Linguistics*.

<sup>53</sup> Koerner, 'Metalanguage' in Linguistic Historiography', in *Professing Linguistic Historiography*, pp. 27-46 (pp. 41-42).

words, the third essential condition has to be situated on the expository level.

### 3.3. *Explanatory process*

It is a delicate task to use an acceptable *metalanguage*, enabling the modern reader to understand old conceptions without violating or distorting their original significance. This problem is also known as the difficult choice between an *emic* or *etic* way of describing: 'the "emic" perspective is focussed on the internal and functional analysis of a cultural system, whereas the "etic" perspective is oriented towards the elaboration of a comprehensive metalanguage'.<sup>54</sup> As to the metalanguage of the historiography of linguistics, Swiggers, Desmet, and Jookien distinguish among other things

the terms used for *periodization* in the historiographical analysis; [...] the terms used for describing *cross-sectional processes* [...] such as *continuity/discontinuity*, *progress/decay/stabilization*, *advance*, *growth* [...]; the terms used for intrasectional configurations: e.g., terms such as *school*, *group* [...], *cercle*, *paradigm* [...], *cynosure* [...], *series*, *nucleus* [...]; the terms used for describing *relations* between agents in the historical processes described: e.g., terms such as *influence*, *borrowing*, *derived data*, *parallel development*, *obedience*, *centrality/marginality*, *leadership* [...], *antagonism*, *support* [...].<sup>55</sup>

Apart from many other concepts, terms like these are also used in the Neo-Latinist's metalanguage. Concerning the *expository format* of the study, there are some options to be taken as well.<sup>56</sup>

### 3.4. *Distributive process*

A last step concerns the question of how other disciplines could take advantage of the results of Neo-Latin studies (*cui bono*). According to some Neo-Latin scholars, the interdisciplinary visibility of Neo-Latin

<sup>54</sup> Swiggers – Desmet – Jookien, 'Metahistoriography Meets (Linguistic) Historiography', p. 33. Cf. Kenneth L. Pike, *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior* (The Hague: Mouton, 1967) for the origin of this pair of concepts.

<sup>55</sup> Swiggers – Desmet – Jookien, 'Metahistoriography Meets (Linguistic) Historiography', p. 33.

<sup>56</sup> Swiggers – Desmet – Jookien, 'Metahistoriography Meets (Linguistic) Historiography', p. 31 distinguish among other a *sequential* format ('plain narrative or organised-narrative accounts') and a *topical* format (focusing on the analysis of a theme or of the conceptions of an author of a school).

studies is insufficient. Haskell states: 'we run the risk of not being seen at all'.<sup>57</sup> Partly, this could be explained as a logical consequence of the often rather internal focus of Neo-Latin scholars, many of which are ignorant of purposes and methods followed in neighbouring disciplines as well. A well thought-out implementation of the newer media, which would facilitate investigations done by other scholars in Neo-Latin text *corpora*, could form one possible element of solution.<sup>58</sup>

#### 4. Final considerations

In sum, a Meta-Neo-Latin study (having a retrospective as well as a prospective dimension) should try to find answers on theoretical questions (on the definition, demarcation, subdivision and interdisciplinary connections of Neo-Latin Studies), and should formulate methodological recommendations. The only and ultimate purpose of these Meta-Neo-Latin reflections is to construct a firmer backbone for the wide range of the existing and future Neo-Latin studies, which would hopefully, as a result (being better circumscribed) gain more overall academic recognition. Nevertheless, the experience in the historiography of linguistics teaches that reflection on such existential and methodological problems is not a guarantee for immediate miraculous solutions.<sup>59</sup> What is more,

<sup>57</sup> Haskell (comm.), 'Neo-Latin Studies: Significance and Prospects', 49. Arthur C.G.M. Eyffinger, 'Een te lang veronachtzaamd juweeltje. Het *Parallelon rerumpulicarum* van Hugo de Groot', in *Limae labor et mora. Opstellen voor Fokke Akkerman ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, eds. Zweder R.W.M. von Martels – Piet Steenbakkens (Leende: Damon, 2000), pp. 127-144 deplores the lack of real interaction between Neo-Latin scholars, literature scholars and art historians. It could be useful to investigate the living perceptions on Neo-Latin studies in neighbouring disciplines. For similar problems within historiography of linguistics, cf. Peter Schmitter, 'Alles bestens? Einige Beobachtungen zur intradisziplinären Wirkung der Historiographie der Sprachwissenschaft', *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft*, 13 (2003), 115-126.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. for instance Wolfgang Schibel, 'Digitale Medien und editorische Strategien im Bereich der neulateinischen Literatur', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 3 (2001), 249-258; Arthur Bierganz, 'Neue Medien, Schule und neulateinische Texte', *Neulateinisches Jahrbuch*, 3 (2001), 259-273.

<sup>59</sup> This is acknowledged by two main protagonists in metahistoriography of linguistics; Ernst F.K. Koerner, 'History of Linguistics. The Field', in *History of the Language Sciences. From the Sumerians to the cognitivists*, eds. Ernst F.K. Koerner – Ron E. Asher (Oxford: Elsevier, 1995), pp. 3-7 (p. 6), and Peter Schmitter, 'Zurück zum Historismus? Bemerkungen und Daten zu einigen gegenwärtigen Tendenzen in der Historiographie der Linguistik', in *Neue Fragen der Linguistik. Akten des 25. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Paderborn 1990*, eds. Elisabeth Feldbusch – Reiner Pogarell – Cornelia Weiss, *Linguistische Arbeiten*, 270/271, 2 vols (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), I, 23-30 (pp. 26-27).



there is always the potential risk that such a debate will get bogged down in sterile idiosyncrasies which could, in a worst case scenario, even paralyse Neo-Latin studies as such. None the less, an active, critical and perpetual self-investigation could contribute to a more self-conscious and substantiated discipline, thus acquiring more *inner* legitimation for its *raison d'être*. In this perspective, raising questions, although easier, might be as important as finding answers. Moreover, as such questions are relevant to all Neo-Latin scholars, they also have a connecting and centripetal function.

It is exactly the nearly intrinsically interdisciplinary and 'almost inherently comparative'<sup>60</sup> nature of Neo-Latin studies which allows us to draw inspiration from discussions held in the neighbouring disciplines to tackle (questions as well as answers on) these methodological problems. In this respect, it still seems very feasible to make fast progress. The main goal of this little contribution, in its attempt to merge some key topics of Helander's debate with some basics of the metahistoriography of linguistics, was to resuscitate the reflective discussions. Besides the Journals of Neo-Latin Study, especially the *International Association for Neo-Latin Studies*, the statutes of which prescribe as one of its purposes 'to promote, wherever possible, the publication of research and texts in Neo-Latin and related fields', could be considered the authoritative body to stimulate and to co-ordinate this discussion. *Idealiter*, a new enriched debate could eventually result in a synthesising 'Meta-Neo-Latinist manual', based on a general scientific consensus, and therefore with a less noncommittal character than the discussions held on the theme up to now.

Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO) – Katholieke Universiteit Leuven  
 Faculty of Arts  
 Blijde-Inkomststraat 21  
 B-3000 Leuven  
 Toon.VanHal@arts.kuleuven.be

<sup>60</sup> De Smet, 'Not for Classicists?', 207.

# INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEOLATINUM

apparaverunt

Gilbert Tournoy, Dirk Sacré, Kris Delcroix

iuvantibus Antonio Dávila Pérez, Jeanine De Landtsheer, Jan Papy

## *Appellatio ad auctores*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est Kalendis Augustis anni 2007.

## SIGLA:

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>BHR</i>     | <i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève)                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Camenae</i> | <i>Camenae</i> (Université de Paris – Sorbonne – Paris IV); vide interrete:<br><a href="http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/article.php3?id_article=4890">http://www.paris-sorbonne.fr/fr/article.php3?id_article=4890</a> |
| <i>CamHung</i> | <i>Camoenae Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>CM</i>      | <i>Colloquia Maruliana</i> (Split)                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>CR</i>      | <i>Calamus renascens. Revista de humanismo y tradición clásica</i><br>(Alcañiz – Teruel – Cádiz)                                                                                                                       |
| <i>ERSY</i>    | <i>Erasmus of Rotterdam Society Yearbook</i> (Middleton, WI)                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>GSLI</i>    | <i>Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana</i> (Torino)                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>HL</i>      | <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven)                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>IJCT</i>    | <i>International Journal of the Classical Tradition</i> (Boston)                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>JWCI</i>    | <i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i> (London)                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>NJ</i>      | <i>Neulateinisches Jahrbuch</i> (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York)                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>RELat</i>   | <i>Revista de Estudios Latinos</i> (Madrid)                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>RHR</i>     | <i>Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance</i> (Lyon)                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>RIN</i>     | <i>Rinascimento</i> (Firenze)                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>RPH</i>     | <i>Revista Portuguesa de Humanidades</i> (Braga)                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>RPL</i>     | <i>Res Publica Litterarum</i> (Roma)                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>RQ</i>      | <i>Renaissance Quarterly</i> (New York)                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>RS</i>      | <i>Renaissance Studies. Journal of the Society for Renaissance Studies</i> (Oxford)                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>SCJ</i>     | <i>The Sixteenth Century Journal</i> (Missouri, CO)                                                                                                                                                                    |

SUP            *Studi Umanistici Piceni* (Sassoferrato)  
 WRM           *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* (Wiesbaden)

## ABBREVIATIONES:

- Boeken in contact met hun lezers* van Ommen Kasper – Arnoud Vrolijk – Geert Warnar (eds.), *Aangeraakt. Boeken in contact met hun lezers*, Kleine publicaties van de Leidse Universiteitsbibliotheek, 75 (Leiden: Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, 2007).
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- conventus patrocinantibus* Academia Latinitati Fovendae atque Instituto Historico Belgico in Urbe Romae in Academia Belgica anno MMI habiti, Belgisch Historisch Instituut te Rome, Bibliotheek, 58 (Bruxelles – Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 2006).
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1.9. *Ecdotica*

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1.10. *Interpretatoria*

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### 3. Scaenica

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## INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

apparavit D. Sacré

### 1. NOVA LEXICA

*Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. Editus iussu et auctoritate consilii ab Academiis Societatibusque diversarum nationum electi, X.1.15: *pius* – *plenarius* (München – Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2005); X.2.15: *protego* – *pubertas* (ib., 2006).

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### 2. INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba quae neque in *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (ThLL) neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano* (Forc.) reperiuntur. Ea autem quae in lexicis et glossariis mediae et inferioris Latinitatis leguntur stellulis (\*) notavimus; cruciculis (+) quae in lexico neolatino Renati Hoven (Hoven), orbiculis (°) quae in indice verborum neolatinorum Iohannis Ramminge interretiali offenduntur. Uncinulos (I) eis praemisimus verbis, quae quidem reperiuntur apud veteres, at intellectu insigniuntur diverso. Nomina locorum virorumve et mulierum quaeque ex eis sunt derivata, aliaque id genus vocabula non nisi raro afferuntur.

+Academice (*adv.*): *academically*: p. 212

Acanthobrahmaea, -ae (Europaea): *European owl moth*: 290

Adynaton, -i (*adiectivum adynatos habet* ThLL): *impossibility*: 223

Aliothmannicus, -a, -um = Othmannicus: 343, 346

[Ambrosiacus, -a, -um (*habet* Forc., *deest* in ThLL): *ambrosial*: 287, 292

\*+Antichristianus, -a, -um: *antichristian*: 44

\*+Antipapa, -ae: *antipope*: 78

Aphrodisiacus, -a, -um: ad herbam, cui apud Ps.-Apuleium in *Herbario aphrodisias* nomen, pertinet: 287, 293

\*+°Archidux, -ucis: *archduke, archduchess*: 235, 239, 245, 248, 252, 256, 258, 269, 270

Aurasinus, -a, -um = Auriacus, Auraicus: 8

[\*+Baro, -onis: *baron*: 346

\*°Botanicus, -i: *botanist*: 287, 293

Bulgarocida, ae (*cognomen Basilii imperatoris*): killer of the Bulgarians: 345

Bulgaroconus, i (*cognomen Basilii imperatoris*): killer of the Bulgarians: 345

[\*+°Capella, -ae: *chapel*: 58

[\*+Cardinalis, -is: *cardinal*: 57, 58, 78, 79, 338, 339

\*Censuarius, -a, -um (*habet ut vocem dubiam* Forc.) = censualis: 83

[\*Comes, -itis: *count*: 235, 269

[\*+°Comitatus, -us: *county*: 255

Commonstrabilis, -is, -e: *demonstrable*: 118

Dephlogisticatus, -a, -um: *freed from the theory of the phlogiston*: 287, 288

\*+°Dictionariolum, -i: *small dictionary*: 213

\*Dissimulatrix, -icis: *dissembler*: 115

[\*+°Ducatus, -us: *duchy*: 242

Entomologia, -ae: *entomology*: 271, 272, 283, 286

Entomologicus, -a, -um: *entomologic*: 286

Entomologicus, -i: *entomologist*: 286

\*Epithalamicum, -i: *epithalamium*: 114

\*+Epithalamicus, -a, -um: *epithalamic*: 114

[Flora, -ae: *flora*: 278, 286

\*Historiographia, -ae: *historiography*: 351

[\*+°Imprimere, -o: *to print*: 11

[\*+Infans, -antis: *Infante, Infanta*: 235

Lepisma, -ae: *fishmot*: 278, 286

+Lexicographus, -i: *lexicographer*: 227

Linguisticus, -a, -um: *linguistic*: 351

Mac(h)aronice: *in macaronics*: 202

\*+°Mahumetanus, -a, -um: *Muhammadan*: 82

\*Marchia, -ae: *March*: 257

\*+Marchio, -onis (*in appendice vocum reiectarum habet* Forc.): *margrave*: 182, 256, 257, 269

\*+Marchionissa, -ae: *marchioness*: 114

Mineralogicus, -a, -um: *mineralogical*: 276, 286

Mineralogius, -a, -um: *mineralogical*: 277

Moldo-Vlachicus, -a, -um: *referring to Moldovlachia*: 343, 345, 346

Noleitas, -atis: *unwillingness*: 186

+°Observatiuncula, -ae: *little remark*: 331

\*+°Ot(t)h(o)man(n)icus, -a, -um: *Ottoman*: 238, 343, 346

\*°Othmanidae, -arum: *Ottoman*: 343

[\*Panegyris = panegyricus *uti videtur* (cfr. et Forc. *sub voce*): 57, 58, 60

\*Philologicus, -a, -um = philologus: 227

Posthumanisticus, -a, -um: *post-humanistic*: 291

[\*+°Protestans, -antis: *Protestant*: 243

\*+Protonotarius, -ii: *protonotary*: 338, 339

\*Rossiacus, -a, -um: *Russian*: 346

[\*+Rota, -ae: (*Roman*) *rota*: 337, 339

\*Sarracenus, -a, -um: *Saracen*: 83

Servicidium, -ii: *killing of slaves*: 104

\*+°Signatura, -ae: *commission or tribunal of the Church*: 338, 339

Subcommotus, -a, -um: *somewhat moved*: 219

\*+Sultanus, -i: *sultan*: 333

Tagetes, -is erecta: *Mexican marigold*: 291

Tayta, -ae: *daddy (infant speech)*: 186, 193, 206

[Testacea, -orum: *testaceous species*: 276, 277, 286

Thu(r)nbergia, -ae fragrans: *sweet clock-vine*: 291

\*+°Typographus, -i (*in appendice vocum reiectarum habet Forc.*): *printer*: 182, 184

[\*+°typus, -i: *printing character*: 14, 228, 248, 337

\*+Vice-cancellarius, -ii: *deputy chancellor*: 346

Voleitas, -atis: *willingness*: 186

Zoologicus, -a, -um: *zoologic*: 291



## NUNTIUS

### CONVENTUS UPSALIENSIS 2009

*Societatis Internationalis Studiis Neolatinis Provehendis* Decimus Quartus Conventus diebus 2-8 mensis Augusti 2009 Upsaliae apud Suecos celebrabitur. Conventus titulus erit hic: "Traditio et innovatio". Ceterum accipientur oratiunculae ad omnes partes Studiorum Neolatorum spectantes.

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<sup>1</sup> Composuit Tom Deneire.

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## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

*Humanistica Lovaniensia* follows the *MHRA Style Book. Notes for Authors, Editors and Writers of Theses*, ed. by A. S. Maney - R. L. Smallwood, 5th edn (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1996), with a few exceptions as noted below. Accepted manuscripts that do not follow these rules can be delayed in publication.

### 1. bibliographical references

#### 1.1. *first reference*

##### 1.1.1. references to books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author: forename in full, if not possible his initial(s); family name as it appears on the title page

- \* Sometimes it might be better to include the author's name within the title (e.g. text editions).

- \* The names up to three authors should be given in full; for works by more than three authors the name of only the first should be given, followed by 'et al.' (= et alii) (see example 4).

- comma

- title: title of the work (including the subtitle) as it appears on the title page, in italics

- \* Title and subtitle should always be separated by a colon. For books in English, capitalize the first word after the colon and of all principal words throughout the title. For titles in other languages, follow the capitalization rules for the language in question.

- \* Titles of other works occurring within the title should be enclosed in single quotation marks.

- comma

- editor, translator etc.: the names of editors etc. should be treated in the same way as those of authors (as to forename, number); they should be preceded by the accepted abbreviations 'ed. (by)', 'trans. (by)', 'rev. (by)', ...

- comma

- series, edition, number of volumes:

- \* If a book is part of a numbered series, the series title and the number (in Arabic numerals) should be given. Series titles should not be italicized (see example 2).

- \* If the edition used is other than the first, this should be stated by '2nd edn', '3rd rev. edn' (see example 5).

- \* If the work is in more than one volume, the number of volumes should be given in the form '2 vols', a comma separating title and number of volumes (see example 3).

- details of publication: place of publication, publisher's name and date of publication are enclosed in parentheses; a colon separates the place from the publisher's name; a comma separates the latter from the date

\* If place or date are not given but can be ascertained, they should be enclosed in brackets. If one of them remains uncertain, one should use '[s.l.]' (= no place), '[s.a.]' (= no date) or '[s.l.a.]' when both are lacking.

\* In giving the place of publication, either the current form of place names in the language the article is written in, or its official form in its own country should be used.

\* The name of the publisher should be given without secondary matter such as '& Co.', 'Ltd', 'S.A.', etc. Forenames or initials should be omitted. Where a publisher's name includes 'and' or '&', the conjunction should be given in the form which appears on the title page.

\* A reference to a work in several volumes published over a period of years should state the number of volumes and give inclusive dates of publication, with the date of the volume specifically referred to in parentheses after the volume number, when it is not the first or last in the series. If a work in several volumes is still in the process of publication, the date of the first volume should be stated, followed by a dash; the date of the individual number being cited should be added in parentheses after the volume number (see example 5).

- If the reference is to a book as a whole, a point will conclude it. If further information about volume and/or pages is requested, a comma is added, followed by the number of the volume (in small capital roman numerals and where necessary the year of publication in parentheses), a new comma, concluded by the exact page or pages.

\* When the volume number is given, 'p./pp.' should be omitted, unless the page number(s) is (are) also in roman numerals (see example 5). If there is no volume number, the numerals are preceded by 'p./pp.', 'col./cols', 'fol./fols'.

\* The first and the last number of the span should always be stated (instead of 'sq.' or 'ff.'!)

#### Examples:

(1) Mark Morford, *Stoics and Neostoics: Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius* (Princeton New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1991).

(2) G. Oestreich - N. Mout, *Antiker Geist und moderner Staat bei Justus Lipsius (1547-1606): der Neustoizismus als politische Bewegung*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 38 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1989).

(3) Leon Voet, *The Plantin Press, 1559-1589: A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: Van Hoeve, 1980-1983).

(4) *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, eds. G. Pignatelli et al. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960- ).

(5) *Indice Biografico Italiano, 3a edizione corretta ed ampliata*, ed. T. Nappo, 10 vols (München: Saur, 1999-2002), III (2000), 944.

## 1.1.2. references to articles in journals

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks; title and subtitle are separated by a colon
  - \* The title of works of literature occurring within the title of an article should be italicized or placed within quotation marks.
- comma
- title of journal, in italics
  - \* Only the main title should be given; an initial 'The' or 'A' and any subtitle should be omitted.
  - \* In case of several references to the same journal, an abbreviated title should be indicated after the first full reference or in a preliminary list of abbreviations.
- comma
- volume number, always in arabic numerals
- year of publication, in parentheses
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, without 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

## Examples:

- Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, 'Le manuscrit de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85.
- Michel Oosterbosch - Gilbert Tournoy, 'Two Unknown Autograph Letters by Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)', *Lias*, 23 (1996), 321-326 (pp. 325-326).
- Perrine Hallyn-Galand, 'La "Praelectio in Suetonium" de Nicholas Bérauld (1515)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 46 (1997), 62-93 (p. 87).

## 1.1.3. references to articles in books

The information should be given in the following order:

- author (cf. supra)
- comma
- title of the article, in single quotation marks (cf. 1.1.2.)
- comma
- the word 'in' (without colon) followed by title, editor's name, and publication details of the book, as in 1.1.1.
- comma
- first and last page numbers of article cited, preceded by 'p./pp.'
- page number(s), in parentheses and preceded by 'p./pp.' in case of a particular reference

Example:

- Jozef IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries', in *Itinerarium Italicum: The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformations. Dedicated to P.O. Kristeller...*, eds. H. A. Oberman - Th. A. Brady, Jr. (Leiden: Brill, 1975), pp. 193-305 (p. 260).

#### 1.1.4. references to theses and dissertations

The titles of unpublished theses and dissertations should be in roman type within single quotation marks, capitalization following the conventions of the language in question. The degree level, university and date should be in parentheses.

Example:

- Robert Ingram, 'Historical Drama in Great Britain from 1935 to the Present' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, 1992), pp. 17-23.

#### 1.1.5. references to manuscripts

Names of repositories and collections should be given in full when first occurring; an abbreviated form should be used for subsequent references.

Example:

First reference: Leiden, University Library, ms. Lips. 4.

Later reference: Leiden, UL, ms. Lips. 4.

#### 1.1.6. references to classical authors

In references to classical authors and their works the system of abbreviations adopted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae ... Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla afferuntur*, 2 edn (Leipzig: Teubner, 1990) should be followed, but with the (abbreviation of the) author's name in normal print, the (abbreviation of the) title in italics and comma's between all parts of the reference.

Example:

Stat., *Silv.*, 3, 1, 182.

#### 1.2. later references

In all further references, the shortest, intelligible form should be used. This will normally be the author's name (without initials) followed by (the volume and) the page reference. When more than one work of the same author is referred to, the title should be repeated in a shortened form. Phrases as 'loc. cit.' and 'op. cit.' should not be used.

Examples:

- IJsewijn, 'The Coming of Humanism', p. 195.

- Voet, *The Plantin Press*, II, 234-139.

## 2. lay-out

### 2.1. quotations

- *Short quotations* (not more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be enclosed in single quotation marks and run on with the main text. If, however, there are several such short quotations coming close together and being compared or otherwise set out as examples, it may be appropriate to treat them in the same way as longer quotations.

\* If two incomplete lines of verse are quoted, the line division should be marked with a spaced upright stroke l.

\* A quotation within a quotation is enclosed within double quotation marks.

\* If a short quotation is used within a sentence, the final full point should be outside the closing quotation mark; the initial capital may be altered to lower case.

\* When a short quotation is followed by a reference in parentheses, the final punctuation should follow the closing parenthesis.

\* The final point should precede the closing quotation mark only when the quotation forms a complete sentence and is separated from the preceding passage by a punctuation mark.

Examples:

- Clusius was generous with his advice and with gifts of plants, including the still rare and valuable tulips, a 'thesaurum hortense' ('garden treasure'), as Lipsius called one gift in 1585.

- According to Peter Smith 'the seven newly discovered poems by Catullus are absolutely fabulous'.

- Michel Oosterbosch and Gilbert Tournoy inform us 'that in the *index* to that same *Inventaire* (p. 526) the questionable initial was resolved into "Nicolaus"'.  
- Soames added: 'Well, I hope you both enjoy yourselves.'

- *Long quotations* (more than about forty words of prose or two complete lines of verse) should be broken off by an increased space from the preceding and following lines of type script. No quotation marks are needed. The quotation should also be distinguished from the main text by using a smaller size and indenting.

\* Omissions within prose quotations should be marked by [...] (an ellipsis); omitted lines of verse should be marked by an ellipsis at the end of the line before the omission. An ellipsis at the beginning or the end of a quotation is not necessary.

\* A reference in parentheses after a long quotation should always be placed outside the closing full point and without a full point of its own.

Example:

- Harvey does, however, provide several references to the Court of Arches as the locale. For example, he writes:



If we were wearye with walking, and loth to go too farre to seeke sport, into the Arches we might step, and heare him plead; which would bee a merrier Comedie than ever was old Mother *Bomby*. As, for an instance: suppose hee were to sollicite some cause against Martinists, were it not a jest to see him stroke his beard thrice, and begin thus? [...] O, we should have the Proctors and Registers as busie with their Tablebooks as might bee, to gather phrases, and all the boyes in Towne would be his clients tio follow him. (*Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library*, ed. by Virginia F. Stern (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 81)

## 2.2. footnotes

- Footnotes should be limited to what is strictly necessary, e. g. for documentation and for the citation of sources relevant to the text.
- The number of footnotes can also be kept down by incorporating simple references (such as line numbers or page references to a book already cited in full) in the text, for instance in parentheses after quotations. Adjacent references to several lines of the same text or to several pages of the same publication can be grouped together in the same footnote.
- Neither should footnotes repeat information already clear from the text: if for instance a bibliography is added to a book or an article, the length of the footnotes can be reduced.
- Wherever possible a footnote reference should be placed at the end of a sentence so as not to interrupt the flow of the text. In this case the footnote reference number follows the punctuation mark.
- All footnotes should end with a full point, whether or not they form complete sentences.

## 2.3. general requirements

- The author's name should appear at the head of the article (first name in full, surname in small capitals), followed by the title in capitals. His or her affiliation should appear at the end of the body of the text, followed by his or her address and e-mail.
- Titles for chapters or paragraphs in the text should be put in bold and should be numbered in Arabic.
- Manuscripts should be double-spaced, except footnotes and long quotations. Manuscripts for publication should be submitted (in 2 copies) to a member of the editorial board. After the final acceptance of the contribution a PC/Macintosh compatible high-density 1.44mb disk will be most welcome.
- The authors are asked to provide an abstract of not more than ten lines which will appear on the website of *Humanistica Lovaniensia*.

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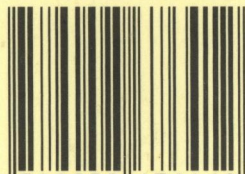
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15. *Iustus Lipsius, Europae lumen et columen. Proceedings of the International Colloquium Leuven 17-19 September 1997*. Ed. by G. Tournoy, J. De Landtsheer, J. Papy, 1999. 49 €
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